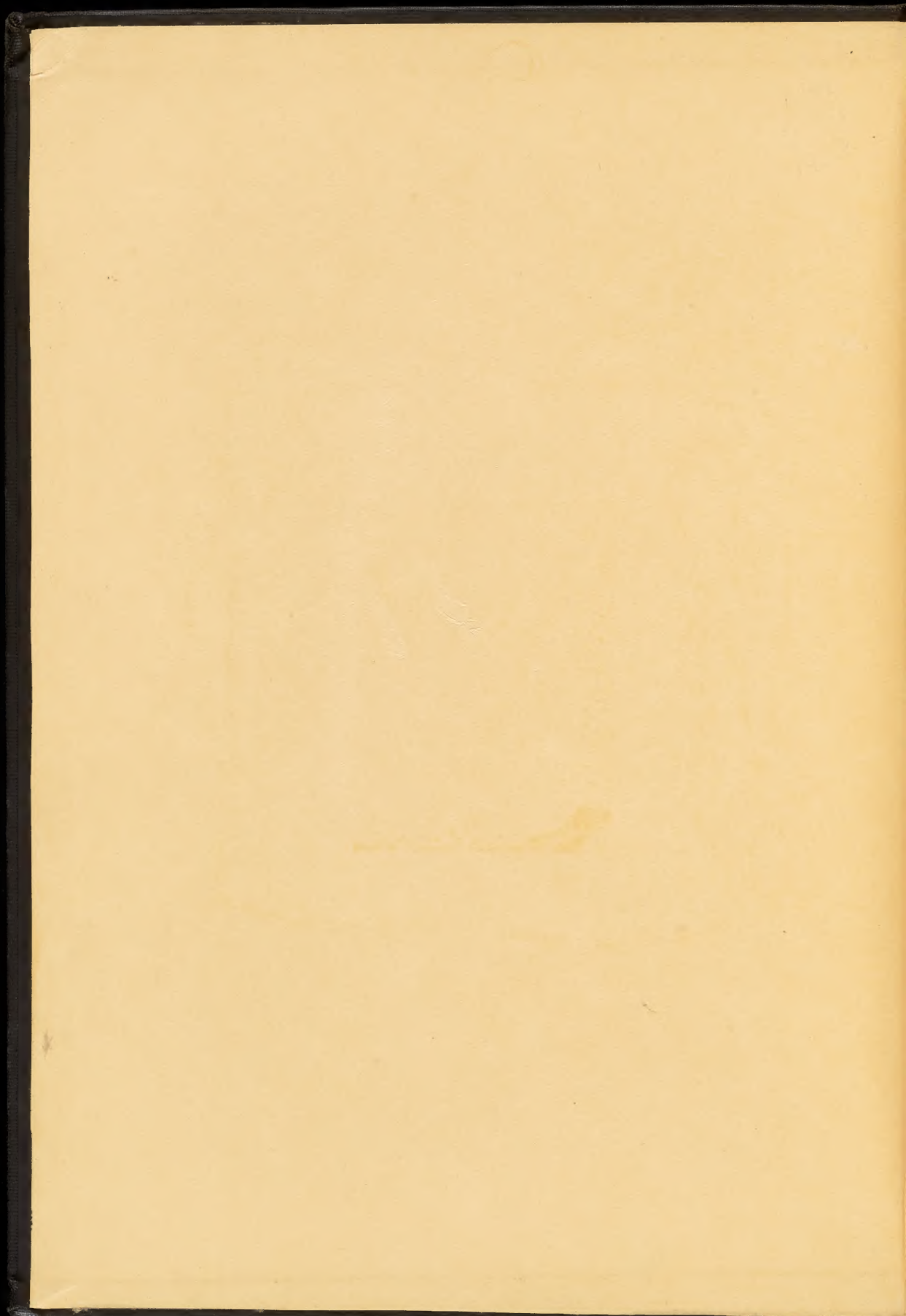
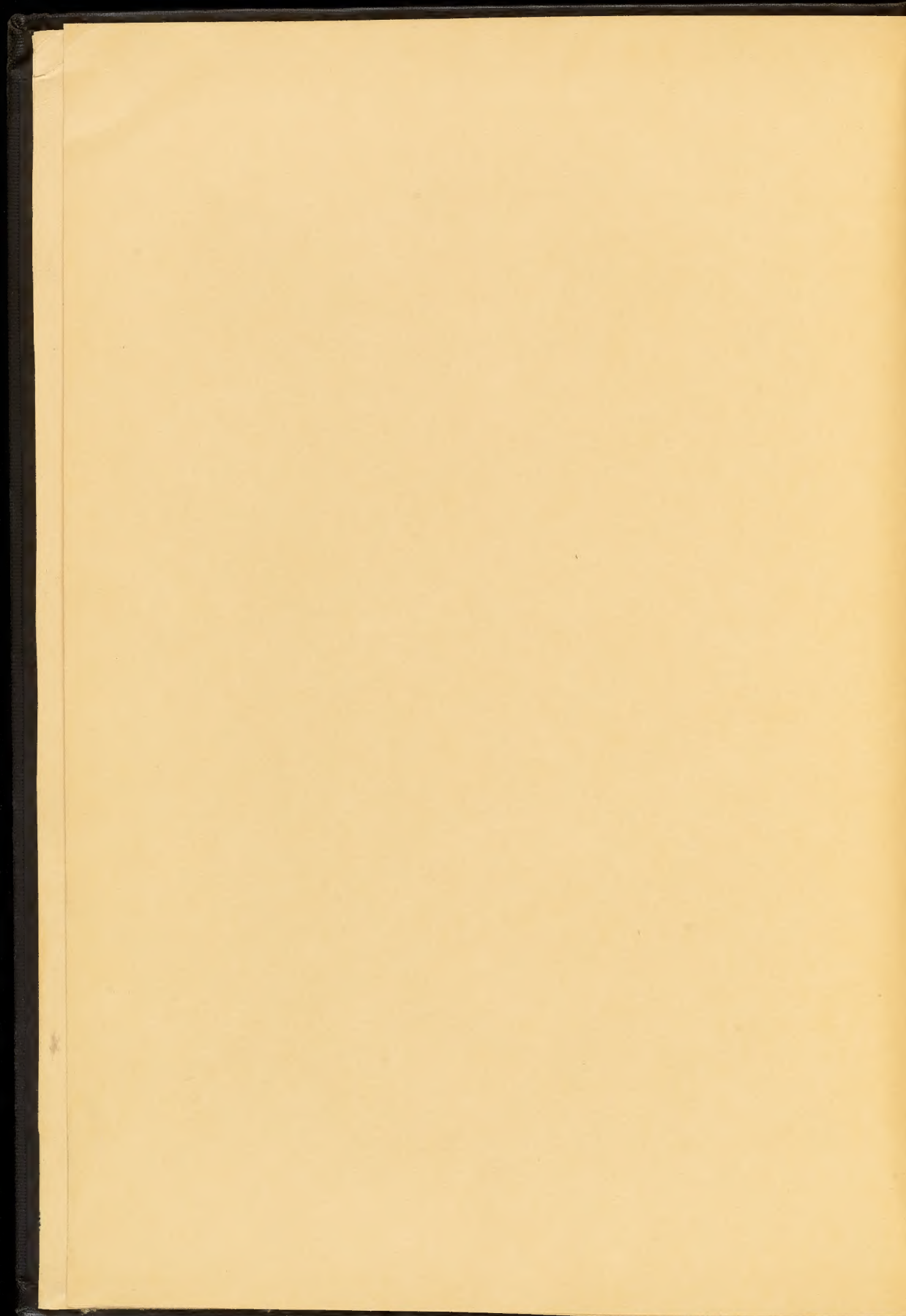
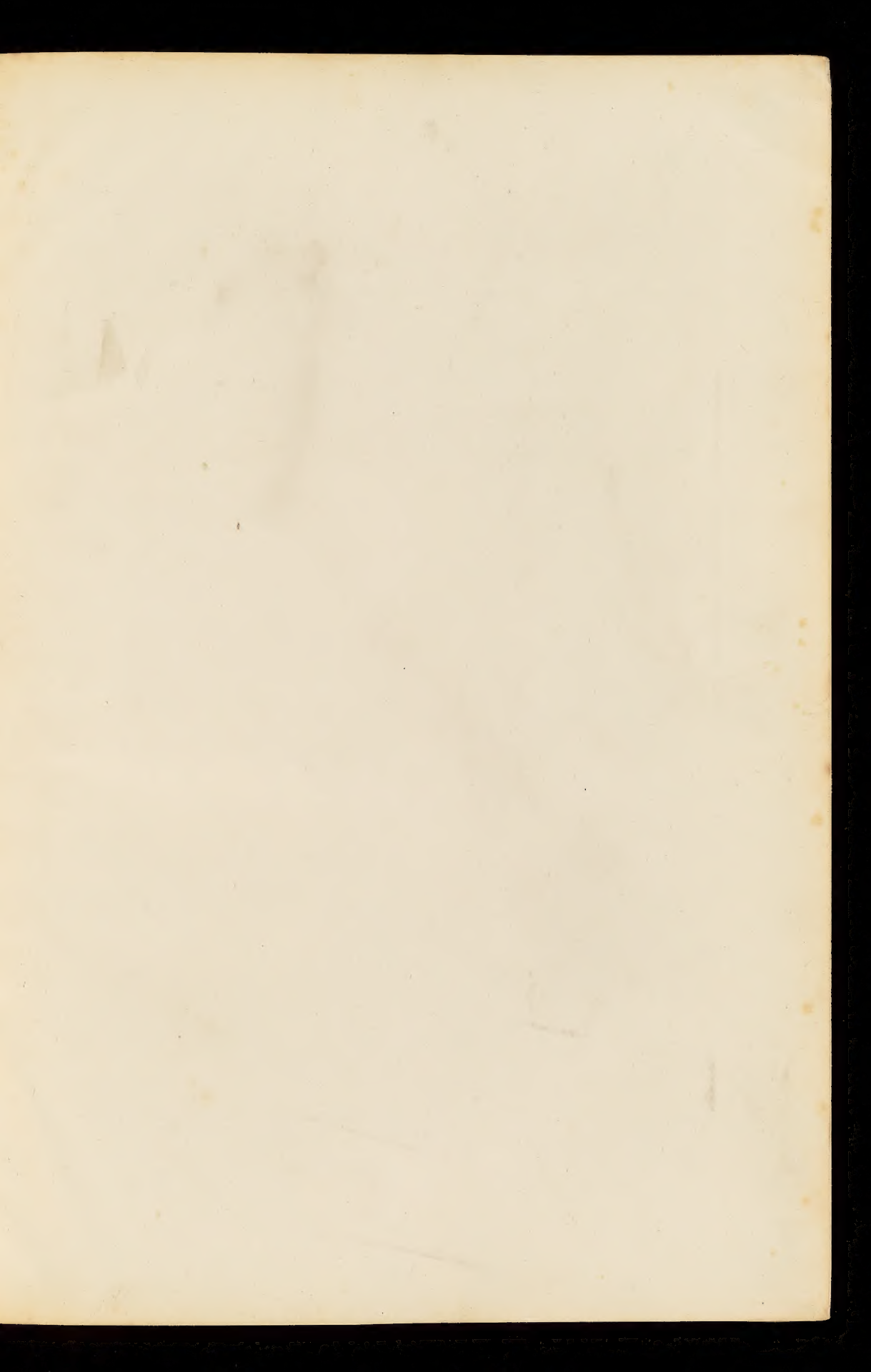


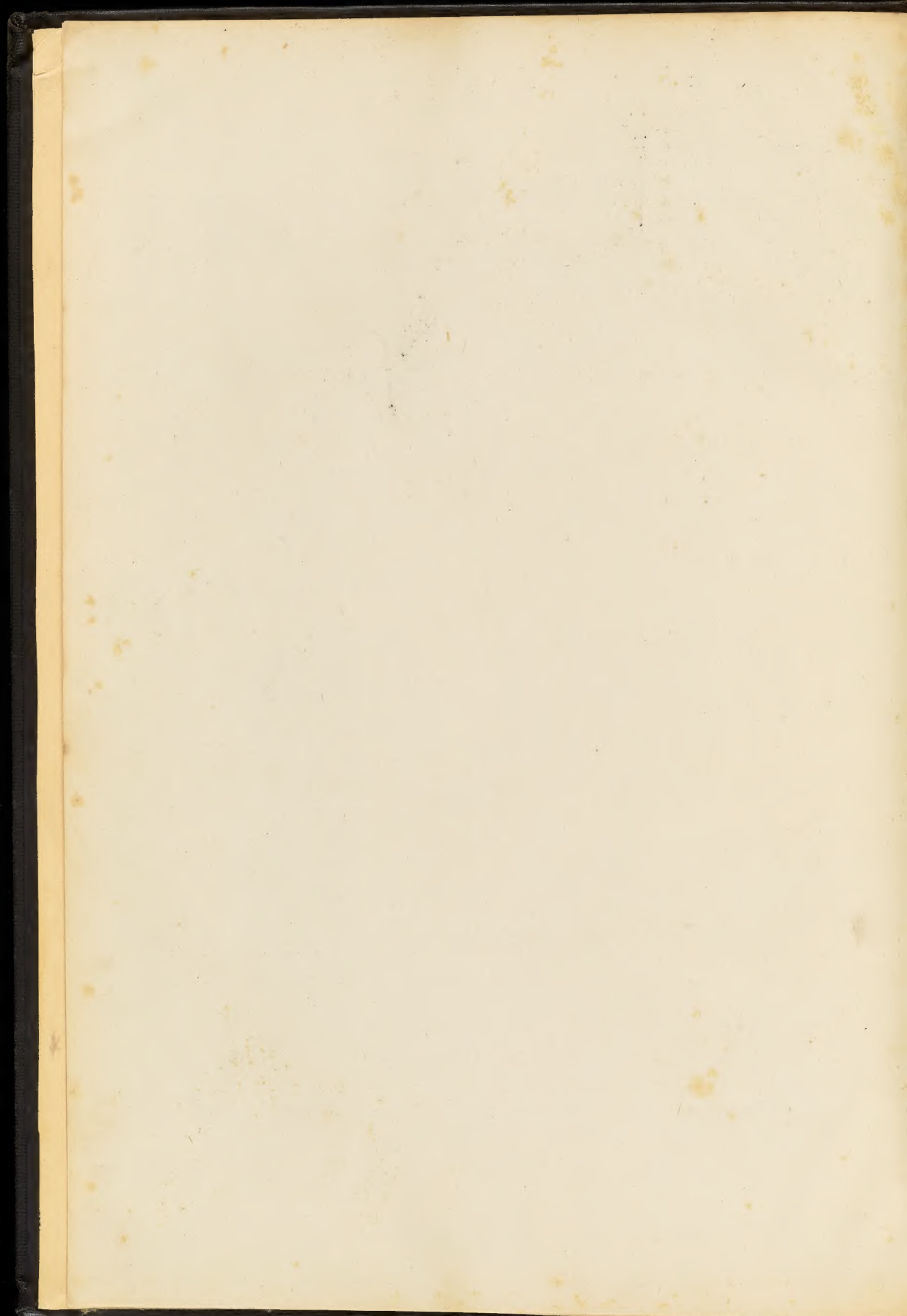
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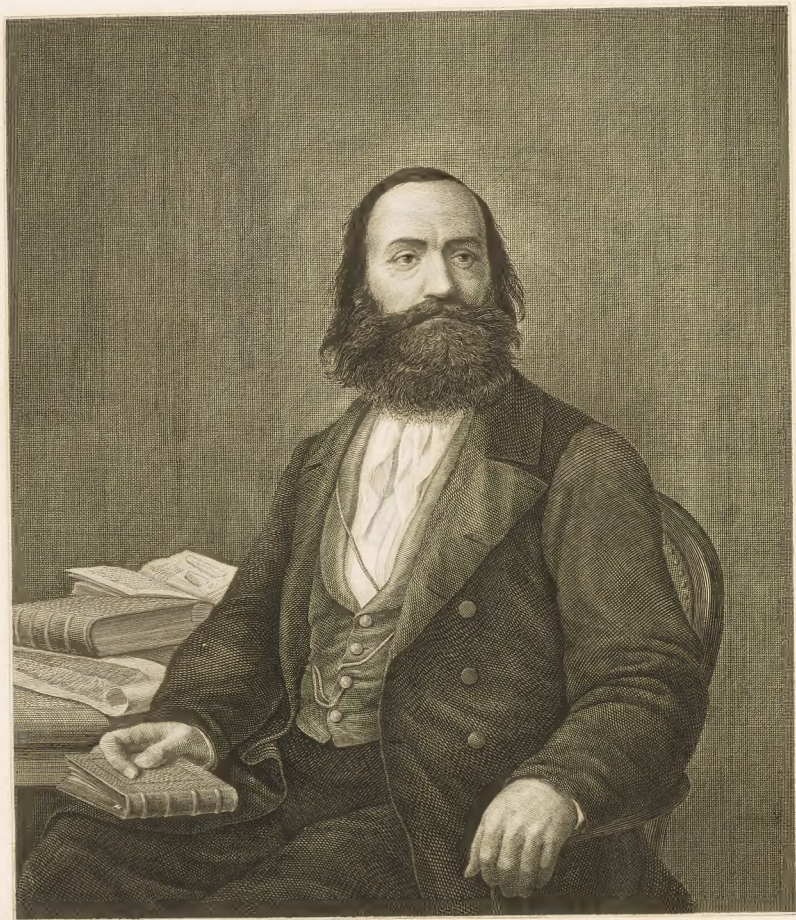












J. Rogers fecit. del. G. H. Smith.

George Stephens.

J. Rogers fecit.

THE OLD-NORTHERN
RUNIC MONUMENTS

OF SCANDINAVIA AND ENGLAND,

NOW FIRST

COLLECTED AND DECIPHERED

BY

GEORGE STEPHENS, ESQ., F. S. A.,

Knight of the Northern Star, Hon. Mem. of the Finnish Lit. Soc., Helsingfors, of the Roy. Ac. of Lit. and Ant. Gotenburg, and of the Norwegian National Monument Assoc., Christiania; Fellow of the Roy. Soc. of Sciences, Upsala, of the Roy. Ac. of Hist. and Ant., Stockholm, and of the Roy. Soc. of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen; etc.; Prof. of Old-English, and of the English Language and Literature, in the University of Copenhagen, Denmark.

WITH MANY HUNDREDS OF FACSIMILES AND ILLUSTRATIONS, PARTLY IN GOLD, SILVER, BRONZE AND COLORS;

RUNIC ALPHABETS; INTRODUCTIONS; APPENDICES; WORDLISTS, ETC.

VOL. I.

LONDON.

JOHN RUSSELL SMITH.

KÖBENHAVN.

MICHAELSEN AND TILLGE.

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1866—67.

103992

My Dear Mr. Gordon!

Allow me to add to your splendid Library the following imperfect attempt to elucidate our oldest Northern written remains.

It is very respectfully inscribed to you, in frank acknowledgment of much personal kindness, and with the wish to remind you of those days of 'auld lang syne' when — younger men than now — we spent so many happy hours in common Scandinavian researches.

May the Northern Lands, the Runic Races, the children of the fearless Seakings, always hold together and always hold their own!

With many greetings,

Yours obliged and grateful Friend and Servant

George Stephens.

Copenhagen, Denmark, June 1868.

in 1868 George John Stephens, the younger of the two, then
His Brit. Majesty's Consul Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the
King of Denmark.

FOREWORD.

THIS book has appeared too soon. It ought to have been kept back at least a few centuries; partly because I am every day adding and learning and correcting and modifying, partly because every fresh find throws light — in one way or other — on what we have already. But it is doubtful how many “centuries” or moments God may give me to live and work in; and, as in all such studies, the best way to call forth *fresh* monuments is as quickly as we can to *make public what is at hand*. It cannot be doubted that many Runic pieces will yet be given back to us from the fields and woods and mosses and gammel churches and stray buildings of our Olden North, and it is better to *add a Supplement hereafter* than to brood for many winters over unpublisht drawings and manuscript descriptions. No such collection ever is or was or will be complete and faultless. Whatever care we take, we err often, both in omission and commission. Only Minerva started at once, whole and wellgrown, out of the head of Jupiter. Delays are dangerous. *The Best* is too often the greatest enemy of *the Good*. So I prefer giving at once — however dimmed by my own incompetence — what I have been so painfully gathering during many many long years of toil and sacrifice, rather than to wait months manifold in hopes of an *imaginary* fulness, an *ideal* correctness.

These pages then only claim to be a beginning, a breaking of the ice, a ground on which other men can build further; in many ways they are only feelers, groping out things and thoughts for further examination. And the more is all this so, ‘as I am variously unequal to my task. *Runes* and *Old-lore* and *Speech-craft* all are or should be inextricably combined, endlessly interwoven, like the dragon-winds and knot-work and rope-twists of our grand early carvings and miniatures. But all of them have gradually become immense and COSTLY Sciences, subtly outbranching up and down and sideways into yet other nearby lore-fields. No *one* life is now enough for *any* of them, and I for my own part do not believe in men — of whom we have now so many — who know *everything* and dictate on *everything*. Yet all these branches of knowledge are greatly needed in the attempt here before me. Now I am a *poor* man, working against time and tide; an *unlearned* man, working in ignorance of thousands of books and yore-day things which I ought to have known; and I am *not a linguist*, which I especially ought to have been. Still I have done what I could, out of love to my great and noble Northern fatherland, and I leave to abler pens the pleasure and duty of amending and completing my own most imperfect essay.

However, even supposing my *theory* to be wholly or partially false, and my *readings* to be often or always wrong, I have here for the first time brought together, in careful and trustworthy and masterly facsimiles, THE FACTS THEMSELVES, *all* the Old-Northern Runic remains known to me; and I have thus provided the runic and archæological digger with materials new and most striking and precious, priceless contributions to the Arts and History and Speech of our Northern fore-elders, monuments ranging from shortly after the Christian era down to the middle age. Thus we can *roll back the study of our Northern Tong* — especially in Scandinavia — *a space of nearly 1000 years*; for we have no written Scandian parchment that we dare look on as certainly older than about the year 1200, and any bits even so old are scarce enough to be reckoned *by ones or twos*.

As I have said, and as my title shows, I have here gathered together only the *comparatively few* hitherto almost untoucht and unredd *older or Old-Northern* Runic pieces; not, as so many reviews of my first Part show has been often supposed, the *later or Scandinavian* Runic monuments, which exist *by thousands*, many of which have lately been well engraved and translated, and all of which are now being gradually collected and publisht by competent runesmiths. But, *wherever needful*, I have also given or referred to *these later* Runic remains, so that the reader will here have access — in whole or part — to *hundreds* of them in these pages. The Appendix alone, pp. 605—826, contains more than 120 of the oldest or most remarkable among them, many here engraved or interpreted for the first time. And my chapters "Runic Remains and Runic Writing", "Rune-lore" and "On the Runic Letters", pp. 55—160, as well as the works cited under "Runic Literature" pp. 12—14, will enable any one who really wishes *work* (that is *knowledge*) to master this whole class of later Runic Laves.

In fixing the age of these Old-Northern pieces, we have too often but little to guide us. All my datings are therefore only general and approximative. Where we have no decisive external or internal evidence, the date must be cautiously judged of from a consideration of every circumstance in each particular instance, from the way and place in which it was found, the surrounding objects or traditions, its material its make its style, the shape of its runes, the character of the language employed, comparison with similar objects whose age is known, and so on. But I have always wisht to give a date *rather too low than too high*.

The reader will observe that in my translations I have often introduced obsolete or obsolescent or provincial English words, where they agree with those in the inscription, to show how *all our Northern dialects are essentially the same*, and that a particular expression is not the less *English* merely because it is now dead or dying or despised. But I have always added in parenthesis the commoner (usually more or less Latin or classical or Romance) terms as now in vulgar use among us in our bookspeech, so that all may at once fully understand the meaning. We must remember however that *as many* of these Runic words are *dead in Scandinavia itself* as in *England*, and have there been chiefly supplanted by Latinisms or Saxonisms or Germanisms, or, as with us, by new words made more or less out of old materials¹. — But many of these our fine old roots, now that attention is being every where drawn to them, may haply again creep into circulation. We have watered our mother-tung long enough with bastard Latin; let us now brace and steel

¹ "But has the Gothic speech fared better in its own country? Shall we find, in essentials, very much more conformity to antiquity in Scandinavia? Alas! if Regner Lodbrok were to chaunt his death-song in the streets of Copenhagen, nay, even of Drontheim, the Quida would be as little intelligible to his auditors, as if Cædmon, accompanying himself upon his harp, were to intonate his glee at an oratorio in Haanover Square". — *Sir Francis Palgrave*. *England and Normandy*, Vol. 3, p. 631.

it with the life-water of our own sweet and soft and rich and shining and clear-ringing and manly and world-ranging ever dearest ENGLISH!

As I have said, this work abounds in faults, some of which are remedied in my „Betterings”, where also *all finds later than the printing of the body of the book are brought together*. Still, errors of detail apart, I cannot but think that *the great outlines of my system* will remain unshaken, a granite block on which others can add fresh stones. In this case we may perhaps assume, as more or less proved in the course of this enquiry but of course as open to correction from what *new finds may bring forth*, the following results of the whole:

1. *That the rune-values I have laid down are really so, and particularly that the Old-Northern stave Ψ was always A, certainly no consonant, still less M as in the later Runic Staverow.*

All the oldest and best skinbook futhorcs give to \mathfrak{F} (the provincial English substitute for the older Ψ , but which Ψ is also found in England with the same power of A) the sound-value A, and to \mathfrak{F} (the common Old-Northern — Scandian and English — \mathfrak{E} , afterwards the provincial-Scandinavian o) the sound-value \mathfrak{E} . But the scholars at the beginning of this century and up to the appearance of my First Part who first tried to read the Old-Northern letters, and who were unanimous in giving to Ψ (really A) the power of M, which it has in the later runic system, *consequently had no A* in their new-made alphabet. Yet an A could not be wanting. Therefore, taking advantage of the well-known fact that A sometimes tends to an \mathfrak{E} -sound in certain districts, and that \mathfrak{E} sometimes tends to an A-sound in certain districts, as is accordingly shown by a couple of the later futhorcs, they followed each other in giving to \mathfrak{F} the universal and standing sound-value A. Thus Ψ was M, \mathfrak{F} was A. But as it is now evident, from the futhorcs themselves and from *ALL the Old-Northern monuments*, that Ψ is undoubtedly and always A, the simple mistake of giving to \mathfrak{F} the power of A should now be at once laid aside. To perpetuate error is foolish, belike highly perplexing and often destructive both of language and of grammar. On one single excessively ancient stone for instance (Sigdal, Norway), we have *in close juxtaposition*, within the compass of the first 28 clear and undeniable letters, $\mathfrak{F} - \mathfrak{E}$ 4 times and $\Psi = A$ 6 times. How is it possible to smear them all into one uniform A? What common sense can there be in so doing? What is gained by it? Surely, even learned zeal should not be carried so far as this *The cause being taken away, the effect ceases*. An A (and the *real A*) being now identified, the \mathfrak{E} should no longer be compelled to do duty both for \mathfrak{E} and A.

I have already referred to and protested against the guess (p. 326) that this Ψ is -R. There are five objections to this theory:

a. It is plainly contrary to all the monuments. This is surely decisive. But also
b. It is plainly contrary to all the ancient parchment alphabets.
c. It can only have even a momentary and mechanical short-lived plausibility with regard to a couple of the inscribed pieces, one in twenty of the whole number, in some of which it is so plainly and precisely and glaringly and decisively contradicted that the whole supposition becomes simply ridiculous.

d. It leads us into endless contradictions. Thus, if we read $H^{\mathfrak{E}}PUWOL^{\mathfrak{E}}FR$ at p. 170 (Stentofen), what shall we do with the $I^{\mathfrak{E}}PU(?H^{\mathfrak{E}}PU)WOL^{\mathfrak{E}}F^{\mathfrak{E}}R$ of the Gommor stone (p. 207)? If we read on the Stentofen block $H^{\mathfrak{E}}RIWOL^{\mathfrak{E}}FR$, what shall we do with the $HYRIWUL^{\mathfrak{E}}FE$ of the Istaby pillar? If we read on the Golden Horn (p. 326):

“EK HLEVA-GASTIR HOLTINGAR HORNA TAVIDO”

and on the Tanum stone (p. 197):

"PRAWINGAN HAITINAR WAS"

(Thrawingan hight (called) he-was)

(this last as privately proposed to me by a Danish scholar¹ and since printed in *Ny Illustrerad Tidning*, Stockholm, June 29, 1867, p. 207), what do we get? These pieces are undoubtedly among the very oldest in the whole North, as indeed is admitted on all sides. And yet we are called upon to believe that in "Gothic" times, when the *s* was still a characteristic, and side by side with such *archaisms* as *VAS* (for *VAR*) and such *extra-archaisms* as *HORNA* (for *HORN*) and *TAVIDO* (for *TAVIDA*, *TAVIDE*), and such *extra-extra-archaisms* as *PRAWINGAN* ("nom. sing., a weak noun in *N*, with the *N* still left" for *PRAVING*) and *HAITINAR* ("past part. n. s. m. with the *AR* still left" for *HAITIN*), — we are to accept such comparative *modernisms* as *HAITINAR* for *HAITINAS* and *GASTIR* for *GASTIS* and *HOLTINGAR* for *HOLTINGAS*! So on the *Tune stone* (p. 247) we are seriously asked to read *DOHTRIE* (with *E*) close to the word *DALIDUN* (3 pl. past, with the *N* still left)! And then we must bow our necks to such "nominatives of some sort" as *HAITINAR* (p. 197) and *HOLTINGAR* (p. 326) and *VIVAR* (p. 247) and *IUPINGAR* (p. 256) and *HALAR* p. 254) and *HILIGAR* (p. 258) and *VARUR* (p. 264) and so on, with some charming examples of *RUNAR*, *STAINAR*, &c. as in "middle Scandinavian".

e. But the worst is, that in spite of all this self-contradiction and violence and caprice — the whole thing breaks down. Scarcely *one or two* monuments out of all the 60 can in this way be even *plausibly* translated. We are called upon to believe that all our oldest written remains are "unreadable", "unintelligible", "nearly inexplicable", "only here and there a word to be understood", "gibberish", "some outlandish tung", "carved by a foreign slave who had learned the runes", "miscut", and the like. And all because people will not abandon their school-creed about "Icelandic", and their German contempt for the evidence of the monuments themselves!

2. *That the Runic Alphabet* whether the older (or Old-Northern) or its modification and simplification the younger (or Scandinavian) — in one word *THE ART OF WRITING* — was apparently altogether unknown to the first outflow of the *Scando-Gothic* tribes, the *Germans*²; equally so to the second, the *Saxons* or *Lowcountry men* or *Flemings*; and was first brought to *Scando-Gothic Europe* or early learned or developed therein by the third (and latest) *clan-wave*, *THE NORTHERN OR SCANDINAVIAN*, the facts and monuments thus absolutely confirming the very oldest Northern and Latin traditions. Let us see *why*, FOR THE PRESENT, TILL NEW FACTS COMPEL US TO FORM NEW CONCLUSIONS, we must hold fast this interesting and curious result:

a. *German or Saxon Runes*, or *Runes in Germany* (High-Germany) or in *Saxony* (the real Old Saxony, — Holstein and adjoining cantons in Mecklenburg and Westphalia) were NEVER HEARD OF TILL IN MODERN TIMES, in the lucubrations of modern German "annexers" and system-makers.

b. *No hint of or reference to Runic Monuments*, direct or indirect, has ever been found even in the very oldest German or Saxon chroniclers or historians or other writers, tho many such mentionings occur in Anglo-Scandic skinbooks. The monuments themselves might be destroyed and disappear; but, if they had ever existed in German or Saxon lands, they would have left some trace behind them in living words or dead parchments.

¹ Since then Prof. S. Bugge has proposed nearly the same version. But he makes *PRAWINGAN* to be in the genitive sing., and *WAS* to mean *it became*.

² Some think that the Saxons came first to Europe, and then the Germans. This will nowise affect what is here stated.

c. In English and Scandian Boundaries and Charters Runic Burial-Stones are repeatedly spoken of as "marks". In the very oldest similar *German and Saxon* documents, some of which go back to semi-heathen times — *no such reference has ever been found*. Thus if the Northern lands had lost every single Runic Block, we could dig them up again out of our ancient bookfells.

d. *No Runic Alphabet has ever been discovered in any original German or Saxon manuscript*. The few codices found abroad containing Runic staverows were either brought from England by English or Irish missionaries, or copied by German or Saxon Scribes from English originals for missionary and epistolary purposes. This is FRANKLY ADMITTED by Wilhelm Grimm himself, and some other Germans of the better sort.

e. *No Runic Stone or other "fast" Runic piece has ever turned up on German or Saxon soil*. This also is FRANKLY ADMITTED by Wilhelm Grimm himself, and some other Germans of the better sort. The *half-dozen* LOOSE PIECES (Movables, Jewels) found beyond the present borders of Scandinavia and England — out of *so many thousands* of Runic Remains already known and daily turning up in the *Anglo-Scandic lands* — are therefore clearly WANDERERS, or the Runes upon them were risted by northmen who were abroad. This is also proved by the details in each separate instance. It would have been a MIRACLE if no single Runic Jewel or any single Rune-writing Northman had ever WANDERED from a Northern country, and we may yet hope to find other such *stray pieces*.

f. *No Runic Coin was ever struck in any German or Saxon shire*, tho HUNDREDS of different runic types were regularly minted in the Northern kingdoms, till these rune-bearers gradually disappeared before Roman-lettered pieces.

g. *Runic and non-Runic Golden Bracteates*, all which are heathen Jewels and Amulets, have been found BY HUNDREDS in the Northern lands, BY ONES AND TWOES outside the North. Their findstead, their make, their types and patterns, all show that they were struck by heathen Northmen or in the heathen North. They *could not* have been made by tribes WHO HAD NO RUNES. *The half-dozen of these pieces hitherto found outside the North have therefore been carried over the border, are WANDERERS*.

h. As old buildings are repaired or taken down and various diggings made in the Northern lands, *Runic Stones are continually turning up*. Under the like circumstances, *NOT ONE* ever comes to light in any *Saxon or German territory*.

In *German lands*, in woods and fields and out on hills and at crossroads and beside sea and stream and in crypts and churches and cellars and mills and public and private buildings, lying open or buried out of sight or long since used as building-materials — exactly as is the case with our own runic monuments — have been found THOUSANDS of inscribed remains FROM THE FIRST CENTURY DOWNWARDS, and every year new ones are dug up. But what are these pieces ? Is ONE SINGLE ONE a runic block? No! They are ALL Roman Tiles and Altars and Funeral Stones and other such. And yet, if ever Germany had runes, it must have been during the first 500 winters after Christ!

i. *Rune-clogs (Rune-staves, Runic Calendars)*, of all sorts of material and of every size, have been known in the Anglo-Scandic lands from the early Christian times to our own day, *those still older having disappeared*. *Not one such piece has ever been heard of in any Saxon or German folkland*.

j. *The language* on all hitherto discovered Runic laves is one and the same — OLD NORTHERN in some one or other of its many dialects, *certainly* NOT GERMAN or SAXON.

Each one of these facts is a shock to the "German" theory. Taken all together they are a wall of bayonets, and no shadow of doubt *can* remain. But I dare say we shall long

continue to hear of these so-called "German Runes", and — as other such archæological fictions and cobwebs *have already been used* for hounding on to the Germanization and annexation of North and South Jutland — so also this new humbug may become a welcome weapon and holy argument for trying to butcher and enslave and "Germanize" and "annex" all the free and noble races yet living in our Anglo-Scandic lands. The free and noble "Saxon" peoples have already been largely overwhelmed and happily "incorporated", and their far superior language annihilated or placed under a High-German ban.

All Northern folksayings agree in this, that the iron-wielding clans of Cavalry who swarmed over to Scandinavia from the East, and who obtained supremacy over and gave their impress and culture to the runeless bronze-wielding populations they found in Scandinavia, *brought the Runes with them*. At what era they came, is not known. Grave-finds show that it was at least as early as some time (how long?) *before Christ*. But where and when on their long march from Northern or Central India did they learn or invent these letters? Or did they learn and modify or invent them *after* their arrival in the Scandian lands? We can give no answer. Perhaps all our appliances on this side the Caucasus will never avail to clear up the difficulty. So the band of lore-men must now begin at the other end — in India itself, and slowly trace and test the graves northward and westward. A beginning is already made. In many parts of India great numbers of grave-mounds *from the Iron Age*, with weapons and horse-harness and ornaments similar to those in the barrows of the North, and with the like stone-settings raised around them, have been discovered and many of them opened. Several Archæological Societies have been formed to pursue these and kindred studies, and by degrees they may push their enquiries nearer and nearer the Northern lands. Perhaps somewhere on the line RUNES may be met with. But there is here a difficulty. Immense districts on this enormous route are endless plains and steppes where there is *no stone*, consequently, there at least, *no inscribed stones*. Runes on iron and wood soon wear away, runes on hard metals always are mere exceptions. Still fortune may favor us, and perhaps in future years some point east and south of Scandinavia may be found with tombs containing our olden staves — possibly enough not minutely similar but still evidently the same. Then a further link will be added to the chain of this eventful history.

One thing is certain, that the Northern Runes were no mere direct loan or copy or adaptation from the Roman letters. Their *order* is different. The Roman are in ABC, the Runic in FUPORC. Their *number* is different, the Runic being far more multitudinous than the Roman. Their *shape* in many cases is so unlike, as to show a *different* (tho *common*) origin. Many staves are more or less the same in both. Some of these belong to the Old-Northern alphabet, and therefore should have subsisted (if mere Roman) as the great stream of Roman culture set in. But on the contrary, as Scandinavia became more and more Romanized these particular staves *died out*, and assumed *other forms* in the later Runic staverow. Properly speaking, if they had a Roman source, the Runes should have been more and more "Romanized" as Roman influence grew supreme. But just the contrary took place.

Nor do we know what violent or silent or political or religious revolution led to the gradual simplification of the Old-Northern futhore, and to the sound-power of Ψ being changed from Λ into \mathfrak{M} , the older \mathfrak{M} (\mathfrak{M}) being altogether laid aside. All this, and a thousand questions more¹, wait for "new lights". Some of these "lights" may come when least

¹ "The extent of the unknown which each discovery exposes is generally larger than its own revelation". — *John Bill Burton, The History of Scotland from Agricola's Invasion to the Revolution of 1688*. 8vo. Vol. 1, Edinburgh 1867, p. 117.

expected. Let us only go on working, and let all our work be honest and true and thoro. The Father of Lights may then reward us with yet other glimpses into the history of the past.

3. That — *these Runes and this Northern Tung in which they are written never having been found OUTSIDE the North* (all Scandinavia from Lapland to the Eider and all England from Kent to the Firth of Forth), *while they are everywhere the ancient characteristic WITHIN all these Anglo-Scandic lands down to our own day*, and THE MOTHERTUNG and THE ART OF WRITING being the clearest and most decided of all known and accessible proofs of NATIONALITY — there is no longer a doubt as to that great historical fact (of which we have so many other independent evidences, archæological and historical and linguistical and geographical and topographical and ethnographical, as well as an endless flow of ancient tradition on either side the North Sea) that *the old populations of Danish South and North Jutland, the old outflowing Anglic and Jutish and Frisic settlers, mixt with Norse and Svensk adventurers and emigrants, who flockt to England in the 3rd and 4th and 5th and following centuries, were chiefly Scandinavians, Northmen, not Saxons, still less Germans.* Of course all this does not affect the fact that England had an independent mixt population, native Kelts and incoming various-blooded strangers among its Roman cohorts and its mercantile settlers. *Every country has more or less a mixt population, and always has had. Wise men only speak in the general.*

4. That this is so much the clearer, as *THIS Runic BRAND, THIS BROAD ARROW, this outstanding mark of a peculiar Culture and Nationality, is not confined to one particular spot in each Northern land.* It was not the special heirloom or invention of one single Northern clan, one conquering Northern tribe, and communicated by war or peace by force or fraud to the other Northern races nearest to them. The Runes meet us in Sweden from the North to the South, in Norway from the North to the South, in Denmark from the North to the South, in England from the North to the South. And everywhere from *the oldest Northern days and at one common period.* There is therefore neither time nor place for a certain Runefolk to carry its letters from land to land. *All the Northmen had these staves everywhere, and at the same time.* And so with the gradual modification of the older Runic Futhore. There can be no "conquest", no "carrying"; for everywhere in Scandinavia we see the older staverow *slowly* — and *at the same time*, from common internal causes — passing over from the more copious and complex to the simpler and fewer-lettered. The same "development", would, as I have said, have taken place in England, and *did partially so*, had not the whole Runic culture there been early stopt by Christianity and the Latin alphabet — which eventually took place in all Scandinavia also. But this *oneness* between the English and the Scandinavians is many times directly asserted on both sides. The time came when the classical "Germania" (which signified "Barbaria", "Non-Romania", "Celtica", and what not) came to be misunderstood and to mislead. But the oldest statements all agree — the English came from the North, the Northmen settled in England, and both spoke ONE TUNG. I could add *many* very old and plain Scandinavian testimonies. I will only give two: —

<p>"Vër erum einnar túngu, þó at greinztr hafi mjök önnur tveggja eða nakkvat báðar".</p>	<p> We are of one tung (we speak the same language), tho that the one of the two, or in somewhat both of them, be now much changed.</p>
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Spoken of the Norse-Icelandic and the Old-English talks before the Norman Conquest. —

*"Um Stafrofit", written about the year 1140 (see note 1, p. 10), Prose Edda,
Vol. 2, Hafniae 1852, 8vo p. 12.*

“Ein var þá tunga á Eínglandi sem í Noregi ok í Danmörku; en þá skiptust tungur í Eínglandi er Vilhjalmr Bastarðr vann Eíngland”.

One was tho (then) the tung on (in) Eng-land fin the time of king Ethelred, an. 979—1016/ sum (as) in Norway eke (and) in Denmark; an (but) tho shifted (were altered) the-tings in England as (when) William the-Bastard wan England.

Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstíngu, (Íslendinga Sögur, Kjöbenhavn 1847, 8vo. Vol. 2, p. 221).

The above writers *do not* notice the great fact, that the Scandian talks themselves on the one hand, as well as those of Anglia on the other, had — from within and from local causes — greatly altered and developept and separated — each branching off in its own way — BEFORE the Norman Conquest; and they *could not* point out, but *we can*, that the Anglo-Norman was only a passing fashion among the ruling classes, that the speech of the Commons continued to live and thrive, and that in a short time (the old South-English Court-dialect having been broken up by the shock) the olden English folk-speech returned — tho far more Latinized than any of the Scandinavian languages, which on their side became largely Saxonized and Germanized — in the shape of that mighty and noble and thoroly Scandinavian (*Old-Scandinavian*) NORTH ENGLISH which is now the birth-tung of England and her colonies.

5. *That the many-lettered Runic Alphabet is the forner, the shorter one the later; the former alone being found over the whole North and always on the oldest pieces, the latter being provincially Scandinavian and occurring only on younger monuments.* Hence it is that no objects bearing the multitudinous runes, or Old-Northern staves, have ever appeared in any of the later Scandian colonies (Iceland, Greenland, the Færöes, the Ile of Man, &c.) while they abound in England, the oldest Scandian settlement. Hence also is it that every purely Old-Northern piece in Scandinavia, and almost every overgang runic lave there, is — as being so very old — distinctively and decidedly HEATHEN; while, on the contrary, every such Old-Northern piece found in the so rapidly Romanized and Christianized England is (with the exception of the two Sandwich Stones and probably of the Thames Sword) as distinctively and decidedly CHRISTIAN.

6. *That, the Northern settlements in England being so very old, the oldest English dialects give us the best idea of and the best key to what the oldest Scandian folk-talks must have been in the 3rd and 4th and next following yearhundreds, and will and must be the best help to our understanding the very oldest laves in our Scandinavian homeland.* Hence it is that I have been able to read (*if I have redd*) some of these pieces. I have mastered the rune-marks and I am an Englishman. I have no other merit.

7. *That the efforts to translate all the oldest Scandian Runic pieces into “Icelandic” are futile, and have everywhere neccessarily failed; “Icelandic” being only one Northern dialect out of many — tho it afterwards largely became a Mandarin lingua franca in Scandinavia and partly in England among the “educated classes”, especially as to bookwriting — and this one comparatively modern, Iceland itself not having been discovered and colonized till the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century, by which time the Old-Northern Runes as a system HAD DIED OUT on the Scandian main and were followed by the later Runic alphabet.* But even this MODERN “Icelandic” of the 10th century *has not come down to us.* FAR FROM IT. If it had, it would be *very different* from what is now vulgarly so called, which is the greatly altered so-called „polisht” and “classical” “Icelandic” of the

13th—14th century. At the best, "Icelandic" is on the face of it a peculiarly develope and artificial local School-tung, largely — even of old — little understonden of the common folk in the rest of Scandinavia. Several of its specific characteristics have never been found outside its own local sphere. The oldest written "Icelandic" known to us is in a couple of pieces said to date from about the year 1200. In one word, to translate the oldest runic inscriptions, written in their local floating dialects from 200 to 700 or 800 years after Christ, into a modern "uniformized" "Icelandic" of the 13th or 14th age, is as reasonable as it would be to read Latin monuments from the times of the Kings and the Republic as if they answered to the "classical" dialect of Florentine Dante!

8. *That the whole modern doctrine of ONE UNIFORM CLASSICAL MORE OR LESS "ICELANDIC" LANGUAGE all over the immense North, from Finland and Halogoland to the Eider and the Thames, in the first 1000 winters after Christ, is an impossible absurdity, there being then and there, as everywhere else, no unity in government or in race, but scores of independent "states" and "kingdoms", and equally so "tungs" manifold and running into each other and always changing in the various clans and folklands, dialects in various stages of development, tho all were bound together by certain common national characteristics. Time and Commerce and the local influence of other clans or of the remains of far older tribes and greater or less isolation and War and Slavery and a thousand Accidents, NOT RACE, explain among cognate peoples the presence or absence of particular forms and words and phrases and idioms and technical terms, here more or less olden and „hoary", there more or less worn and "advanced".*

9. *That the Runic and other oldest art remains of our Northern forefathers show that these peoples possess not only the Art of Writing, in itself a great proof of power and master-ship and development, but, generally (in like manner as all the other Scando-Gothic races), a very high degree of "BARBARIC" (— NOT GREEK OR ROMAN) civilization and technical skill, in some things higher than our own, even now, and this for war as for peace, for the home as for out-of-doors, for the family as for the commonweal. This explains how it was possible for these dauntless clans so largely to remodel and invigorate a considerable part of Europe, so easily to overrun and overturn the rich but rotten the mighty but marrowless the disciplined but diseased "Roman Empire", that gigantic and heartless and merciless usurpation, that strange conglomeration of hard straightforward materialism and abject overtro, world-wide grinding despotism, systematized and relentless Imperial and Proconsular and Fiscal plunder, and of depravity deep as hell.*

10. *That the thousands of stately Hows — Barrows, Cairns, Gravemounds — from the Iron Age, still found in our Northern lands (altho thousands many mo have been destroyed), and the Inscribed and Uninscribed Standing Stones so often on or near them, and often the very funeral words employed — speaking of PEACE and REST for the departed, are the best commentary to our own oldest national written descriptions of THE SANCTITY AND REPOSE OF THE DEAD. I might give ten thousand extracts. I confine myself to 2 or 3. Let us listen to the solemn injunction in the Elder Edda:*

“þat ræð ek þér it niunda,
at þú nám bjargir
hvars þú á foldu finnr;
hvárt eru sótt dauðir
eða sædauðir,
eða ro vápndauðir verar.

*Rede ninth rede I thee: —
rescue the lifeless,
a-field where'er thou find them;
whether sank he on sick-bed
or sea-dead lieth,
or was hewn by hungry weapon.*

"Haug skal gǫra
hveim er liðum er,
hendr þvá ok höfuð;
kemba ok þerra,
áðr i kistu fari,
ok biðja sælan sofa".

*O'er the breathless body
a Barrow raise thou,
hands and head clean washen;
comb'd and dried eke
in his kist fare he,
and bid him SOFTLY SLUMBER.*

The Elder Edda. Sigdrífumál, verses 33, 34, ed. P. A. Munch.

And again, that fine picture of raising the grave-mound over the folklord, as found in our noblest English Epic. After his awsome kamp (battle) with the fire-drake — which he slays, but at the cost of his own life — the dying Wægmunding's last words are:

Ne mæg ic her leng wesan.
Hátað heaðo-mære
hlæw gewyrcean,
beorhtne æfter bæle,
æt brimes nosan;
se scel tó ge-myndum
mínum leódum
heáð hlífian
on Hrones næsse;
þæt hit sæ-liðend
syððan hátan
Biðwulfes biorh,
ða ðe brentingas
ofer flóða genipu
feorran drifað.

*My life-day's now over.
Bid my good barons
to build me A LOW —
fair after fire-heap —
at the flood-dasht headland.
A minne shall it stand there
to my mates and landsmen,
high looming
on Hronesness,
so that seafarers
siðhance shall call it
BIOWULF'S BARROW,
as their beak-carv'd galleys
out of hazy distance
float haughtily by.*

Beowulf. Near the end of Fitte 38.

Accordingly, farther on, after some fragmentary lines describing Beowulf's lík-brand (the burning of his body), the lay tells us:

Ge-worhton ða
Wedra leóde
HLÆW on líde,
se wæs heáð and brád,
(wæg)-liðendum
wíde tó-sýne,
and be-timbredon
on tyn dagum
beadu-rófis bécn;
bronda be|od|
wealle be-worhton
swá hyt weorðlicost
foresnotre men
findan mihton:

*Can then to make them —
those Gothic heroes —
A LOW on the liðe,
lofty and broad,
by the fearless foam-plougher
seen far and wide,
till on the tenth day
towering stood there
the battle-chief's beacon.
The brand-scorcht floor
a mound covered
mighty and worshipful,
as found most fitting
their famousest sages.*

hí on beorg dydon
 bég and siglu,
 eall swylce hýrsta
 swylce on horde ær
 nífhydige men
 ge-numen hæfdon;
 forleton eorla gestreón
 eorðan healdan,
 gold on greóte,
 þær hit nú gen lífað
 eldum swá unnyt
 swá hit [æror] was.
 Ða ymbe hlæw riodan
 hildedeóre,
 æpelinga scear
 ealra twelfa,
 woldon [ceare] cwíðan,
 kyning mænna,
 wordgyd wrecan
 and ymb [Wæthealle] spreca.

Within THE BARROW
laid they beighs and ornaments,
and such driven drink-cups
as in the drake-hoard
the furious warriors
a-fore had taken.
The earth be-gem they
with earl-sprung jewels,
fling gold on the gravel,
where a-gain it shall lie
to all as useless
as erewhile it was.
Round THE HOW rode then
those Hilde-champions,
all the troop
of those twelve athelings,
their Keen raising,
their King mourning,
word-lays chaunting
and of [Walhall] speaking.

Beowulf. Near the end.

And as to the Stone. What says the Edda?

“Sonr er betri
 þótt sé síð of alinn
 eptir genginn guma;
 sjaldan bantarsteinar
 standa brautu nær,
 nema reisi niðr at nið.”

Blissful a Son is
tho born but lately,
his father already fallen;
seldom Bauta-stones
bound the folk-path,
save raised by kin to kindred!

The Elder Edda. Hávamál, verse 71. Ed. P. A. Munch.

The Bauta-stone (Beaten-one's Stone, Standing Stone in memory of one who had fallen in battle) was mostly runeless. The word is sometimes employed for a Runic Block, or for a Minne-stone in general inscribed or not.

This has been happily applied by a modern Danish poet:

“Ruster Eder! rask, ei seen,
 Rister mig en Runsteen!
 Runsteen, som reist bestaaer,
 Risen lig, i tusind Aar.”

Rush to arms with ready tread,
Raise a Rune-stone o'er mine head;
Rune-stone rist, as Eltin strong,
Ringin' my fame time's waves along!

A. G. Oehlenslæger, Harald Hildetand.

11. That we have undeniable proofs that many of the Inscribed Runic Stones were, in the oldest Iron Age, deposited *inside the cairn*, not *outside*. This is a striking illustration of the same custom in Egyptian and other Oriental tombs, which were often carefully hewn and finely decorated tho more or less invisible to the passer-by, — and of our own *inscribed* rich coffins let down *into the earth for the worms to read*. We here see

that the grave was a continued House, and that the departed lived a mystic life therein, visiting it at pleasure when they chose to leave their other-land abode.

12. That the heathen runic inscriptions, the formula of REST, and even the occasional invocation of the Gods themselves, all show that our ancestors held fast the belief of a future state, the ever-life of the soul, Personal Deities, and all the other comforts and joys of faith in the Godhead. Thus Christianity had only to give clearer views and to teach the name of the Great Unknown whom all felt after, to gain a wide and rapid acceptance. As we know, only a part of Scandinavia was "converted by force", and even this was the act of their own Kings. As much "force" was used in carrying out the Reformation in Scandinavia as in introducing Christianity.

13. That, as far as we can see, the monuments before us yield *no single instance of anything like a date or fixt chronological era, or of any Time-measure* (name of a Month or Week or Day or Hour), *or of the age of the deceast*, as little as they have *any numerical figures*. Consequently we do not know how they reckoned events or time, or what were their ciphers for numeration (if they had any), in our oldest North. But all these things are also absent on the great mass of the *later* Runic monuments deep down into the Christian period, when the Christian era and Numeral marks were well known. It is *very seldom* that *any* of the Scandinavian-runic stones bear a date, still rarer that the "forth-faren's" age is mentioned on them. Among these few slabs, perhaps the earliest using Christian chronology are found in the ile of Gotland. But no such dated runic grave-stone is older than the 14th century. Dated runic Bells go a hundred years farther back. Runic Coins (with Scandinavian runes) appear in Scandinavia at the end of the 10th century, in England (with Old-Northern runes) as early as the 7th. Golden Bracteates (O. N. runes) begun in the 4th or 5th.

Place-names are occasionally found both on Old-Northern and on Scandinavian-runic pieces, those on the oldest monuments being of course — from the enormous lapse of time — very hard to identify. On the later monuments the place-names are often familiar; our own ENGLAND is common enough; nay, on one block we meet with BATH, on another LONDON.

From intermarriage and commerce and travel and military service abroad and "a good education", or from contact even while at home with strangers or Christians or war-prisoners or slaves, and from various other causes, many of the Northmen — even from the earliest times at Rome and Constantinople down to the early middle age — *knew* more tungs than their own, sometimes could *write* them. Hence in their foreign settlements and colonies and subjugated "kingdoms" they often more or less freely and rapidly adopted the language and (Roman) letters of the Christian country to which they had come. This would particularly be the case in and near to England, Old English being merely a dialect of their motheitung. We have striking examples of this in Normandy, where the wikings nearly all married French women, so that in one generation the home-speech there became largely French, and in Ireland, where it would soon become largely English. Hence no Runic Stones or Runic Coins have ever been found in Normandy or Ireland, altho this latter country had coins struck by Scandian princes earlier than Scandinavia itself. All the coins struck by Northern "Earls" and "Kings" *out of the North* (Scandinavia and England) *bear only Roman letters*.

14. That, *as the Northmen* (the Scandinavians and the English) *more nearly, and the Scando-Goths* (the Northmen, the Saxons and the Germans) *more generally, are all of one blood and tung*, so they should *all hold together*, love and help and defend each other, avoid every beggarly temptation to hate or plunder or ruin or "annect" each other, nobly taking their

stand as brothers and fulfilling their mission as one great folkship with its own local limits and national duties, in necessary providential counterpoise — but in all friendly harmony with — the great Romance and Magyar and Greek and Slavic and other race-groups.

15. That the whole theory of *the Runes being in the oldest times "mysterious", "secret marks", "used only in magic", "the private staves of the priests and kings", is utterly unfounded.* On the contrary, we find them everywhere, on gravestones, rocks, weapons, ornaments, tools, and often even in the form of *the Alphabet*, in order that the common people might easily see and quickly learn them. It was only in proportion as they began to die out (supplanted by the Roman letters) that, like all other "old-fashioned" and "fantastic" characters, they descended to the wizard and the juggler. If, when *first* introduced, these Runes were more or less "magical" and "mysterious" (which may well have been the case), they have left no trace thereof on the oldest monuments, and therefore many centuries must then have elapsed between their original invention or adaptation and their *earliest* use AS WE KNOW THEM.

16. That, whatever else we do, *we must not read these monuments by altering them at our pleasure.* All the talk about „miscuttings" is so childish and monstrous, and is so evidently mixt up with the ignorance and insolence of modern know-every-thing-ism, that is of modern sciolism, that we must at once discard it. Should a real uncorrected "mis-hewing" ever be found on these pieces, *which has yet to be proved*, we must cheerfully accept it. In any case it will be *very* exceptional. But we must not cloak our own inability, our own necessary groping among words and dialects and times and creeds and institutions of which we know so little, by treating the oldest remains of our fore-gangers as so much useless granite or old metal, a mere field for everyman's idle and capricious and impudent conjecture. We approach these objects, many of them colossal or costly and often cut with great elegance, as learners, not as masters and tyrants. All our monumental history, Oriental and Classical and Runic, is full of the terrible mistakes, the humiliating blindnesses, the childish blunders, the unheard-of combinations and wild guesses, the endless rash changes of letters or words, which have resulted from this unhappy school of half-taught "criticism". Let us, now at least, steer clear of the shoals markt by so many a disastrous shipwreck. Why should we not now and then be able and willing to say — "this I cannot understand"?

Some of these remarks will be found elsewhere in these pages. But I have been careless of a little repetition¹, partly because in this summing up it could not easily be avoided, and partly because certain things cannot apparently be repeated too often.

Such are my conclusions from *the facts* here before me. But some may be astonished or offended or disappointed that *THESE FACTS THEMSELVES, the Old-Northern Runic pieces* here collected, are after all *so very few*. Rather should we be surprised that they are *so many*. As to "loose" articles, Arms and Jewels and Tools &c., of course it is and was quite exceptional for an owner to "whittle" his name upon them². And of the few thus inscribed, the majority has been long since melted down — or is still lying undiscovered. Usually

¹ "In the course of this work I have never shunned repetitions of any sort or kind, when I have found repetitions needful. Repetitions are not superfluities; nor is it surplussage to reiterate the same thought or fact under diverse combinations." — *Sir Francis Palgrave, The History of Normandy and of England*, 8vo. Vol. 1, London 1851, p. 323.

² And even then, this writing may not at first be observed. Many of these articles are so corroded or encrusted and obscured by rust and dirt that any inscription has been long since altogether eaten away or can only be found after careful handling and patient cleaning. *Several of the stone-bearing jewels in this work have been for years exhibited in museums, some of them even elegantly engraved in works published by distinguished archaeologists, without a suspicion that there were letters upon them.* The runes have been discovered quite lately, after more minute examination. Other pieces in public or private collections may yet be found to bear writing. But *thousands* of these objects dug up in the last thousand years, even in the last and present century, have been *lost or destroyed* without being scrutinized by competent persons.

everything is smasht or used up after 2 or 3 generations, or remade in accordance with the new fashion¹. All our European Museums put together can only show a *poor handful* of the Tools and Utensils and precious Ornaments used from the time of William the Bastard to William of Orange; similar things from the days of Julius Cæsar to those of the Norman adventurer — how many are they? — As to “fast” pieces, Memorial Stones &c., we must remember that in all times and countries there have been endless and ever-varying rites of burial, and that only a small fraction of the population ever had or has any decorated grave-minne or other such more or less *expensive* funeral mark. Most people may be thankful if they are *burned or buried at all* with any decent rites. But *written grave-stones* have always been, and still are an exception. In many whole districts, century after century, they are even now almost unknown. In certain folklands the inscribed grave-mark was during certain periods popular, and hence hundreds are still extant; in others the uninscribed Bauta-stone (Menhir, Pillar) was preferred, tradition doing the rest; for in olden times the living word was the rule, carving the exception. Add to this the endless destruction during 1800 years from greed, for building, for flooring or hearth-stones or gate-posts, for re-use as palimpsest-stones or as minneblocks to newly deceased persons after being “nicely painted” or “tooled over”, from revenge, from religious or sectarian fanaticism, from accident and the elements and from ROAD and BRIDGE-MAKING (especially the modern MACADAMIZING) — and the wonder is that we have *one such stone* still left!² *How many grave-stones have we* from the days of even Edward the Confessor? Nay, how many from the times of Queen Elizabeth or even George the First? All our beautiful Sepulchral Brasses, where are they? *Not a tithe* of them is left to us, altho they were fine works of art and preserved IN THE CHURCH, under the special eye as it were of God and Man! But what can resist the foul love of filthy lucre? They have been broken away and sold as old metal,

¹ The gold and silver plate preserved at Windsor Castle weighs (as we are informed by *The Guardian* Oct. 2. 1867. p. 1061) nearly *thirty tons*, and is roughly estimated at £ 3,000,000. But very little of it is otherwise than modern and trashy, and most of it was melted down and remodeled by that tasteless prince of profligates — George IV.

² A large stone funeral monument sometimes disappears in *one generation*:

“Un jour, j’avais sept ans, on me conduisit, par je ne sais quel hasard, dans le principal cimetière de Nantes, nouvellement inauguré alors. Le plus remarquable et presque le seul monument qu’il y eût encore, était une pyramide avec un soubassement cubique, portant une épitaphe latine sur une table de marbre noir.”

“Il y avait peut-être un mois que j’apprenais le latin. — Voyons, latiniste, me dit un camarade, explique-nous cela.

“Comme je ne trouvai dans l’épitaphe ni *Rosa*, ni *Dominus*, ni même *Bonus bona bonum*, je n’y reconnus pas un mot et me retirai confus et raillé.

“Vingt ans après, je passais par Nantes, que j’avais quitté tout jeune, et le hasard encore m’ayant conduit aux environs du cimetière, j’y voulus entrer. Cette fois, l’épitaphe allait toute seule, mais le monument était déjà un peu dégradé, il avait bien vieilli.

“Dans ce récent voyage, visitant le magnifique Jardin des Plantes, voisin du même cimetière, j’y suis entré encore. Comme il s’était peuplé! Quant à ma pyramide, je l’ai cherchée en vain, elle n’existe plus. Je suis sorti pensif et triste. J’avais déjà vécu plus qu’un monument.” — *A. Curro, Voyage chez les Celtes, ou de Paris au Mont Saint-Michel, par Carnac. 8vo. Paris 1867, pp. 35, 6.*

Some times such things are *given back* to us in a way the most unheard-of. I wend (translate) from “Post- och Inrikes-Tidningar” (the Swedish Official Gazette) for Dec. 13, 1867:

“A *grave-monument in a strange place*. A letter from Vadstena communicates as follows. Among the trees cut down lately in the churchyard of our town was an Ash, certainly very old. After the stem had been sawn over, the root was taken up, when a Grave-stone was found imbedded within it. Probably when the tree was young, a couple of its root-branches shot up so as to clasp the stone. In this way, as the Ash grew the slab was drawn more and more up and within the stem, for it was found within the pith of the tree. The block was originally about 4 feet long and 2 broad, and yet showed an inscription, but no more could be made out than the words:

GYNELA JONSDOTTER 1612.

Where the tree was cut down (which was only a few inches above the place in which the stone was found) were counted about 150 year-rings.”

³ As an illustration, I will only refer to *one single race-group* — the Indians of the United States of North America. With regard to them the evidence is thus pithily summed up in the Annual Report for 1861 of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington 1862, 8vo. p. 392): — “Various methods of disposing of the dead have obtained in different tribes, as burning, burial, deposit in caves, in lodges, beneath piles of stone, and in wooden sepulchres erected above ground, placing on scaffolds or in canoes, and attaching to the trunks of trees. In many instances the bones, after a season, are collected together and brought into common cemeteries [— ossuaries, bone-pits.]”

many scores of them in this "enlightened" 19th century. And consider: the more sparse the population the more sparing the grave-stones. But if we have so few left from the late and comparatively *populous* ages of which we have spoken, how many were raised in the early *thinly-peopled* times of the Runic North?

No competent judge of these things will deem otherwise than that the Old-Runic Harvest here brought together is in fact very great, far greater than any of us dared to dream of or hope for a few years ago. It first gradually reached *one hundred*, and is now not very far off *two*.

But be these pieces few or many, and be they redd rightly or no, and be they lookt upon with reverence or superciliously despised — the bare fact that I have been able to collect and authenticate and accurately to engrave the costly Runic Remains here before us is very largely *not my merit*. I am only the hand and pen and mouthpiece of others. To use a happy well-known saw, I am only the silken tie that binds together this welcome Nosegay. Everywhere I have met with the most friendly and generous assistance. *Without* all this noble help, I should have been weaponless indeed. Thus, among others, I have particularly to thank for ready and hearty local co-operation or other aid in various ways: J. W. ALSTERLUND, M. A., of Christinehamn, Sweden; M. the Président HENRI BAUDOT Dijon, France; A. J. B. BERESFORD-HOPE, Esq., M. P., Arklow House, London; the Baron BLIXEN-FINECKE, Denmark; A. BOHLIN, Esq., Örebro, Sweden; E. AUG. BOND, Esq., Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum; Prof. J. BOSWORTH, Oxford; J. BRENT, Esq., F. S. A., Canterbury; G. BRUSEWITZ, Esq., Gotenburg; the Rigs-Librarian C. BRUN, Cheapinghaven; Prof. S. BUGGE, Christiania; His Excellency Prof. CARLSON, Stockholm; Dr. E. CHARLTON, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; Kammeråd CHR. CHRISTESEN, Hörsholm; the Senator FRIEDRICH CULEMANN, Hannover; Rector F. W. DAHL, Sölvesborg, Sweden; H. DENNY, Esq., Leeds; Dr. CHARLES DICKSON, Gotenburg; JAMES DRUMMOND, Esq., R. S. A., Edinburgh; the Rev. B. EAMONSON, M. A., Collingham, Yorkshire; Consul OSCAR EKMAN, Gotenburg; Adjunct C. ENGELHARDT, Flensburg (now of Cheapinghaven); JAMES FARRER, Esq., of Ingleborough, Lancaster; W. FOSTER, Esq., Carlisle; AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON FRANKS, Esq., M. A., F. S. A., of the British Museum; F. J. FURNIVALL, Esq., M. A., London; His Excellency Mr. GORDON, Stuttgart; the Rev. J. GRAVES, M. A., Inisnag, Stoneyford, Thomastown, Ireland; the Rev. W. GREENWELL, M. A., Durham; Colonel NILS HÄGERFLYCHT, Fredriksdal, Sweden; the Rev. D. H. HAIGH, Erdington, near Birmingham; Archivary C. F. HERBST, Cheapinghaven; Riks-antiquary BROR EMIL HILDEBRAND, Stockholm; Dr. HANS OL. H. HILDEBRAND, Stockholm; Etatsråd C. JUELL, Cheapinghaven; Riks-Librarian G. E. KLEMMING, Stockholm; Prof. L. LINDENSCHMIT, Mainz; Mr. H. J. J. LYNGE, Bookseller, Cheapinghaven; Sir FREDERICK MADDEN, late of the British Museum; the Rev. J. MAUGHAN, A. B., Bewcastle, Cumberland; JOS. MAYER, Esq., Liverpool; the Archæologist OSCAR MONTELIUS, Upsala; the late Prof. A. MORLOT, of Lausanne; Prof. Dr. L. MÜLLER, Cheapinghaven; JOHN NEATE, Esq., London; Baron J. NORDENFALK, Sweden; Etatsråd A. REGENBURG, Cheapinghaven; the Rev. J. R. RIETZ, Tygelsjö, Skåne, Sweden; the Rev. Canon J. C. ROBERTSON, Canterbury; Prof. OL. RYGH, Christiania; Prof. CARL SÄVE, Upsala; Prof. Sir J. Y. SIMPSON, Bart., Edinburgh; Etatsr. J. J. S. STEENSTRUP, Cheapinghaven; JOSEPH SAM. FRITHIOF STEPHENS, Esq., C. E., Bombay, (now of Husaby, Småland, Sweden); JOHN S. STORR, Esq., London; RAYNER STORR, Esq., London; Kammeråd A. STRUNK, Cheapinghaven; Dr. JOHN STUART, F. R. S. E., Edinburgh; Prof. P. G. THORSEN, Cheapinghaven; ALBERT WAY, Esq., London; Prof. N. L. WESTERGAARD, Cheapinghaven; the Rev. W. A. WETHERALL, M. A., Stonegrave, Yorkshire; Dr. L. F. A. WIMMER, Cheapinghaven; Etatsråd J. J. A. WORSAAE, Cheapinghaven.

I must also gratefully acknowledge that public assistance without which this work either would never have appeared at all, — or would have had a form so mean and impoverisht as largely to obscure and defeat its own object, — or else when publisht could only have been charged at least fourfold its present cost, so that scarcely any of the very few persons interested in these out-of-the-way studies could have afforded to purchase it. As I went on in my task and fresh finds happily poured in upon me, these pages soon over and over again outgrew the expected size which had regulated my subscription-price, and this would have entailed on me an unbearable direct loss. I therefore withdrew my proposals, leaving each subscriber to buy the work or no at his option. The price now fixt is only nominal. That I could thus offer the work at so small a rate, is owing to the *considerable* sums which have been voted me by various authorities. Thus, grants towards the very heavy expenses of this Rune-book have been generously made by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Edinburgh; the Royal Swedish Society of Sciences, Upsala; the Parliaments of Sweden and of Norway; the Danish Cultus-Ministry; the Royal Danish Government for South-Jutland; and the Royal Danish Society of Sciences, Cheapinghaven. For all this timely help I here, in my own name and in that of Science, gladly and publicly tender my respectful and heartfelt thanks.

That my text is so comparatively free from misprints, is owing to the zeal and kindness of Miss MARIA MEINERT of Cheapinghaven, who has been pleased carefully to read and correct the last proof of every sheet.

I have also to thank my Artists, particularly Mess^{rs} J. M. PETERSEN and J. E. ROSENSTAND, and my Printers the Brothers THIELE, for their unceasing efforts to carry out my wishes in all the endless and minute details connected with the runic and artistic and mechanical part of this book. I have often tried their patience to the uttermost. But, so far from complaining or treating their task as one merely pecuniary, they have lavisht their talents — with loving hands — on a work which they hoped would redound to the honor of their country.

It is with regret that I now close these volumes, whose printing commenced on the 2nd of January 1865, aware as I am of their many weaknesses. But I frankly throw myself on the generous indulgence of my readers. Few of them can even guess the labor it has cost me. A mild doom is here so much the more needful as this whole study, in fact the real study of all our olden Northern dialects, is as yet comparatively in its infancy. We have burned enough incense, sacrificed millions enough of *pounds sterling*, at the shrines of "Classical" literature. Let us now do something, and offer at least as many *shillings*, towards elucidating our own not less noble and to us far dearer and more important native tungs, our own clangful Northern folk-speech. In this as in other things let us cry: *England for the English! Scandia for the Scandians! THE NORTH FOR THE NORTHMEN!*

Certain it is that in all such studies *the Runes alone* will give us a *firm foundation*, a horizon sufficiently wide. May this field be more and more cultivated by men of leisure and talent among us, and may an increasing band of workers and lovers exclaim, in the words of the Orkneyinga Saga (4to. Hafniæ 1780, p. 150):

"TYNE EC TRAULLA RUNUM".

TINE (miss) I TRAYLY (unwillingly) the RUNES.

(- RUNES ARE MY DELIGHT!)

"I det jeg nedlægger Pennen føler jeg vel et veemodigt Savn af de Hundreder, ja Tusinder af nordiske Runeminder, som ved Fortidens Uvidenhed, Ligegyldighed og gridske Egennytte ere blevene overgivne til Ødelæggelsen, — men Nordboernes vaagnende bedre Sands og Agtelse for Oldtidens mærkværdige Levninger maa dog nu vække lysere Forhaabninger om Fremtiden, især da de sidste Aars Erfaringer synes at bebude os og vore Efterkommere en rig Høst af de Runekyndighedens Frugter, der endnu gjemmes i Jordens Skjød og ved dens Barm, — naar de kun i Tide paaagtes, indsamles og bevares med vedbørlig Omhu."

In thus laying down my pen, I cannot but sorrowfully miss those hundreds, nay thousands, of Northern Rune-laves which the ignorance, cupidity or carelessness of past generations has suffered so miserably to perish. But the better feelings of Northmen in these our days, and the ever increasing piety with which we now regard the remarkable memorials of the past, encourage us to hope happier things to come. And this the more, as the experience of the last few years seems to promise us and our children a rich Runic harvest — treasures as yet hidden in the bosom of the earth, or lying unknown on its surface. Before it be too late, may they be recognized and collected, and preserved with that care which their great importance deserves!

Fin Magnusen. Runamo og Runerne, p. 646.

Since 1841, when Fin Magnusen wrote the above, more than one hundred Runic Pieces have been happily discovered. Why then should we despair?

Cheapinghaven, Denmark. June 1868.

GEORGE STEPHENS.

FURTHER HELPS TO THE TRUTH.

The substance of my Foreword was written long ago. From time to time I have added some words or sentences as occasion required. But of late, since the publication of my First Part, I have seen that in many places I have been misunderstood, while some of my views have been too concisely exprest. It takes a long time for new ideas to force their way. I have therefore determined to give yet further remarks and proofs, in self-defence, and as a kind of handy Explanations and popular Prolegomena. These short papers will consist of a word or two on *Overgang Talks*, a rapid enumeration of *The Old-Northern Runic Pieces still left to us*, my answer to the question *What these Monuments tell us*, my *Reply to Candidate Wimmer*, my short *Notice of the Essay by Prof. Sophus Bugge*, and a couple of additional *Last Notes*.

OVERGANG TALKS.

Some gentlemen have facetiously but solemnly and "infallibly" denied the existence of transitional and mixt dialects. I have said that we find overgang everywhere and at all times, — in language, written and unwritten, as in everything else. I might cite endless examples from monuments and manuscripts, and have given some *formally* in my First Part, besides which my whole book is in fact (to those who will see) full of them. I have neither time nor money to collect and engrave them by thousands. But I will give *one more*, an instance so clear that surely no one will deny it — especially as it is not in runes. This is the stone at Aldborough in Holderness, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, in the old Northumberland, in that kingdom known as Deira. It is described at large in Mr. Brooke's text, to which I refer¹.

ALDBOROUGH, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1050-1060.

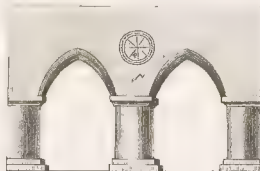
Photxylograph, half size, from the plate (No. 5, Fig. 1, 2), p. 40, in Archæologia, 4to, Vol. 6, London 1782.

This carved piece is a stone roundel fixt over a pillar on the south side of the nave of Aldborough Church, a building from the time of Edward Confessor, tho it has undergone many

¹ Archæologia, Vol. 6. pp. 39-53: "An Illustration of a Saxon Inscription remaining in the Church of Aldborough, in Holderness, in the East-Riding of the County of York, in a Letter addressed to the Reverend Owen Manning, of Godelming, in Surry, B. D. and F. R. S. and F. S. A. by John Charles Brooke, Esq. Somerset Herald, F. S. A."

repairs and changes. It is 12 feet from the pavement, projects 2 inches from the wall, and is 15½ inches in diameter.

Aldborough (= Old-burg), a place of great note and antiquity, was in the middle of the 11th century ruled by a mighty Earl ULF or WULF, famous for his large benefactions to the see of York, and lord of many considerable estates. His seat was at Aldborough, in the days of Edward Confessor and of king Cnut. His father was Thorald or Thorwald, two of his sons were Styr and Wilhelm.



Mr. Brooke did not understand the inscription, but copied it accurately. Only he gives the rune P (w) incorrectly as F, it running close up to the rim above. The last A in this word GUNWARA is broken. The whole is quite plainly:

ULF HET ARÆRAN CYRICE FOR HANUM AND FOR GUNWARA SAULA.

ULF HIGHT (*ordered, bid, let*) AREAR (*raise, build*) this-CHURCH FOR HIM (*himself*) AND FOR GUNWARA'S SOUL.

Now we all see: that ULF may be English or Scandian, as may be HET and FOR and SAULA, tho this last is rather Scandian than English. But ARÆRAN, CYRICE, AND, are clearly Old-English. The ARÆRAN would have been RAISA(N) in Scandian. As clearly is HANUM Scandian, in O. E. HIM; but the "correct" Scandian here would have been SIK or SIG. GUNWARA would "properly" have been GUNWARU in O. Engl., GUNWARU in Scandian. Of course in all this I speak of the English and the Scandian of the year 1050, not of their foregangers the Old-Northern folk-speeches of the year 150 or 250 or 350 or 450 after Christ — which were something very different.

THE OLD-NORTHERN RUNIC PIECES STILL LEFT TO US.

As I have said, these are many and rich, however few and poor they at first sight might appear. They are:

STANDING STONES 38¹, of which 14 in Sweden,
11 in Norway, 10 in Denmark and 3 in England.
INSCRIBED ROCKS 2², 1 in Sweden and 1 in
Norway.

WOODEN PILLARS 1³, in Norway.
BUNDLES OF ARROWS 1⁴, in Denmark.
AXES 1⁵, in Sweden.
KNIFE-HANDLES 1⁶, in Denmark.
SHIELD-BOSSSES 1⁷, in Denmark.
SWORDS 1⁸, in England.
SWORD-HILTS 1⁹, in England.
SWORDSHEATH-CLASPS 2¹⁰, in Denmark.
SPEAR-HEADS 1¹¹, a Wanderer.
LIDS 1¹², in Denmark.
PIGS of Metal 1¹³, in England.
PLANES 1¹⁴, in Denmark.

STAFFS 1¹⁵, in Sweden.

AMULETS of Bone 2¹⁶, of which 1 in Sweden,
1 in Denmark.

AMULETS of Echinite 1¹⁷, in Denmark.

AMULETS of Stone 2¹⁸, in Denmark.

AMULETS of Bronze 2¹⁹, 1 in Norway, 1 in
Denmark.

AMULETS (Finger-rings) 4²⁰, in England.

FINGER-RINGS 4²¹, 3 in England, 1 Wanderer.

ARM- or NECK-RINGS 1²², a Wanderer.

DIADEM-RINGS 1²³, in Denmark.

BROOCHES 6²⁴, 1 in Sweden, 1 in Denmark,
1 in England and 3 Wanderers.

CASKETS 2²⁵, both in England.

COMBS 2²⁶, 1 in Sweden and 1 in Denmark.

¹ SWEDEN. — Björketorp, pp. 165-68; Stentoften, 169-72; Istaby, 173-75; Bergu, 176, 77; Måljebro, 178-81; Krogstad, 184-91; Solvesborg, 192-95; Tanum, 196-203; Gommor (lost), 206, 7; Varnum, 216-18; Tjängvide (overgang), 224-27; Rök (overgang), 228-40; Vänge, 241, 42, 836; Skåång (palimpsest), 887-90. — NORWAY. — Tune, 247-49; Steinstad, 254, 55, and 839-41; Reidstad, 256-57; Orstad, 258-60; Belland, 261-63; Tomstad, 264-66; Bratsberg, 267, 68; Tanem, 269, 70; Sigdal, 271, 72, and 841-46; Sende (lost), 273; Bø, 846-57. — DENMARK. — Veile (lost), 332; Voldtofte, 333, 34; Vordingborg (overgang), 335-37; Heinæs (overgang), 338-41; Kallerup (overgang), 342-44; Skolddelev (overgang), 345-47; Hörning (overgang), 348-50; Sæding (overgang), 351-54; Thisted (overgang), 355, 56; Bårse (overgang), 882-63. — ENGLAND. — Sandwich, 363-66; Sandwich, 367-69; Maeshowe, 485, 86.

² SWEDEN. — Ingelstad (overgang), pp. 837, 88. — NORWAY. — Væblungsnes, 274, 75. [See also the Rock with Scandinavian-runic inscription at Barnspike, England, pp. 648-54.]

³ NORWAY. — Gjevedal (lost), pp. 276, 77.

⁴ DENMARK. — Nydam, pp. 299, 300.

⁵ SWEDEN. — Upsala, pp. 204, 5.

⁶ DENMARK. — Kragehul, pp. 317, 18.

⁷ DENMARK. — Thorsbjerg, pp. 285-94. [See also the Silver Shield-boss, Sutton, England, pp. 289-92, bearing *Scandinavian* Runes; and the Shield of wood and iron, with *Scandinavian* Runes, at Riké, Norway, pp. 293, 94. — I know of no other Runed Shields or Shield-bosses than these 3.]

⁸ ENGLAND. — Thame, pp. 361, 62.

⁹ ENGLAND. — Gilton, p. 370.

¹⁰ DENMARK. — Thorsbjerg, pp. 295, 96; Vi, 301-4.

¹¹ WANDERERS. — Mark-Brandenburg, pp. 880-84.

¹² DENMARK. — Kragehul (lost), p. 319.

¹³ ENGLAND. — Truro, pp. 372 and 365.

¹⁴ DENMARK. — Vi, pp. 307-16.

¹⁵ SWEDEN. — Konghäll, pp. 208-15.

¹⁶ SWEDEN. — Lindholm, pp. 219-21. — DENMARK. — Kragehul (lost), 319.

¹⁷ DENMARK. — Glostrup, pp. 858, 59.

¹⁸ DENMARK. — Jyderup, pp. 859-61; Frederiksberg, 861, 62.

¹⁹ NORWAY. — Frøhaug, pp. 250-53. — DENMARK. — Maglekilde, 864.

²⁰ FOUR ENGLISH Amulet-rings, pp. 492-500 and 873.

²¹ ENGLAND. — St. Andrews, p. 371; Æthred's, 463; Coquet Island, 480, 81. — WANDERERS. — Cöslin, 600-3.

²² WANDERERS. — WALLACHIA. Ruzeu, pp. 567-73.

²³ DENMARK. — Dalby, pp. 283, 84.

²⁴ SWEDEN. — Etelehem, pp. 182, 83. — DENMARK. — Himlingöie, 297, 98. — ENGLAND. — Northumbria, 386-89. — WANDERERS. — Nordendorf, 574-84; Osthofen, 585, 86; Charnay, 587-99. [See 3 other Brooches, but bearing only Scandinavian Runes, found at Skabersjö, Sweden, pp. 387, 88; in Gotland, Sweden, 581, 82; and at Hunterston, Northumbria (now a part of Scotland), 589-99. Thus I have engraved in this work all the Brooches known to me inscribed with Runes, whether Old-Northern or Scandinavian.]

²⁵ ENGLAND. — Northumbria (Nethü's), pp. 378-85; the Franks, 470-76 n.

²⁶ SWEDEN. — West-Thorp, pp. 222, 23. — DENMARK. — Vi, 305, 6. [See also the Comb bearing Scandinavian Runes, found at Lincoln, England, p. 223, the only other Runic Comb known to me. But, since writing this, another Comb has turned up carved with Old-Northern (provincial English) runes. It was found in Yorkshire, and will be given in the 3rd volume of this work, should I live to publish such a Continuation.]

HORNS 1¹, in Denmark.

BRACTEATES 77², of which 5 are Wanderers, 25 in Sweden (of which 1 in Finland), 5 in Norway, 39 in Denmark, 1 in England, 1 in Frisland, 1 in Scandinavia.

WOODEN COFFINS 1³, in England.

CHRISTIAN SLAB-STONES 4⁴, 1 in Sweden, 3 in England.

CHRISTIAN STONE-CROSSES 11⁵, all in England.

ALMSDISHES 1⁶, in England.

BELLS 1⁷, in Norway.

FONTS 2⁸, in England.

RUNE-CLOGS 1⁹, in England.

This will give us a total of

46 pieces found in Sweden,	of which 25 are Bracteates.
20 " " " Norway,	" " 5 " "
65 " " " Denmark,	" " 39 " "
1 " " " Frisland,	" " 1 " "
1 " " " Scandinavia,	" " 1 " "
36 " " " England,	" " 1 " "
11 " " " the Outland,	" " 5 " "

But as several of the Bracteates bear English-provincial runes, they have been struck in England or by English artists. And there are *scores* of DUPLICATE Runic Blinks and *hundreds* of other Golden Bracteates, but not bearing runes, *nearly all* found in the Scandian-Anglic lands.

Thus altogether 103 inscribed Old-Northern laves, of which 6 found in the Outland, and 77 inscribed Blinks, 5 of them found in the Outland, or 180 pieces, of which 11 are Wanderers.

WHAT THESE MONUMENTS TELL US.

And now let us cast a glance at the result of all these pieces taken generally, the words they bear, and how their several inscriptions harmonize with the time to which they belong, the Heathen or Christian populations among whom they were carved, and the several objects — secular or religious — on which they were inscribed. This will at the same time be a good test of the *practical value* of my alphabet and system. In spite of the attacks made upon me by the German School, it will be evident that I cannot be *very far wrong* if my translations:

1. Agree with what we should expect at the time.
2. Fall in perfectly with the oldest Scandinavian-runic monuments.
3. Make sense, according to *common-sense* ideas and *the formulas* generally found in the oldest times in the North and the West on carved remains.
4. While, at the same time, the archaistic linguistic words and forms are exactly what we should *à priori* look for at so early a period.

In order to get at all this, we will throw the inscriptions into one heap, looking upon the different lands as being merely — what they really are — shires of one North. Thus what is left in

¹ DENMARK. — Gallehus, pp. 320-31.

² THE BRACTEATES. — See pp. 505-64, 873, 74. Add No. 45 b, Burge, Sweden, p. 874; No. 49 b, Halland, Sweden, p. 875; No. 71, Skåne, Sweden, p. 876; No. 72, Gotland, Sweden, p. 877; No. 73, Gotland, Sweden, p. 878; No. 74, England, p. 879. But of these only 70 are "Bracteates Proper", 2 being Barbarous golden Imperial Solidi, 4 pieces with Roman letters, and 1 an Old-Engl. coin.

³ ENGLAND. — Lindisfarne, pp. 449-55.

⁴ SWEDEN. — Mörbylånga (overgang), pp. 243, 44. — ENGLAND. — Hartepool, 339-95, 396, 97; Dover, 465, 66, 865, 66.

⁵ ENGLAND. — Bakewell, pp. 373, 74; Lancaster, 375, 77; Collingham, 390, 91; Bewcastle, 398-404; Ruthwell, 405-48; Falstone, 456-60; Alnmouth, 461, 62; Hackness, 467, 68; Monk Wearmouth, 477-79; Hoddam (lost), 483, 84; Leeds, 487, 88.

⁶ ENGLAND. — Chertsey, p. 482.

⁷ NORWAY. — Holmen (overgang, lost), pp. 278-80.

⁸ ENGLAND. — Bingley (not yet copied), p. 486; Bridekirk (overgang), pp. 489-91. [See also the Font, bearing Scandinavian Runes, at Bårse, Denmark, pp. 654, 65.]

⁹ ? ENGLAND. — ? Brought from England to Norway; pp. 866-73.

the one landscape will make good what has perisht in another, and in spite of the enormous destruction we shall be able to form some general idea of what once has been.

We will therefore take these things in the order of time, and bring them into the following simple groups:

- I. Minne-blocks, grave-stones.
- II. Other stones, not funeral.
- III. Loose things, Carvings, Weapons, Jewels, Ornaments, Tools, Playthings, or what not.
- IV. Golden Blinks.

I. MINNE-BLOCKS.

Without pretending to assert that the shortest risings are always the oldest, it will still be convenient for us to begin with these. Reminding our readers that all the dates are more or less conventional and temporary, we thus come to funeral blocks bearing only *one word*, always the name of the deceased.

1. Stones with one word.

1. The oldest yet known is the *Sandwich* stone in England, ? A. D. 428-597, inscribed:

RHÆBUL.

2. Norway comes next, *Belland*, ? A. D. 500-600:

ACETHÆN.

3. Then Denmark, *Voldtofte*, ? A. D. 600-700:

RUULFASTS.

4. And then England once more, but now converted to the faith of Christ. This is fittingly shown by the next two, *Hartlepool* A and B, ? 650-700, which were apparently carved to two Nuns, sisters. First:

A[lpha] o[mega].

HILDITHRUTH.

5. The other a similar womans-name:

HILDDIGUTH.

6. So the Cross-markt stone coffin-lid at *Dover*, ? A. D. 700-800:

GYOSLHEARD.

7. And the good Bishop of Hexham's carved Pillar, found at *Monk Wearmouth*, where he was buried, ? A. D. 822:

TIDFIRTH.

8. We cannot be sure whether the heathen *Bratsberg* stone, ? A. D. 500-600, belongs to this class, for the word inscribed:

THÆLIA

may either be a mans-name in the nominative (or possibly a dative), or may be (DÆLI A):

THÆLI OWNS - this - grave.

Altho the mere number of words on a stone is, as we see, sometimes doubtful, and not always of primary importance when known, in comparison to the *word-fall*, still we had better next confine ourselves to

2. Stones with two or a few words.

9. The Norwegian *Gjevedal* wooden pillar is lost, and we cannot tell its age. If heathen, it may have been very old. If Christian, I have guest at 1050 to 1150. Nor do we know whether in the carving (ÆNSEGUI SLÆ) the last word is *SE*, *be*, *be this*. More likely we must translate:

To - ÆNSEGU THESE - runes.

10. Sometimes the dead man's name is in the *genitive*, followed by a *nominative* signifying grave or tomb. Thus the *Bø* stone, Norway, ? A. D. 200-300:

HNÆBMÆ'S (? = Nebmew's) LOW (grave-mound).

11. So again the *Tanem* stone, Norway, ? A. D. 500-600:

MENI'S LOW (tumulus).

12. But there may also be a *third* word or more, in apposition to the forthfaren's name. As the overgang *Kallerup* stone, ? A. D. 700-800:

HURNBULT'S STONE, the-SWITHING (= the Sage, the Warrior; or, as Prof. Bugge thinks, SUTHE'S SON or descendant).

13. And the overgang heathen *Snoldelev* stone, Denmark, ? A. D. 700-800:

KUNUÆLT'S STONE, SON of-RUHALT, THYLE (? Speaker, Lawman, Chanting Priest) ON the-SALHOWS (now Sallow Village).

14. But if *the rune-carver* add his name, this will make 4 words. As the *Sölvesborg* block, Sweden, ? A. D. 400-500:

ÆSMUT'S (= Asmund's) HRUSE (barrow, stone-mound).

RUTI WROTE - these - runes.

15. A standing formula is the 2-worded inscription, a name (the raiser of the block) in *the nominative*, followed by that of the dead friend or kinsman in *the dative*. Thus *Berga*, Sweden, ? A. D. 300-400:

FINO to - SÆLIGÆST.

16. And again the *Krogstad* stone, Sweden, ? A. D. 400-500:

MWSYOUNGI (? - Musoungi or Meroungi) to - syo.ÆIN (= Swain)¹.

17. Doubtless such was the *Tonstad* stone, Norway, ? A. D. 500-600, which is partly broken away. It was probably carved by the same ÆCETHÆN as is commemorated on the *Belland* sole; but of the first name only ÆN is left:

.....ÆN to - WÆRU.

18. Again, so was likely the *Veile* stone, Denmark, ? A. D. 600-700; but it is lost, and we have only an old copy:

ÆNI to - BINGCÆ.

19. The *Seude* stone, Norway, ? A. D. 700-800, is also lost, and the transcript very bad. It may have been, in 3 words:

WÆTT AT (to) SÆMÆNG.

3. Stones with short ristings.

20. We have had the formula: *N. N'S SEPULCHRE*, &c. Nearly allied is the use of an *imperative verb*. Of this we have an example on the *Tanum* stone, Sweden, ? A. D. 400-500:

THREWING'S HIGH-TINE (high-token, funeral beacon) ÆYE WES (be)!

(= Be, stand thou, alway here, *Threwing's* grave-block!)²

21. Another use of this *imperative* is to address the sleeper. *Keep, have, own, possess this thy tomb!* We have this formula also in Scandinavian-runics. One fellow-block has turned up in the Old runes, that at *Skääng*, Sweden, ? A. D. 200-300:

HÆRING, thy - LAIR (couch, grave) OWN!

(= Here, Hæring, rest thee in thy lasting home!)

22. *Owens this grave or tomb* often occurs on later monuments. We have it also on Old-Northern. Thus at *Stenstad*, Norway, A. D. 300-400:

IGING ON (of, at) HÆLI OWNS - this - barrow.

23. And again at *Vanga*, Sweden, ? A. D. 300-400:

HWUC OWNS this - TUVA (grave-mound).

But it is also grammatically possible to take this as 2 words, a nom. and a dative, as in 15-21 above:

HWUC to - OTHUI.

¹ So I now propose to read this inscription.

² I thus amend my former version of this old and difficult carrying.

24. The curious Christian pillar at *Hackness*, England, ? A. D. 700-800, belongs to this same class:

EMUND OWNS - this-grave ON (of, at) ASBY. — ORA! (Pray-for-his-soul!)

25. Sometimes there is only *the name*, and the request to *pray for him*, as on the *Lancaster* runic Cross, England, ? A. D. 600-700:

BID (pray ye) FOR CUNIBALTH; GOD BARG-him (save and bless his soul)!

26. The *name of the raiser* of the block may be added, as at *Dewsbury*, England, ? A. D. 700-800, in verse, but the beginning broken away:

(Set N. N.
this-stone to)RHT,
this-BEACON (grave-pillar) AFTER his-BARN (child);
BID (pray) for-the-SOUL!

27. And at *Falstone*, England, ? A. D. 700, the famous bi-literal inscription (in Runic and Roman staves). Also in verse:

EOMER THIS SET
AFTER HROETBERHT,
this-BEACON (grave-mark) AFTER his-EME (uncle);
BEDE (pray) for-THE SOUL!

28. Both *the stone-cutter* and *the rune-carver* are sometimes mentioned. So on the broken sole at *Alnmouth*, England, ? A. D. 705, an overgang block:

(This is King e)ADULF'S TH(ruh, = grave-kist);
(bid for the) SOUL.
MYREDAH ME WROUGHT.
HLUDWYG ME FAYED (inscribed).

29. Here belongs the lost *Gommor* stone, Sweden, ? A. D. 500-600:

STONE THIS THORLEF SET to - HÆTHUWOLÆF.
F.... F...sson Fayed (carved).

30. And the lost overgang Christian slab at *Mörbylånga*, Sweden, ? A. D. 1200-1300:

KEARSTEN (= Christina) UNU.ENRUK (Henry) GAR'd (made) this-CUMBEL (grave-mark).

31. The *Möjebro* stone, Sweden, ? A. D. 300-400, adds the epithet INVINCIBLE to the name of the deceased warrior, who is figured below seated on his proud steed and brandishing his keen blade:

ÆNÆ HEWED to-the-NOT (never) SLAIN (beaten back, overcome) FRÆWÆRED.
(= Ænæ carved this stone to the never conquered Fræwæræd)¹.

32. The *Reidstad* block, Norway, ? A. D. 400-500, mentions the name of the *forthfaren's* sire:

To-IUTHING ICWÆSON (= Ingweson) UNNEO WROTE-these-runes.

33. The *Bakewell* stone, England, ? A. D. 600-700, is probably much older, and heathen. But the fragment left is small, and the runes too few to give any meaning.

34. The runic Cross at *Collingham*, England, ? A. D. 651, has now only:

AFTER ONSWINI, KING.

But it may have borne some other words, perhaps the usual *Pray for his soul*, &c.

35. Broken and doubtful and not yet properly copied are the runes on the *Irtton* Cross, England, ? A. D. 700-800. Mr. Haigh thought they begun:

BID (pray-ye) FOR.....

36. So the runic Cross at *Leeds*, England, ? A. D. 955, now bears;

KING ONLAF

but is likely only a fragment.

¹ So I am now inclined to read this inscription.

4. *Stones with long ristings.*

37. On many of these funeral pillars, both Old-Northern and Scandinavian-runic, pagan and Christian, we have the formula of *ROO, REST*¹, variously exprest. Thus on the *Orstad* stone, Norway, ? A. D. 400-500:

To - HILIGE (- Helge) SÆRÆLŪ (= Sörli wrote these runes).
OWNS - he ROO (rest) HERE. (= Here rests he now in peace.)

38. And on the *Sigdal* block, Norway, ? A. D. 400-500:

MIRILÆ OWNETH (bath) ROO (repose), OWNETH ROO AYE (ever, or endless), OUT-IN (in, within) THIS of - HELTS LOW (= in this hero-mound).

39. And on the Christian overgang slab at *Thisted*, Denmark, ? A. D. 1100-1200:

THORÆ, TAD'S SOL (sun, darling) WHILES (rests, sleeps) here.

40. One of the very few Old-Northern funeral blocks which mention the *kindredship of the deceased* is the *Tune* stone, Norway, ? A. D. 200-300:

ECWIWÆ AFTER (in memory of) WODURID, her - WISE (noble) LOAF-FELLOW (husband) WROUGHT (carved) these - RUNES.

The - HEIRS INGOST and -LIA, the HEIRESES NOTHU and INGOA, DAUGHTERS, DEALED to - SET (shared in setting) to - WODURID this - STONE.

Belike INGOST and LIA were the brothers of WODURID, while NOTHU and INGOA were his daughters, ECWIWÆ being his widow.

41. Pompous and official (so to speak) is the magnificent pillar at *Björketorp*, Sweden, ? A. D. 300-400. Its historical details will always remain obscure to us, for want of fuller parchment monuments.

SEATH AT the - BARRATRY (battle) OUT IN ÆAWEL DIED. — HERE MELL (tell) US THESE RUNES HIS - ARE (glory) YEA (truly). — FELE (many) of - HELTS (many a hero) he - ROUTED. — HADOR (honor) he - WAN. — OWNS - he ROO. (= Here rests he now in peace.)

UTHER and - ÆBE the - SPAE (wise) (= raised these stones and carved these runes).

42. We must not suppose that *short* inscriptions are *always* the oldest, *long* ones *always* the youngest. Of this we have already had several proofs. The *Istaby* stone, Sweden, ? A. D. 300-400, is of the shortest:

AFTER HYRIWULÆF and - HYTHWULÆF HYERUWULÆF WROTE RUNES THESE.

43. And yet it is pretty certain that it is raised by a third brother or by some companion-in-arms to the *same two warriors* as are commemorated on the "pompous and official" block at *Sten-toften*, Sweden, ? A. D. 300-400, carved by the same ÆBE as took part in raising the similarly worded *Björketorp* sole. The one has Æ where the other has Y; but this can only be a slight difference in the local dialect:

AYE HAVE - they ROME (lustre, praise), NOW in - the - HOW (grave-mound) STOOM (at peace), HÆTHU - WOLÆF (= Hathuwolf) the - GALLANT and - HÆRIWOLÆF (= Hariwulf) the - MO (mighty). — HADOR (glory) GAINED - they. — HERE MELL (speak) THESE - runes their - ARE (fame) YEA (soothly). — MUCKLE (a multitude) of - HELTS (champions) they - ROUTED.

ÆBE WROTE THEIR GIN-RUNES (mighty letters).

44. A similar "pompous and official" *public* monument is the runic Cross at *Bewcastle*, England, ? A. D. 670, raised to the memory of ALCFRITH, king of Northumbria. Of course it differs from its heathen parallels as being *Christian* and as showing traces of *Roman* art and manner:

¹ So, a thousand years later, our great Maker lets the aged Duchess say (Shakespeare, King Richard III, Act 4, Sc. 1):
I to my Grave, — where peace and rest lie with me!

K(ri)s(tu)s. — † GESSUS KRISTTUS. —
 † THIS SPIRING SIGN-PILLAR
 SET WAS BY HWÆTRED,
 WOTHGAR, OLUFWOLTH,
 AFTER ALCFRITH,
 SOMETIME KING,
 AND SON OF OSWI.
 † PRAY FOR HIS SOUL'S GREAT SIN!
 † In - the - FIRST YEAR
 of - the - KING
 of - RICH (realm) THIS,
 ECGFRITH. —
 LIE [HE (May - Alcfrith lie)
 in - FRITH (peace)]!

45. The broken stone at *Varnum*, Sweden, ? A. D. 600-700, I have supposed may have been:
 [Stone this rais]ED ÆHEKER IN LÆGE AT (to) IHGEÆI (= Inge), BO[nde, = husband, her good].

46. The *Vordingborg* stone, Denmark, ? A. D. 600-700, is *overgang* (a transition piece, showing both older and later runes):

AFTER ÆTHISL, his - FATHER, TRËBU GARED (made) THIS THRUCH (stone-kist).
 H.... WROTE.

47. Also *overgang* is the *Helnes* block, Denmark, ? A. D. 700-800:

RHUULF SET this-STONE, of-the-NUR-men (or district) the-GUTHI (Priest and Magistrate) AFTER
 KUTHMUT (- Gudmund), BROTHER-SON SIN (his). DROWNED (was drowned) HE (? out, = abroad). —
 ÆUAIK FAYED (carved).

48. So is the broken, costly, *Tjängvide* stone, Sweden, ? A. D. 700-800, richly carved in relief:
 RAISED this-STONE AFTER GUTHIFRUTH (= Gudfrith). SI (he) IS IKUIFRUTH'S ARFTAKER (heir).

49. Also *overgang* is the *Hörning* stone, Denmark, ? A. D. 900-1000:

TUKI, SMITH, WROTE STONE-this AFTER THURKISL, KUTHMUT'S (= Gudmund's) SON, AS (who) to-HIM
 GAVE "COLL" EKE FREEHALSE (who to him gave sonship and freedom, who bought or gave him free and
 adopted him as his son).

s.... raised - the - block.

50. So is the *Bårse* stone, Denmark, ? A. D. 1000-1100, of which nothing is left but:

..... THIS.
 H..... wrote.

II. OTHER STONES, NOT FUNERAL.

51. First comes the magnificent *Ruthwell* Cross, in Northumbria, a colossal church-yard Rood, inscribed with verses on the Crucifixion of Christ written by the great Cædmon. Date about 680. Here and there broken:

CADMON ME FAWED {made},

GIRDED HIM THEN
 GOD ALMIGHTY,
 WHEN HE WOULD
 STEP ON THE GALLOWS.
 FORE ALL MANKIND
 MINDFAST, FEARLESS.

BOW ME DURST I NOT;

 RICH KING HEAVING,
 THE LORD OF LIGHT-REALMS;
 LEAN ME I DURST NOT.
 US BOTH, THEY BASELY MOCKT AND HANDLED,
 WAS I THERE WITH BLOOD BEDABBLED
 GUSHING GRIEVOUS FROM

 CHRIST WAS ON ROOD-TREE.
 BUT FAST, FROM AFAR,
 HIS FRIENDS HURRIED
 ATHEL (noble) TO THE SUFFERER.
 EVERYTHING I SAW.
 SORELY WAS I
 WITH SORROWS HARROW'D,
 I INCLIN'D

 WITH STREALS (missiles) ALL WOUNDED.
 DOWN LAID THEY HIM LIMB-WEARY.
 O'ER HIS LIFELESS HEAD THEN STOOD THEY,
 HEAVILY GAZING AT HEAVEN'S

52. On one of the many rune-scribbled stones in the *Maeshowe*, Orkneys, ? A. D. 800-900:

THORN SORETH (= the javelin pierceth).
 HELHI (= Helge) RISTED (carved).

53. On the rock at *Væblyngsnes*, Norway, ? A. D. 800-900:

Of-the-HERADS (Hundreds) the-THING-INN. (= The district Assize-hall or Court-house.)

54. In the Church at *Sæding*, Denmark, ? A. D. 1000-1100. Overgang:

YKE (Inge) RISTED (or Raised).

55. On a ground-rock at *Ingelstad*, Sweden, ? A. D. 1200-1300. Overgang:

SAKSI GARED (made) this-SILL (ground-frame, earth-timber work) for-THEE. WENE (fair) MARIA.

III. LOOSE THINGS.

1. Household stuff, tools, metals.

56. WOODEN PLANE. *Vi Moss*, Denmark, ? A. D. 300-350. Has three runic scribbles:

1. TITHAS HLEUNG (= Hle-son) the-REEK (stout, burly).
2. TÆLING (= Tel-son) OWNS-me.
3. GISLIONG WILI (= Wili Gisle-son) OWNS this-SITHE-SHAFT [Plane].

57. BONE COMB. *Vi Moss*, Denmark, ? A. D. 300-350:

HÆRINGÆ (Mans-name). Or: HÆRING OWNS-me.

58. FIG OF TIN. *Truro*, England, ? A. D. 500-600. A runic cutting signifying the mans-name:

STAN.

59. IVORY CASKET. *Northumbria*, England, ? A. D. 620-650:

WROTE (carved this) NETHII for-the-SIGHERRA (victory-lord) ÆLI, IN MUNGPÆLYO of-GAUL.
 (= Nethii carved this for the most noble Æli, in Montpellier of Gaul.)

60. THE FRANKS CASKET, of whalebone. *Northumbria*, England, ? A. D. 700-800:

1. Round a carving of Romulus and Remus:

UN-LAY (out lay, lay out, were exposed) NIGH (near, close together) ROMWALUS (Romulus) AND
REUMWALUS (Remus), TWIN BROTHERS: FED HI (them) a-WYLF (she-wolf) IN ROMECASTER (Rome).

2. Round a carving of the fall of Jerusalem:

HERE FIGHT TITUS AND the-JEWS. HERE FLY from-JERUSALEM its-INHABITANTS. — DOOM (Court,
Judgment). — GISL (hostage).

3. Round a carving of the Offerings by the 3 Wise Men, and of WELAND in his Smithy:

MÆGI (Magi, the Wise Men).

THE WHALE'S BONES FROM THE FISHES' FLOOD (the sea)

I LIFTED ON FERGEN-HILL.

HE WAS GASHT TO DEATH IN HIS GAMBOLS,

AS A-GROUND HE SWAM IN THE SHALLOWS.

4. On a lost carving probably connected with the Saga of WELAND and ÆGIL:

DREETH (suffer, endure) SWIK (deceit, foul treachery).

5. On a carving of some Northumbrian story (about the mythical Arrow-hero ÆGIL,
WELAND's brother), the mans-name ÆGILI.

61. BONE COMB. *Thorp Moss*, Sweden, ? A. D. 700-800:

HIT HEWED (carved, made) for-UNBO.

62. RUNIC CALENDAR, of fishbone. *Lost*. England or Norway, ? A. D. 1000-1100. Has some
English-provincial runic letters.

2. *The Holy House.*

63. Large GOLDEN TEMPLE-RING. *Buzou*, Wallachia, ? A. D. 200-250:

Of-the-GOTHS to-the-WIH (temple) HOLY. (= Dedicated to the Temple of the Goths.)

64. Large GOLDEN HORN. *Gallehus*, Denmark, ? A. D. 300-400:

ECHLEW for-the-AWEST (most-awful, most-dread) HOLT-INGI (Holtking, woodland god) this-HORN
TAWED (made).

(= To the ever-to-be-feared Forest God, Echlew offered this Horn.)

65. ST. CUTHBERT'S COFFIN, of wood. *Lindisfarne*, Northumbria, ? A. D. 698. Bears figures
and words, among which a couple of O. N. runes.

66. ALMS-DISH, of copper. *Chertsey*, England, ? A. D. 800-900:

TEE (take forth) WRETCH! (= Offer, Sinner!)

67. FONT, of stone. *Bingley*, England, ? A. D. 900-1000. Not yet properly copied or deciphered.

68. FONT, of stone. *Bridekirk*, England, ? A. D. 1100-1200. Overgang:

RIKARD (= Richard) HE ME I-WROUGHT (made), AND TO THIS MIRTH (beauty) GERN (yern, care-
fully) ME BROUGHT.

69. CHURCH-BELL. *Lost*. *Holmen*, Norway, ? A. D. 1150-1250. Overgang:

THIS CLOCK (bell) LET STEEP (yote, cast) ALUER, PRIEST IN SIGDAL, AND THORT BONDE (yeoman)
ON AUUK, AND STEEPT (cast it) TOUE THORR-SON.

3. *Amulets, &c.*

70. Small BRONZE MAN, for the belt. *Frøhaug*, Norway, ? A. D. 300-400:

For - SEGE (victory).

71. Bit of a WOODEN KNIFE-HANDLE, or something such. *Kragehul*, Denmark, ? A. D. 300-400.
Only a few letters left.

72. BONE-SNAKE or EEL or other FISH. *Kragehul*, Denmark. Lost.
73. WOODEN BOX-LID. *Kragehul*, Denmark, ? A. D. 300-400. Lost.
74. ECHINITE. *Glostrup*, Denmark, ? A. D. 500-600. Bears only *tu*, the name of the God worshipt on *Tuesday*.
75. BONE SNAKE or EEL or other FISH. *Lindholm*, Sweden, ? A. D. 600-700 :
- 1 ARELESS (honorless) NE (not) HASTEN. GAY (quick, sprightly) HIGHT 1 (am I called) AYE.
(1)ULÆ AT TUMBA OWNS-me AYE.
76. Tiny 3-cornered stone. *Jyderup*, Denmark, ? A. D. 800-900 :
o - TYW, ELE (help).
77. Tiny bean-shaped stone. *Frederiksberg*, Denmark, ? A. D. 900-1000. Some O. N. runes.
78. Small BRONZE SLIP, to hang at the belt. *Maglekilde*, Denmark, ? A. D. 1000-1100 :
SIUARTH and some curious characters.
OLUFR and some curious characters.
- See FINGER-RINGS, under *Jewels*, &c.

4. *Weapons.*

79. Wooden ARROWS. *Nydam*, Denmark, ? A. D. 250-300. Have runic bo-marks and letters. One of them bears :
LUE (mans-name). Or: LU OWNS-me.
80. Stone AXE. *Upsala*, Sweden, ? A. D. 400-500 :
OWNS OLTHA this-AXE.
81. BATON, or Commander's Staff, of heart of yew. *Konghell*, Sweden, ? A. D. 500-600 :
HEADING (Head-man, Leader, Commander) FOR the-BEER (army, forces, troops).
82. Bronze SHIELD-BOSS. *Thorsbjerg*, Denmark, ? A. D. 200-250 :
ÆISG OWNS-me.
83. Iron SPEAR-HEAD. *Müncheberg*, Mark-Brandenburg, ? A. D. 300-400 :
UÆNINGÆ (mans-name). Or: UÆNING OWNS-me.
84. Rich SWORD-HILT. *Gilton*, England, ? A. D. 450-550. Not yet properly facsimilized and deciphered. Bears several O. N. runes.
85. Iron SWORD-BLADE. *Thames*, England, ? A. D. 400-500. Bears, with gold and silver wire hammered in, the O. N. alphabet :
F, U, P, O, R, C, G, W, H, N, I, Y, YO, P, A, S, T, B, E, NG, D, L, M, GE, A, Æ, U, EA,
and then the name of the maker or owner :
BEAGNOTH.
86. Bronze SWORD-SHEATH CHAPE. *Thorsbjerg*, Denmark, ? A. D. 200-250. Very difficult.
? NIWÆNG the-MERE (illustrious) OWNS-this. CAPTAIN of-the-THEDES (clans, peoples).
? NIWÆNG to-MÆRI, LORD of-the-NATIONS.
87. Silver SWORD-SHEATH CLASP. *Vi Moss*, Denmark, ? A. D. 300-350. A couple of unclear runes. Cannot be redd.

5. *Jewels, &c.*

88. Large GOLDEN DIADEM. *Dalby*, Denmark, ? A. D. 200-250 :
LUTHRO.
89. FIBULA. 1. Silver-gilt Brooch. *Himlingbø*, Denmark, ? A. D. 250-300 :
HÆRISO (name). Or: HÆRIS OWNS-me.
90. FIBULA. 2. Large silver-gilt Brooch. *Nordendorf*, Bavaria, ? A. D. 300-400. Has 3 runic ristings :
1. OWNS-me LEUBWINI.
2. LONÆWORE (name).
3. WODÆN (mans-name) to-WINIWONÆW (womans-name).

91. FIBULA. 3. Small round gilt bronze Brooch. *Osthofen*, Rheinhessen, ? A. D. 300-400:
GONRAT (= Conrad) FADGED (made) ME. MAH OWNS ME.
92. FIBULA. 4. Silver-gilt Brooch. *Charnay*, Burgundy, ? A. D. 400-500. Bears the O. N.
runic alphabet:

F, U, Ð, Æ, R, C, G, W, H, N, I, Y, YO, P, A, S, T, B, E, (M), (NG), D,

and thereafter:

DEA the-HIGH OWNS DALK (brooch) THIS.

93. FIBULA. 5. Silver-gilt Brooch. *Etelhem*, Sweden, ? A. D. 400-500.

ME MERILE WROUGHT (made).

94. FIBULA. 6. Brooch. Lost. Northumbrian, ? A. D. 600-700:

GUDRED ME WROUGHT (made). ÆLCFRITH ME OWNS.

95. FINGER-RING, of gold. *Cöslin*, Pomerania, ? A. D. 400-500:

ÆLYO (name).

96. FINGER-RING, of bronze. *St. Andrews*, Scotland, ? A. D. 500-600:

The name ISAH (or HASI).

97. FINGER-RING, of gold. Æthred's. *England*, ? A. D. 700-800:

ÆTHRED ME OWNS. EANRED ME A-GROOF (engraved).

98. FINGER-RING, of lead, *silvered*. Thus from the beginning a forgery. *Coquet-land*, North-
umberland, ? A. D. 800-900:

THIS IS SILVER.

- 99-102. FOUR AMULET-RINGS. *England*, ? A. D. 1000-1100. One is of gold, another of
electrum, another of gold nielloed, another of jasper. They all bear the cabalistic legend:

ÆRCRIUFLT ÆRIURIDON GLÆSTÆPONTOL.

We now come to the last and most numerous class, the beautiful and costly and remarkable
one-side-only-struck Golden Runic Blankets or Blinks or

IV. THE LOOSE ORNAMENTS CALLED BRACTEATES.

In the study of these golden medal-pieces we must remember that they range over many
centuries, from the 4th or 5th to the middle age, and will therefore offer every variety of alphabet and
dialect; that some of them are very barbarous, so much so that any reading is only a guess: that some
show a motley of half-Roman half-Runic staves, others Roman and Runic intermixt; that, tho the mass
may have been struck in the Northern lands, others would seem to have been made in Constantinople
or elsewhere in the Roman or Grecian or "Barbarian" cities. Some are imitations — a long way off — of
the Imperial golden Solidi; but most of them are of a distinct Northern character, and this class has several
types of style and decoration. A couple are barbarous copies of the Byzantine aurei, are struck on
both sides, and are only reckoned here as this is the most convenient place for them. The same is
the case with two or three other pieces, not strictly Bracteates. All these precious Blinks have been
made or used as pendants on the person, — as Ornaments, Decorations and Distinctions like our
Orders, Charms and Amulets, Keepsakes and so on. Many of my readings are avowedly only pre-
paratory. We will handle these in the same way as the other things, take the simplest first, and ar-
range the others according to their assumed formulas.

1. The costly Alphabet-Blink.

1. (No. 22, Sweden). This unique jewel bears:

LUDÆ (of-the-men) TUVÆ (the letter-row). (The Alphabet of the People.)

Then comes the Runic Futhorc:

F, U, Ð, Æ, R, C, G, W, H, N, I, Y, YO, P, A, S, T, B, E, M, L, NG, O.

2. Single words.

These with very few exceptions, I take to be *Proper Names*, the names of the persons by
whom they were bought or for whom they were ordered. We cannot always say in what case they

stand, but we should usually expect the Dative: JOHANNI, to-JOHN, SAMUELO, to-SAMUEL. We will take them here in alphabetical order:

2. (No. 63, Denmark): *ÆE*.
3. (No. 69, Denmark): *Æ*. If not a name or contraction, these would seem to signify *AYE!* *For ever!* *Ever yours!* &c.
- 4, 5. (Nos. 15, 16, Denmark): *ÆLU*.
6. (No. 48, Norway): *ÆNEONE*.
7. (No. 72, Sweden): *AUTO*.
8. (No. 5, Scandinavia): *ECMU*.
9. (No. 47, Sweden): *ELWU*.
10. (No. 53, Denmark): *ETLSTN* (evidently the English name commonly spelt *ATHELSTONE*).
11. (No. 9, Hannover): *ETTAN*.
12. (No. 14, Denmark): *FOSLEU*. The type is a mother holding her child, who plays with a rattle. I believe the word to mean *To-the-FEELS!* (= *To BABY!*)
13. (No. 26, Sweden): *FUTU*.
14. (No. 58, Frisland). Barbarous imitation, struck on both sides, of an Imperial golden Solidus. On one side the runes: *HAMA*.
- 15-22. (Nos. 35-41 b, Scandinavia): As far as I can see, different spellings of *INGE*, as a name or for *YOUNGSTER*.
23. (No. 42, Sweden): a bind-rune. May mean *ITO*.
24. (No. 21, Denmark): *LÆ*.
25. (No. 54, Denmark): *LAOKU*.
- 26-30. (Nos. 43-46 and 45 b): As redd backwards or forwards, will give the name *LIT*, *LITL*, or *TIL*, *ELTIL*.
31. (No. 73, Sweden): *NAWÆ*. May be redd *NADÆ*.
32. (No. 60, Denmark): *NIKUL*. May be redd *NUKUL*.
- 33, 34. (Nos. 33, 34, Sweden): *OTÆ*.
35. (No. 64, Sweden): *SUNEDROMDH*, in Roman capitals.
36. (No. 29, Pomerania): *WÆIGE*.

3. *The formula of Gift.*

Mostly in 2 words, a nominative and a dative.

37. (No. 50, Denmark): *TU* (to) *ULNYK*.
38. (No. 19, Sweden): *To-LÆWULOU* (= *Læwolf*) the-*GAUL*.
39. (No. 6, Denmark): *To-the-SESS-EUNUCH* (seat-eunuch) of-the-*EACHS* (horses). — (= *To the Lord Chamberlain of the Cavalry. To the Master of the Horse.*)
40. (No. 8, Hannover): *To-AUTLE* the-*TIL* (good).
41. (No. 23, Denmark): *To-USSI*, *ATHLETE* *ATHEL* (noble).
42. (No. 27, Sweden): *To-the-TEWE* (excellent, illustrious) *ÆTHODO*.
43. (No. 32, Denmark): *TWÆD* to *WITO*.
44. (No. 71, Sweden): *TENULU* (= *Danewolf*) *AYE* (ever, as a lasting gift or keepsake) to-*LÆWÆ*.

4. *The formula MADE or STRUCK this piece.*

There may be some mistakes here and there in my readings, but still I think that the many examples here collected cannot *all* be wrong, and that this formula stands fast here, as so often elsewhere.

45. (No. 4, Sweden): *HUT* *HEWÆD*-this.
46. (No. 62, Sweden). A copper bracteate from the middle age: *JOHN HEWED* (made this).
47. (No. 68, Denmark): *HEWED* *ÆLU* (*Ælu* struck this piece).
48. (No. 66, Sweden). May be placed here. A silver bracteate in Roman letters. Probably made for the binding of a Ms. Bible or Ritual-book. + *MAIESTAS* (Christ, the Divine Majesty). *OTI ME FECIT* (me made).
49. (No. 1, Denmark): *RITHUNG HEWED* (made) to *EVER*-during *HOW* (memory, remembrance).

50. (No. 2, Norway): GELUCS HEWED this-MOT (stampd piece, die) for-TOLECU his-EME (uncle).
 51. (No. 17, Denmark): YOLSRU HEWED (struck) this-GOLD-piece for-the-ATHEL (noble) ELO.
 52. (No. 25, Sweden): THUR TEE (bless) the-RUKES! ÆNWILL (= ? ANWOLF) HEWED (engraved this) of-SWORDS for-the-HELT (for the sword-hero, the gallant warrior) CUNIMU(n)d.
 53, 54. (Nos. 49, 49 b, Sweden): UILÆAFHEMUS SLEW (struck this piece) for-ÆDUUG the-OLD.
 55, 56. (Nos. 51, 52, Denmark): LUTEÆWIGÆ (= Ludwig) SLEW (struck, stampd this medallion) for-owæ¹.
 57. (No. 56, Denmark): USCEUNIA the-GOTH HEWED -this for -the -MOST ILLUSTRIOUS HELT (hero) UFFTI(n)G.
 58. (No. 57, Denmark): HÆUJ HEWED (struck this) for-the-ATHEL (noble) FÆUÆUISO. GIVE WEAL (? o THU!).
 59. (No. 61, Finland; silver; middle-age piece): JULIENI HEWED (made) for-ÆMILIUS.
 60. (No. 65, Sweden; Roman letters): For-TUTO VOMIA WROUGHT (made this).
 61. (No. 30, Denmark): Here, apparently will belong this piece, tho the verb is omitted: For-ÆGEL the-BLUE, BASILEUS (king, a title assumed by numbers of Northmen), SYGTRYH (- made this).

5. *The formula N. N. OWNS this piece.*

62. (No. 24, Denmark. Doubtful and difficult. Perhaps): The-NEW (young) BOSS (Lord) BÆBLIL ON HOVE (at Court) OWNS-this. — Or: BÆBLIL AT COURT OWNS this-NEW JEWEL.
 63. (No. 55, Denmark. Equally difficult. Perhaps): SIGHMYWT (= Sigmund) ON HOVE (of the Temple, or, at Court) OWNS-this.
 64. (No. 74, ? England. Barbarian imitation [stampd on both sides] of an Imperial golden Solidus. On one side the plain runes): SCAN OWNS this-MOD (stamp, die, coined piece).

6. *Pieces wishing Luck and Happiness.*

65. (No. 11, Denmark): TO LUCK! (Luck to you!).
 66. (No. 10, Denmark): TO LUCK! (Success!) YOLW HEWED (carved this).
 67, 68. (Nos. 12, 13, Denmark): TO HAIL! (Hail to thee! Health and Happiness!).
 69. (No. 20, Denmark): SEEL! SEEL! (Joy! Joy! — Success! Success!).
 70. (No. 67, Denmark): SEEL (happiness, good luck) to-THE YOUNG ÆLEWINE, the-YOUNG ÆLEWINE, the-YOUNG ÆLEWINE!
 71. (No. 7, Hannover): GLEE OWN (let own, may-have) YOUTHGAL! (= May Youthgal have glee! — Joy to Youthgal!).
 72. (No. 18, Denmark): To-LÆTÆ ARE (honor). (= Fame and praise to Læwæ!).
 73. (No. 59, Denmark): TEE (give) NOW LONG-LIFE, WOD (O Woden)!

7. *Miscellaneous.*

74. (No. 3, unknown where, perhaps Bohemia): KING THASCO (or THUSCO).
 75. (No. 28, Denmark. Doubtful and difficult. Perhaps): SIHWIN AND BÆYOUT, SLEW them-BOTH EUWEDIT.
 76. (No. 70, Holland): — This is a coin of Egberht, King of Wessex and all England an. 800-836. On one side the ornamental Roman monogram EGBERET. On the other, the runes: CUL ON (of) AUSA (or SACUL ON AU).
 77. (No. 31, Denmark): *Blind-runes.*

Now — small errors apart, and admitting a couple of the readings to be doubtful and half a dozen of the Bracteates to be *not yet redd* (perhaps some of these are half barbarous *copies of copies*, and *never will be redd*) — it strikes me that the readings I have found on these objects, meanings obtained *without altering the runes or doing violence to the language*, are in general what might be expected, suitable to the different kinds of monuments, in harmony with all other such carvings and scribblings all over the North and the West, and *based on formulas acknowledged to be natural and common*. But

¹ So I would now read this piece.

these readings chiefly depend on my identification of Ψ as A: and on any other supposition (that Ψ is M, or -R, or -S, &c) these carvings, wherever that rune occurs, CANNOT BE READ AT ALL without the most monstrous forcing of the words and wordforms, in fact without *creating a new tung to suit the occasion*. It may therefore, viewed also from this PRACTICAL side, be at last admitted that my system is right, and that Ψ is really A.

CANDIDATE L. F. A. WIMMER AND THE OLD-NORTHERN RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS¹.

'E pur se muove!'

Galdes.

One of the greatest linguistic discoveries in modern times is *the law of sound-change* in certain given dialects or languages at certain given periods. This was the grand find of the immortal Rask. But it was stolen from him (I beg pardon, 'annext') by Jacob Grimm, and now runs the whole world round as "Grimm's Law". Like all other things, it is admirable when used, hurtful when abused. First, its limits must be ascertained by facts, all exceptions and strange anomalies (and there are many such) noted. Second, it must only be applied to known and locally-fixed tungs. We must remember the great number of modified and transition and sister dialects, offering many differences, — *which have perisht*; and the thousands of local words and branching word-forms — *which have likewise perisht*. But the German philological school has of late years carried this sound-system to extreme lengths. They have begun to dissect and probe and construct so minutely, as often to lose the substance for the shadow, not to see the wood for trees. They have often applied "laws of grammar and sound" to races and dialects and times of which they know *absolutely nothing*; and they have often forgotten that the great populations are not school-taught, frequently speak in local ways not admitted by the book-dialect — the book-people in fact calling these ways "barbarisms" and often not understanding them, — and that, when they write, the populations seldom spell according to any accepted code, but try as well as they can to spell as they talk, more or less phonetically. We need not go far to prove this. We have the proof in ourselves, in our own families, in 50 out of every hundred partially "educated" men, in 90 out of every hundred partially "educated" women, in every manuscript, in every church-yard, in every street which has signs and writing-boards¹.

¹ Already published (in Danish) in "Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie", 1867, Kjøbenhavn, Part 3, pp. 177-281, ("Cand. L. F. A. Wimmer om de Oldnordiske Runeindskrifter. Af Prof. George Stephens"). It was a reply to that Gentleman's violent attack ("De ældste Nordiske Runeindskrifter") pp. 1-64 of the same Journal, 1867, Parts 1, 2.

² I have just seen a new and amusing example in *one of the most respectable thoroughfares of the Danish capital*. The sign is well painted. Suppressing only the name, it is:

....sens
beværtning
Og
handel
med
dobbelt, Vidt.
Bayer, Better.
(!)."

This is delicious. It is good Danish — in the *lingua vulgaris*, as spoken by many of "the mob" on whom the mandarins look down so scornfully. But, good heavens! After hundreds of years of schools, and in spite of "Compulsory Education" and "Compulsory Examinations" and all the other tyrannical abominations of the modern millenium — certainly such a result is surprising ANNO 1867.

Add hereto, that one of the Icelandic stones lately placed in the Runic Hall of the Old-Northern Museum by State-Councillor Worsaae, and hitherto not deciphered, bears the following inscription:

HER LIGUR ÞRER: ICAR, 10, 10N.

HER LIE THREE-PEPSONS; ICAR, 10 and-10N.

This basalt pillar cannot well be later than the 15th century. Yet it has LIGUR (3 s. pres.) for LIGA or LIGIA (3 pl. pres.), thus a very early and remarkable example in Iceland of the same tendency which has become nearly universal in the Danish dialect. — I only hope that the sign-painter may NOT be hanged, as a warning to others; and that the "impossible" and offensive Icelandic stone may NOT either be broken in pieces, or else — at the least — *privately buried*, out of the way of the modern German school.

But at present, as I have said, the attempt to photograph sound has been often carried to great excess. The book-maker begins with a whole battery of sound-types for the dialect which he is discussing. He has half-a-dozen A's, as many E's, as many I's, and so of all the vowels and diphthongs and consonants. And the more pedantic and wearisome he is, the more he plumes himself. His A', A'', A''', A'', A'', A'', &c., make a great show, tho few or none can learn to speak after these signs. And then perhaps he has a lot of accents or tones, the roll-tone, the jerk-tone, the drawl-tone, and so on, *usque ad nauseam*, all very well in their way but not very well out of their way. We might also "classify" the various sing-songs (or ways of more or less *singing* words and sentences) which so curiously distinguish most dialects and speech-groups. And on the strength of all this, he perhaps begins to fix "nationality". The man or village which says A' is Danish, A'' Frisic, A''' German, A'''' Saxon, A'''' English, A'''' Swedish. The misfortune is, that most of this is mere moonshine, altering at the distance of a few feet or miles. Every new dale or plain or woodland may give a new set of sounds and accents and sing-song; the kaleidoscope will offer quite new figures — as symmetrical as the others but different. Now, using "laws" of this kind, as made up today from a local patois or as drawn from a manuscript some centuries old, to promulgate iron-hard decrees about folkship and nationality is very hazardous. Yet this is now being attempted on a great scale. By the smell of a vowel many persons will now tell you, to a hair's breadth, all about populations and dialects and "nationalities", a thousand years old and more, of which we have no remains, and of which we know little or nothing. If these men had *thousands* of skinbooks instead of *units*, in *scores* of dialects instead of a couple, and a *thousand years older than those we know of* — there would be some sense in their procedure. As it is, the whole is at best a mere guess, sometimes reasonable or plausible, more often the idlest caprice.

In reading the oldest runic monuments of Scandinavia and England, I neither would nor could go this way. All the oldest literary remains of Scandinavia are so modern (13th and 14th centuries), that to found thereon a system which should infallibly apply to populations 1000 winters farther back was not to be thought of. To build on one modern dialect (the Norse-Icelandic), and to construct on that a *changeless* system for all the *changing* talks in all the Northern landscapes *hundreds of years* before Iceland was even discovered — I lookt upon as child'splay. So I took my stand on the monuments themselves. First I tried to fix the value of the runes, then to let the runic carvings speak for themselves, reading them only in accordance with all other inscriptions everywhere, with common sense, common formulas (men and women being always the same), by analogy, by comparison with the old carvings in the later or Scandian runes, and with the oldest dialects of England — which is Scandinavia's oldest colony, these oldest English dialects and the oldest Scandian runic carvings nearly "synchronizing", running nearly thro the same centuries — say the 3rd to the 9th year-hundred after Christ. I denied that "Icelandic" ever was the mother-tung of any Northern land, or that the pedantic systems of the German theorists could apply to the many unknown tungs in the North during the first 9 centuries after Christ. I lookt upon it as an axiom that a Danish runic piece would be in some Danish dialect, an English in some English, a Swedish in some Swedish, a Norwegian in some Norse.

Let us consider. What do we mean by "the language of the Northmen" in the days of the great folkwanderings? When these wild and warlike tribes, men, women and children, at different times and from different places came pouring in to the Scandian lands — how long before the time of Christ we do not know — do we really mean that they spent some preliminary years of instruction and "examination" under schoolmasters and professors, learning to speak and write their mother-tung "correctly and grammatically", all of them after one iron norm as infallibly fixt by a German philosopher 1800 years afterwards? I trow not. But even if they had done all this, it would not long have availed them. As they spread from coast to coast, from river to river, from fiord to fiord, and as each new swarm penetrated deeper into the forest and began to "rid" and settle, far away from clansmen and feres, their "one tung" would rapidly be broken up into local talks, *here* the older forms kept up longer, *there* simplifications and end-shortenings coming in more rapidly. The restless members of these folkships, those who wandered out in search of fame and booty and land, would — if they came back, have learned many a variation from their home-born words and sounds, and would certainly to some degree alter or "corrupt" the home-talk of their own families; those who remained in their native wilds would have so little intercourse with others — for the distances were immense, the woods deep and trackless, the roads few and hard, communication almost none — that "dialects" would inevitably spring

up, and these would go on petrifying or diverging until, as we know was and is the fact everywhere, *near neighbors* could sometimes scarcely understand each other. This is the case *at this very day* in every country in Europe, *in spite of hundreds of years of centralization and schools and literature*. And where these men were settled at spots which became centres of trade and commerce, the language would be exposed to incessant change from every side, *as also is the case at this very day*. What is so *now* was so *then*, when there were hundreds of ever-changing states but *no one centralized speech-ruling state*; numberless solitary homesteads and some few hamlets and here and there a petty "town", but *nowhere a language-regulating "capital" or "city"*; hundreds of ever-warring independent Earls and Kinglets, but *not one King or Kingdom*; individual Sages and Priests and Poets and Rune-carvers, but *no equalizing and leveling schools, no fixing and harmonizing literature*. Let us look at the earliest Latin and the earliest Greek. How nearly allied are they not! And yet how many were their dialects, and how little do they both follow one law of letter-change and slur and end-form! And how strangely did they not develop into distinct tungs!

We hear a great deal about Mæso-Gothic (one *known* Gothic dialect out of 50 *unknown*), and about the Gospel books of Ulfilas. Now when a Bishop or a Church publishes a Bible-translation or a Prayer-book or a Psalter, when a King or State publishes an Act or a Law-code — does any reasonable man dream that more than a very few, a greater or less minority, *speak* exactly the same language as is thus adopted in that Bible or Prayer-book or Psalter or Lawbook? Is it not *known to all men* that such a fixt text is only a more or less happy adaptation and combination? Are we not all aware that thousands or millions of men, women and children — according to the size of the state — very imperfectly understand the Book so issued, and still more imperfectly *speak* the language there written? How many "uneducated" persons in the different Danish provinces — especially in North- and South-Jutland, which has almost its own tung — *speak* the language of the Danish Authorities or the Danish Bible? How many in England — especially in our northern counties, which have almost their own tung — *speak* the language of our English Bible? Scholars often treat the Bible-texts of Ulfilas as if they were a magical fetish. When Ulfilas gave out his Bible to the many warlike "folks" more or less under his teaching, how many, what exact proportion, of those thronging thousands actually *spoke* "grammatically and correctly and uniformly" the language thus submitted to them? And so in all times and in all lands. Still more in times and lands with no literature; there the diversity of course spreads widest.

So, and *only so*, can we understand *the fact*, that in one single Swedish folkland — Upland — and in the narrow limits as to time of that province's Scandinavian-runic grave-stones, we find *the same word* often with such diversity of spelling. *Some* difference of *pronunciation* and of *form* MUST have been exprest by *so great* a difference of *spelling*. Let us take, for instance, the common word STONE, whose usual and orthodox Swedish form is STEN. This word is thus given. acc. sing. masc. on Uplandic runic monuments: ISTAIN, ISTIN, ITIN, IDUN, SAIN, SENA, STAEN, STÆINI, STAIN, STAINA, STAINI, STAINO, STAN, STAUD, STEIN, STEN, STENA, STENO, STIAN, STIN, STINA, STINÆ, STINI, STINO, STOIN, STON, STONO, TSIN, &c. The theory of "miscuttings" will not help us. The instances are too many and find parallels everywhere. And if some are "miscuttings", which? We here see dialectic forms, lingering older forms, and phonetic or trying-to-spell-after-the-sound forms. Exactly similar long lists of variations might be drawn up as to any one word in our old dialects *as found in manuscripts*. But will any reasonable man seriously talk about "the niceties of the vowel-change" and all that, as *practically applicable* to such a list as the above from the runic monuments of only one Northern province?

On the one hand, we must remember that sounds and sound-forms and words and word-forms have largely altered and developept and swung backward and forward in *the same land* and *the same dialect* as centuries past away and disturbing influences were powerfully felt. On the other hand, we know very little of the limit to which older local spellings — *as now pronounced* — represented older local talks. The argument applied by Burton to the 15th and 16th centuries is as applicable to the 5th and 6th, or to any following period: "All readers of old books are familiar with the eclecticism of their spelling — how, even after the art of printing made a pressure on uniformity, the same word might appear on the same page in two, sometimes three, different spellings. Spelling varied more easily than pronunciation; and, apart from any such generality, it can be easily shown that the sounds expressed by letters used in both nations [England and Scotland] in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were quite different

from the sounds expressed by the same letters in modern times"¹. Mr. Burton here refers to the older *ai* for *a*, *j* for *i*, *o* for *oe* and *e*, *quh* for guttural *wh*, *sch* for *sh*, *v* for *u* and *w*, *y* for *i* and *z* (*ih*), *z* for *y*, &c.

Of course I was prepared for the resistance and protest of the German philological school. And it has come. Candidate Wimmer has published² his famous Lecture on the 1st Part of my runic work.

I will reply as shortly as I can to what he has said, and in such a way as I hope will be instructive to all those general readers who feel any interest in the subject.

I will begin with the chief of Candidate Wimmer's many *accusations*.

1. *I cannot even distinguish between Northern and German.* Hence (p. 7) "in opposition to all linguists" ("i strid med alle sprogforskere") I divide the Scando-Gothic tungs into 3 classes under 2 great groups (Northern *A*, 1; Saxon or Flemish *A*, 2; German *B*) instead of into 2 classes, Northern and German. Now if he had said that this division into 2 classes had become common of late years, wherever the German school has gained influence, we could not have complained; but "in opposition to all linguists" is really too bad, even if it *proved* anything; for a man *might* possibly differ even from "all linguists" on some point or other, and yet — be in the right. The oldest Northern traditions say, that the Northern tung was spoken also in Saxland. Doubtless the men who wrote that knew more about the facts than a modern professor; and, however exaggerated the statement, they *could not* have asserted suchlike unless the Scandian and the Saxon tungs had been wonderfully allied, both in sound and form, in the earliest times.

In accordance with the facts, as I have understood them, I have said of the rune-ristings before me that "all is Northern, but not tied down to any distinct bookspeech. Of German forms there is no trace". Indignant at this, my learned critic exclaims (p. 7): "it is only a pity that he keeps his proofs to himself" ("kun skade, at han beholder sine beviser hos sig selv"). But my whole work is my "proofs". As I take Old-English to be evidently a Northern tung — the very oldest of which we have any literary remains — I of course admit and use *as Northern* words and forms lost in the later Scandinavian but kept in Old-English, and, as I show, yet found on old Scandian-runic monuments.

In rapidly accenting Old-English as a Northern tung, I necessarily — but very shortly, in an episode of a few lines — handled the question of those famous 3 evidences of English being a German tung which commonly are called "Rask's law". At p. 11 Mr. W. says that my argument about these 3 "proofs" does not help me one whit, for that these 3 are only 3 out of many, and that their fall will not affect the rest. Now I appeal to every reader whether these 3 are not *everywhere* looked upon as THE THREE, as those which are *decisive*? In schoolbooks and linguistic treatises all the world over (and not least in Scandinavia) more than these 3 are seldom even hinted at. I could not write a folio on this incidental argument. I took the *three* everywhere quoted "proofs" and showed their utter baselessness, they being mere modern provincial developments in Scandinavia *after* the emigration of the English from their Scandinavian home.

At p. 14 Mr. W. apparently admits that "these 3" must in fact be abandoned. But he afterwards repents, and seems to take this admission back again, at least in part, at all events as to the Passive in -s.

Now the Post-article is really so late in Scandinavia — that we will say no more about it.

The Infinitive in -AN (later Scandian *A*, *E*, *E*, till in many dialects it falls away altogether as in modern English) is only a question of time. Even if I had not found *one single instance* of this Infinitive in -AN in Scandinavia, all now admit that this older form *has* existed, and Rydqvist long since prepared us for its possible discovery. The examples I have found are all in Scandinavian-runic. They are:

1. The *Arsunda* stone, Gestrikland, Sweden. Date ? 950-1050.
2. The *Forsa* Ring, Helsingland, Sweden. Date ? 800-900.
3. The *Halla* stone, Gotland, Sweden. Date ? 900-1000.
4. The *Maeshove* slab, Orkneys. Date ? 900-1000.

¹ John Hill Burton, The History of Scotland, Vol. 4, 8vo, Edinburgh 1867, p. 136.

² This piece was communicated to others *before publication*. It is spoken of by Prof. S. Grundtvig (Historisk Tidsskrift, Vol. 5, Part 2, p. 618). But no such courtesy — or rather, no such act of simple justice — was shown to me; and I was thus not even able to ask the editor of the *Årbøger* to add a line or two of protest, and announce that I should reply as soon as possible.

5. The *Seddinge* stone, Lolland, Denmark. Date ? 900-1000.

6. The *Sigtuna* stone, Upland, Sweden. Date ? 1000-1100.

A probable *seventh* instance, the *Frössunda* stone, Upland, seems to be from the 11th century. Supposing that only a *couple* of these instances should be accepted as *absolutely* without a *shadow* of doubt, they will suffice and the others will be at least "likely". Fresh examples may turn up any day, we know not how soon.

The Scandinavian Passive (or Middle or Reflective or whatever we may call it) Mr. W. seems unwilling to abandon. He declares that I have called this form "quite new" ("ganske ny", p. 15). I have done no such thing. I have called it "modern", which of course means "*comparatively new*". At p. 30 I observe: "The Old-Scandinavian has no Passive. It has a Reflective or Middle form, made by adding *sik* (oneself) to the verb. But this reflective is a *modern* development. In the oldest writings (and these are modern) it is almost unknown. It gradually creeps in, side by side with the common Passive constructions with the verb *BE* or *WORTH*, &c.; then extends; then *sik* becomes an enclitic, becomes shortened to *sc*, *sk*, *sg*, *st*, *z*, as a part of the verb; and at last it assumes its modern shape. The farther back we go, the rarer the instances of this Mechanical Reflective in Scandinavia.

"The English dialect had the pronominal form *six*, as well as the Scandinavian and the German; but it had not (that is, it had laid aside, lost) the reflective *sik*. So, even if it would, it *could* not follow the Scandinavian in this development of the Reflective.

"But the Germans always had, and still have, this *sik*, as well as the Scandinavians. So far, the Scandinavians were more "German" than the English. Now why did not the Germans go the same way as the Scandians, and in like manner make a Reflective or Passive out of their *sik*?

"They did not, because they did not. There is no other reason. So much for iron theories!"

He remarks hereon (p. 15) that this reflective form is "common-Northern" ("fælles-nordisk"), and that it is found in "the oldest written monuments" ("de ældste skriftlige mindesmærker") and is quite common in the Edda and the oldest manuscripts. These latter we dismiss at once. No Eddic or other manuscripts in Scandinavia are older than about the 13th century. They are proportionally "modern"; and the oldest even of these offer — not *s* but — the mechanical suffix *sik* and *-sk*. As for the carved monuments — which are centuries older — this form has *never been found* on the oldest or Old-Northern pieces. It occurs on the Scandinavian-runic monuments in three shapes, an older, the pure reflective or middle *sik* after the verb, excessively rare; only 1 example known to me, the Forsa Ring, probably of the 9th century; and then a later, the mechanical shortened suffix *-sk*. Of this I have only remarkt 4 instances.

The first is the *Århus* stone, Jutland, Antiq. Tidsskrift, 1852—54, pp. 387-95, and Rafn's *Pirée* p. 40): *DO KUNUKAR BARDUSK*. This block is apparently from the 10th century, Rafn thinks from the 11th.

The second is the *Råda* stone, Vestergötland, Sweden, (Liljegren No. 1365, Bautil 989). As this has never been published in a trustworthy shape, I give it here, from a drawing by Intendant P. A. Sæve in 1862, kindly communicated to me by Prof. Carl Sæve:

ÞNRKIL : 𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹 : 𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌹𐌸𐌹 :
 𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹 : 𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌸𐌹

DURKIL SATI STIN DASI ITIR KUNA, SUN SIN, IR UARD TUDR IURISTU, IR BØDUSK KUNUKAR.

THURKIL SET STONE THIS AFTER KUNI, SON SIN (his), AS (who) WORTH DEAD (fell) IN ORREST (battle, fight) AS (when) BERED - them (fought) the - KINGS.

This stone I take to be from the 11th century.

The third is the *Ars* stone, N. Jutland, (Antiq. Tidsskr. 1843-45, p. 178): *STIN KUASK*; apparently from the 10th century.

The fourth is the *Hvitaryd* stone, Småland, Sweden, (Liljegren No. 1254, Sjöborg Vol. 3, p. 119, Fig. 196, 197; Rafn, *Pirée*, p. 35). This is a *Christian* monument, and bears the verb *ITADISK* (the later *ANTADIS*).

Thus this class goes back to the 10th century, and is comparatively "modern".

The third and last form assumed by this suffix is the bare -s. The oldest examples are those with the verb *ANDA* and *FARA*, to die, in many variations of spelling. I know of the following:

Djulefors, Södermanland, Sweden. Bautil No. 787. *ANTADIS. Christian.*

Fredriksdal, Södermanland. Dybeck, 8vo, No. 1. *ANTADIS. Christian.*

Sistad, Upland, Sweden. Dybeck, 8vo, No. 95. *ANTADIS. Christian.*

Broby, Upland, Dybeck, 8vo, No. 97. *ENTADIS. Christian.*

Nible, Södermanland. Dybeck, 8vo, No. 82. *ENTADIS. Christian.*

Stainkumla, Gotland. Sæve, G. U. No. 82. *ENTADIS. Christian.*

Vesterby, Södermanland. Dybeck, 8vo, No. 32. *ENTADIS. Christian.*

Tufsteg, Södermanland. Bautil No. 780, B. *ENTADIS. Christian.*

Hagby, Östergötland. Bautil No. 882. *EOTADIS. Christian.*

Ingelstad, Finnsheden, Sweden. Liljegren No. 1262. *ETADIS. Christian.*

Syltan, Östergötland. Bautil No. 857. *ITADIS. Christian.*

Angarn, Upland. Bautil No. 94. *FURS. Christian.*

Fjuckby, Upland. Bautil No. 498. *FURS. Christian.*

Öslunda, Upland. Bautil No. 50. *FURS. Christian.*

We then have *Gerum*, Gotland. Sæve, G. U. No. 138. *LÜFTADES (-LYKTADES). Christian.*

Åkirke Font, Bornholm. *HALLSAS and HULLIS. Christian.*

And 11 modern Gotland stones with *HULLIS*, *HULLS*, *ULLAS*, *ULLIS*, *HLIS*, *HULLAS*; also *Flairinge*, Gotland, Sæve, G. U. No. 8, *SEHIAS*.

We thus see the growth of this form. About the 9th century we have one heathen example in *SIK*; in the 10th we have two heathen examples in *-SK*; in the 11th one heathen example in *-SK*; in the 11th or 12th one Christian example in *-SK*. *All the others*, with the form *-S*, are *Christian blocks*, some of them so late as down to the Reformation.

In fact that this construction *is* modern and mechanical, is self-evident. The un-passive forms long continued; some continue still. The Germans were very near it in numerous phrases, for such an expression as *FINNA SIK* in the oldest Scandian skinbooks is identical with the German *FINDEN SICH*. But it never came to a head in German or Saxon tungs. If *FINNA SIK*, *FINNASIK*, *FINNASK*, *FINNAS*, *FINNES* or *FINDES*, in Scandinavia is "fælles-nordisk", "common-Northern", what then is *FINDEN SICH* in Germany?

A similar curious and artificial construction was developed in Norse-Icelandic, the use of *MIK* (for *I* and *ME*) as a reflective and passive suffix or enclitic to the 1st pers. of verbs present and past. This *MIK* assumed the forms *-M*, *-OM*, *-UM*, *-UMC*, *-UMK*, *-UMZ*, &c., and was as remarkable as the like reflective or medial *-SIK*, *-SK*, *-S*. But, unlike this latter, it never spread to the other Northern dialects, and at last it died out altogether. Therefore, the other Scandian talks *are not Northern*; and, when it fell away in Icelandic, this tung of course *ceast to be Northern*.

The other "mighty differences" pointed out by Rask between Old-English and Old-Scandinavian are as petty and futile as those here discuss. They consist in the English having kept some archaisms or peculiarities longer than the Scandians, or in the Scandians having kept similar trifles longer than the English or else developing provincial forms. No one said that *Old-English* was *exactly* the same as any one *Old-Danish* dialect. But neither will any wise man say that any precise *Old-Danish* was *exactly* the same as any one *Old-Swedish* dialect, or any one *Old-Swedish* *exactly* the same as any one *Old-Norse*. There is no one English or Scandian dialect which has not peculiarities unknown elsewhere. And so in every land under the sun.

It is very strange with these "striking characteristics" between Old-Scandian and Old-English. On the one hand people write big books to prove, that (say, between A. D. 800 and 1000) *a large part* of England was occupied by Scandinavians, who seized and thoroly colonized the country, gave it "thousands" of its local names, and have occupied "half England" to this very day. — On the other hand, we have numerous *WRITTEN REMAINS* from these same counties from the 11th and following centuries down to the Reformation, and *the local dialects* of these provinces are still *fresh and vigorous*. Yet no one has ever yet been able to find *ANY ONE* of the "striking Scandinavian characteristics" which made up the famous Chinese Wall between the Old-Scandian and the Old-English. — The infinitive in *-A* we cannot even mention, for this is *far older* in "Scandinavian" [— Northern] England than any so-called "Scandinavian" wiking-immigration.

Now what is the meaning of all this? Such a result is unheard of. Even *a very little* colony "of another tung" will leave traces of their language for centuries. And here the question is, of what is popularly called HALF ENGLAND.

Is, then, the whole "Danelaw" a myth? Did Danes and Norsemen never occupy north-eastern England?

Or, did these Scandians speak substantially the same tung as the Scandian Angles among whom they came?

The answer is plain. England east of the Watling-street was seized and settled by Scandinavians in the 9th and 10th ages. And of course they brought their mother-tung with them. But *so near AT THAT TIME* were their home-born local dialects to the older Old-Northern folk-talks already in the country, that they easily and rapidly melted into each other. There were no salient singularities which could create any *East-north-English Scandian*. The *Post-article*, the *Passive in -s*, and all other such provincial nostrums, were either *unknown* in Scandinavia A. D. 800-900 or were only very slowly creeping in.

Hence these later Scandians could bring a few local words or phrases, and now and then a native Dane or Norwegian or Swede might scribble a few of his provincial runes, but — (out of nothing nothing comes!) — there *could not be* "essential differences" in languages in which there was no "essential distinction".

2. Page 3. In my "*Runic Literature*" I have omitted "*several of the most important treatises (for instance by P. A. Munch)*" ("*adskillige af de allervigtigste afhandlinger [f. eks. af P. A. Munch]*"). On the contrary. I have expressly stated that these works are almost innumerable, and that I only give the *principal* among them, especially those which handle the Old-Northern runes. I have given all of general interest known to me, either in separate headings, or cited under the monuments to which they specially relate, or in lists contained in several of the works I mention. Either a reader will consult the head works — when he will see very many others mentioned — or he will not. I have given separately rather too many than too few. I could not let my work swell to fifty Parts instead of two.

3. P. 17. I am so ignorant that I "*cannot distinguish between sounds and orthography*" ("*ikke forstår at skelne mellem den virkelige lyd og lydbetegnelsen*"). I have given lists of endless variations on the runic monuments at the close of the heathen and the early Christian period, or still later. I have shown that these variations often occur *on the same block*. To keep down the bulk of my continually increasing volume I have *not* cited the name of *every stone* as to such endless examples as those relating to CARVED THIS STONE, RAISED THIS STONE, &c.; but in *hundreds* of other instances I have carefully specified the name of *every monument*. Could I do more? I have also repeatedly pointed out that these phenomena are exactly the same in our codices and church-yards and streets, and that they are not explained by the jargon of the schools. Why then am I grossly ignorant? My argument is — as to Old-Northern equally with Scandinavian-runic inscriptions — that we cannot tie down these ancient pieces to a pedantically "correct" orthography, as if the spelling was always the sound. And I *prove* this by references to monuments everywhere else, Classical and non-Classical.

4. P. 4. I am so stupid that "*the history of language, its results, its use — all this is to Prof. Stephens a terra incognita; for us others there are in all languages fixed laws by which the several phenomena must be explained; there are regular, fixed sound-transitions, which only historical philology can place in their right light.*" ("*Men sproghistorie, dens resultater, dens anvendelse — alt dette er for prof. Stephens terra incognita; for os andre er der i alle sprog bestemte love, hvorefter de enkelte fænomener må forklares; der er regelmæssige, bestemte lydovergange, som kun den historiske sprogforskning kan stille i det rette lys.*") I have nowhere denied the existence of these "sound-transitions". I have only demanded that they shall be used *where* they are known and as to *what* is known, not where they are *not known* and as to *what* is *not known*. I have said that the Old-Northern dialects from Finland to the Highlands during the first 700 or 800 years after Christ are in a great measure *unknown* to us. If ever we can learn them we must go — not to the *theory* of a language-maker, but to the *facts* on the runic monuments which time has spared us. I am of the same opinion still. The great value of all our *very oldest* remains, on stone as on parchment, is — that they give us the language more or less as *it was spoken* by the writer, not as it was dictated by a capital a dictionary or a schoolmaster. Hence are these *oldest* pieces so costly to students (not makers) of dialects and sound-laws.

5. P. 5. *I and Prof. Carl Sæve are carried away by mere "fantastry" ("fantasteri")* with regard to what we have called *old forms*, final N, gen. sing. fem. nouns in -UR, &c. These, Mr. W. says, are "quite new dialectic peculiarities" ("ganske nye dialektejendommeligheder"). As to that noble Scholar Prof. C. Sæve, he will answer for himself if he think proper. I will only here remark by the way, that Prof. Sæve was a ripe linguist and a famous rune-smith while Mr. W. was yet a little boy at school.

But what *is* "quite new"? Is it from the 19th century or the 9th or any time between? Is a form found on the monuments *as far back as we can go* (say the 3rd or 4th century after Christ) "quite new"? As far as I know we have not yet found such a gen. s. f. in -UR on the O. N. pieces. Possibly this form may not be so old. At all events to find a female noun in the genitive on such monuments is almost impossible. It is an uncommon occurrence anywhere. But we have this gen. s. f. in -UR in some living Scandian dialects, in some of our oldest Scandian skinbooks, and on several Scandinavian-runic stones. I know of the following:

1. *Årsunda*, Gestrikland. Half-heathen. Has also the infinitive *RISAN*. Date ? about 950-1050.
2. *Föle*, Gotland; 2 examples. Date ? 14th century.
3. *Hanstad*, Upland. Date ? 950-1050.
4. *Korpebro*, Södermanland. Date ? 1000-1100.
5. *Orsunda*, Upland. Date ? 1000-1100.
6. *Runeberg*, Upland. Date ? 950-1050.
7. *Törneby*, Upland. Date ? 1000-1100.
8. *Urvalle*, Närke. Date ? 900-1000.

Thus, in spite of the enormous destruction of our monuments, some of these examples go back to the 10th century. Surely, *not* a "quite new form"!

The N-ending is more fortunate. It is found not only on several Scandinavian-runic pieces, some of them heathen and very old, but on many of the oldest Old-Northern remains. Thus it is only "quite new" in the "quite new" meaning now given to "quite new".

Of -N in the nom. and acc. pl. neuter of the def. art. &c. I have markt the following examples:

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|------------|
| BAON, | Hammarby, Upland. | Christian. |
| DAUN, | Lingsberg, Upland. | Christian. |
| „ | Hainhem, Gotland. | Christian. |
| „ | Habblingbo, Gotland. | Christian. |
| „ | Sandby, Öland. | ? Heathen. |
| „ | Fockstad, Upland. | Christian. |
| „ | Bäling, Upland. | Christian. |
| „ | Strengnäs, Södermanland. | Christian. |
| „ | Rasbo, Upland. | Heathen. |
| „ | Adelsö, Upland. | Heathen. |
| „ | Vedelsprang, S. Jutland. | Heathen. |
| DISUN, | Hanstad, Upland. | Christian. |
| „ | Tible, Upland. | Christian. |
| DON, | Löfstad, Upland. | Christian. |

Thus some of these are — both in Sweden and Denmark — at least as old as the 10th century.

6. P. 8. *Mr. W. accuses me of having said, that Rask was "the actual creator of 'Slesvig-Holsteinism'"* ("den egenlige ophavsmand til 'Slesvig-Holsteinismen'"). I said no such thing. I observed (p. 29), as cited by Mr. W. himself, that Rask's theories, in the shape they assumed in the writings of Grimm, Keiser and Munch, were used as helps for Slesvig-Holsteinism. This is not calling Rask "the actual creator of 'Slesvig-Holsteinism'".

7. P. 17. *Mr. W. cannot understand why I introduced the Oscan as one example among many of endless dialectic varieties even in Classical Italy.* I am sorry for it. Probably the fault was on my side. But I fancy that whatever Greek dialect I has selected as to Greek, or Latin as to Latin, he would have made the same objection. Enough said about nothing.

8. P. 19. *I do not even know the number of the Old-Northern letters.* I have said that the O. N. Futhore contained about *twice* as many runes as the Scando-runic — that is, 30 or more. This

Mr. W. denies, and says "only some and twenty" ("kun nogle og tyve"). — "Some and twenty" may mean 22 or 29. How many are intended?

Remembering that there are sometimes 2 or more signs for one sound in the O. N. alphabet (thus $\Psi = \text{A}$, $\dagger = \text{A}$; $\text{F} = \text{E}$, $\ast = \text{A}$, &c.) we shall find that I am quite correct.

9. P. 19. *And I do not know what is younger and what is not.* Mr. W. cannot understand my statement, many times repeated, that the Scandinavian-runic futhorc is "younger" than the Old-Northern in the sense of its being a modified and simplified form thereof, — but yet *not* "younger", as if it had suddenly been brought into Scandinavia by a foreign people or civilization, like as the Latin alphabet was introduced by Christianity. Perhaps I have expressed myself too shortly or somewhat obscurely, notwithstanding the occasional "repetitions" of which Mr. W. complains.

10. P. 20. *My Runic Tables "could without any loss have been altogether omitted"* ("uden skade kunde have været helt udeladte"). I think not. Many gentlemen have thanked me for them, and they are daily of use to myself. But then — I am only a beginner.

11. P. 20. *Prof. P. A. Munch also said (according to Mr. W.) that Ψ was -R* This is news to me. As to *one single monument*, the Istaby stone, that gifted genius guest that it might be -R or something else. Otherwise he took it to be M. In a later treatise (Norske F. M. M. B. Aarsberetning, 8vo, Christiania 1857, p. 79) he says that Ψ may be RZ, or Z, or a vowel [if a vowel, perhaps A, for A is vowel; then why has not Mr. W. applied to Prof. Munch the like elegancies of language as to me?]. In the same essay Munch observes that F is A, but also a middle-sound, a voiceless sheva; and that H is A; and that K is A, but also a middle-sound. Thus A's in plenty. Surely such things as these are no system. The fact is, that Prof. Munch, with his boundless talent and energy, was slowly feeling his way and was only cut off by his early death from great discoveries. Just so Fin Magnussen was painfully working his way forward when, on coming to the Thisted stone, he saw that Ψ in the name T Ψ DIS could not be M, as he otherwise took it to be, and so here proposed Y.

12. P. 21. *Mr. W. complains that the form for S on the Charnay Brooch, given by me p. 49, is in his eyes "very suspicious"* ("meget mistænkelig"). I cannot help it. M. Baudot, the finder and owner of this jewel, the accomplished artist who with his own hand drew the beautiful copy published in his splendid 4to, wrote me to say that he had here and in another place made a slight mistake, and that the rune for S was as he gave it in the corrected copy which he obligingly sent me for publication in my work.

13. P. 21. *Mr. W. again and again explains that I have given no "proofs" ("beviser") for my identification of the runic staves.* I have given all the alphabets, all the monuments and all the reasonings and readings and comparisons and combinations. My whole book is my "proofs". I have no more to offer. I cannot

"call spirits from the vasty deep"

to prove it on oath.

When I say more particularly that Ψ is A and that \ast (whose origin I explain) is A (E), Mr. W. again demands "proofs". When he himself says that Ψ is -R and that F is A, may "we others" be allowed to ask for his "proofs"?

14. P. 21. *"The Alphabet on the Thames Knife must however be many centuries younger"* ("Alfabetet på Thames-kniven må dog være flere århundreder yngre") than the year 500.

How many centuries? Shall we say 4 or 5? This would make the Sword (or Knife) to date from the 9th or 10th century, when Christianity and the Latin letters were in full swing, and when the last thing people would think of would be to fabricate a runic sword with the heathen staves upon it made in a very costly manner. Add, that this alphabet is in the Futhorc order, that of the oldest times. Lay hereto that it has the scarce and peculiar *oldest* rune for S, and also that it is metallic, — all proofs of excessive antiquity. But the ornamentation also belongs to the earliest age.

So Mr. W. will perhaps let it remain at about A. D. 500.

15. P. 22. *I have summed up the number of the Swedish monuments incorrectly, forgetting 2.* I have so and am sorry for it and for many more faults, some of which will be corrected in my Errata.

16. P. 24. *I have translated "all the inscriptions" ("alle indskrifter").* No crime even if I had, should my versions be reasonable and not come to by altering the letters at my convenience. But I

have not. A couple in my 1st Part and several in my 2nd I have not succeeded in reading. And several I have *guessed at*, as a help to others, a beginning, rather than formally translated.

17. P. 24. *And I have not succeeded in translating one of them correctly* ("hele denne del" er "fuldstændig forfjælet"). What, not one? Not one redd correctly even of those which had no *Y* to mislead me?

18. P. 24. *I have got out of the monuments "the most barbarous forms and words", "a complete impossibility"* ("de mest barbariske former og ord", "en fuldstændig umulighed"). Yes, if judged by a preconceived theory and the modern Icelandic. The question is, not what is "barbarous" or "impossible" to our modern systems, but what is on the monuments. And unfortunately we have *hosts* of these same "barbarous" and "impossible" "forms and words" on the later *Scandian-runic* remains — which we say *we can read*. What shall we do with these Scandian-runic examples? We cannot make *everything* that displeases us on all our monuments *barbarous* or *impossible* or *miscut*!

19. P. 25. "*The author's total want of insight in the history of the Northern tungs*" ("forfatterens fuldstændige mangel på indsigt i den nordiske sproghistorie") is shown by my reading of the Tanem stone, because it does not meet with Mr. W.'s approbation. Particularly the mans-name *DREWING* ought undoubtedly to have had -R or -I at the end — notwithstanding the many examples of the absence of this -R or -I in the oldest Scandian remains.

20. P. 26. *I find on these O. N. pieces "the most wonderful Names"* ("de vidunderligste navne"). I do, and so do all who study the *very oldest* of our Scando-Gothic monuments. Many such will be found in Förstemann's "Alt-Deutsches Namenbuch", and many more will be found when the Proper Names of England and Frisland and Scandinavia are collected. We have even scores of these "most wonderful" Names on the *Scandinavian-runic* monuments, and many still subsist in our living Northern landscape-talks. What shall we do with them? Shall we prize them as treasures of our oldest speech, or shall we, with Mr. W., authoritatively anathematize them?

21. Pp. 26, 27, 55, &c. *The formula OWNS ME*. We have a well-ascertained formula, from the oldest times down to the present day, in people writing on grave-stones, jewels, weapons, &c., (as now on Books, &c.) *N. N. OWNS*-this. — This is my crime. I have dared to find this formula on our oldest runic pieces. — As *A*, *Æ* and *O* continually interchange, and as the *AH*, *ÆH* or *OH* which is the 3rd pers. sing. pres. of the verb *AIGAN*, *AGAN*, *ÆGAN*, *OGAN* (*to owe, own, possess*) in Scandinavia very early, how early we do not know but probably here and there as far back as we can go, was softened into *A*, *Æ* or *O*, I have sometimes assumed the probability that this *A* or *Æ* or *O* may be this word *OWNS-me*. Suppose we had the name *THOMAS*, and we found an ancient stone or jewel or tool or weapon inscribed *THOMASAH* or *THOMASOH* or *THOMASA* or *THOMASO*, &c.; and suppose we were not sure that this *AH* or *OH* or *A* or *O*, &c., were an ancient nom. ending; we might then say — this whole word answers to the mans-name *THOMAS*, but possibly we have here the formula *THOMAS OWNS-me*. But, being ignorant of the dialect, we might in some cases humbly suggest — possibly the word may be a genitive, *THOMAS'S*, or a dative, *to-* or *for-THOMAS*. But Mr. W. is angry at all this. He, knowing nothing of these tungs in the 3rd or 4th or 5th century, calls hard names and fills a page with talk about de-censions. If I offer *one* reading, I am absurd; if *two*, mad; if *three*,

Jewels such as the Dalby Diadem inscribed

L U P R O

and the Himlingöie Brooch inscribed

H Æ R I S O

are found in the graves of both *men* and *women*, and many distinguisht scholars have long since redd them as mens-names with *o*, *owns-me*.

L U P R - O W N S - m e . — H Æ R I S - O W N S - m e .

But Mr. W. has found out that *LUPRO* is a womans-name, and *HÆRISO* a womans-name. That they *may be* womens-names I have long since mentioned in my Word-row, and this was also Mr. Haigh's opinion as it is Mr. W.'s. But cannot this opinion be stated quietly and politely? And why deny this formula *OWNS-me*, which occurs on so many objects in all the Northern lands?

22. In one place (p. 24) Candidate W. says he "cannot even pronounce" so monstrous a word as *BYIYA* (acc. pl. fem. = *THESE*). I am sorry for it. *I can*. But can Mr. W. pronounce

the *w*¹ before *r* and other consonants? *I cannot*. No common Englishman now can. No common Scandinavian now can. And yet, at this moment, in the Shetland islands the peasantry still vigorously keep up this *to-us-now-so-difficult wr*, as well as the old *gn, kn, hw, &c.*

These will be sufficient as specimens of the *Accusations* brought with such violence against me. We will now follow our learned adversary in other directions.

The Runes are found only in Scandinavia and — Scandia's oldest colony — England. The oldest English will therefore nearly represent the oldest Scandian. I show that the oldest Scandian monuments contain forms found in the oldest English, and that the oldest Scandian and the oldest English are in all essentials identical (there being differences and dialects everywhere when we descend to details). In connection herewith I prove that the arguments usually insisted on for English being a German dialect are utterly worthless, the main traits of the oldest English being found also in the oldest Scandinavian, while the so-called Scandian "Characteristics" are of later growth *after* the time of the oldest Scandian settlements in England. Here and there Mr. W. tries to find other decisive proofs of Old-English being a German tongue. Thus at p. 11 he says, that the 2nd pers. sing. of the past tense in O. English in "strong" verbs ends in *-e*, but in the Scandian dialects in *-t*. What a colossal discovery to separate two nations! It only amounts to this, that one of two old forms, both existing in relative shapes in Old-Indian, has held its ground in England, the other in Scandinavia. We shall probably never be able to find any *possible* examples of a 2nd person Past on the oldest Scandian monuments, for we may well despair of finding a Runic monument from heathen times saying *THOU DIDST* or *THOU FOUGHTEST* (or any other verb in the 2 p. Past). How then can we know whether this difference between the Scandian and English dialects existed at that early period? Where are Mr. W.'s "proofs"? That *-t* was in use in English also as the ending of the 2 pers. sing. Past is evident from the language down to this day. *THOU SHALT, THOU WILT* are originally Past tenses which have obtained the meaning of Presents. And in Old-English we have also *þú DEARF-T, þú MIH-T, þú WÁS-T, þú MÓS-T*. Perhaps Mr. W. will say that the 2 pers. sing. Past in *-i* or *-e* was "impossible" in Old-Scandinavian. But — has he any other "proofs" than this word "impossible"? — In later English this *-t* became as common as in Scandinavia, so we then became "Scandinavians".

There is another such, often before found, *mare's-nest* at p. 30. "One of the criteria between Old-Northern and the Old-German languages is, that Gothic *s* is cast away in the declension in the German languages, but is preserved in Old-Northern as *-r*" ("Et af skælnemærkerne mellem old-nordisk og de oldgermanske sprog er det, at gothisk *s* er bortkastet i bøjningen i de germanske sprog, men i oldnordisk bevaret som *r*").

But we have several examples of this very *-s*, *not -r*, on the Old-Northern monuments, and even still later on the Scandinavian-runic monuments. Were all these costly pieces "impossible" or carved by Germans to be redd by Germans? — Besides this, we have many "impossible" forms, *without* their end-marks (as in Old-English) on Old-Northern monuments. I am not so frightened by Mr. W.'s "impossible" as I ought to be. — And this "impossibility" is now the rule in Danish and Swedish, both which dialects have cast away their end-marks. Are they therefore now German tongues? This nominative ending has fallen away earlier in English, as it almost always wants in Old-English. But it must once have been a general feature in that language, either as *-s* or as *-r* or as a dim middle-sound.

Mr. W. continues, p. 57: "The Northern character of this language [in his reading of some O. N. *ristings*] is not only clear from *-r* at the end, but also from such forms as *ek, gastir, runar, þaiar*." ("Sprogets nordiske karakter fremgår imidlertid ikke blot af *r* i endelsen, men også af former som *ek, gastir, runar, þaiar*.")

As to the three last words I do not understand Mr. W., and cannot see any fresh evidence of Northern character except the *-r*. The relationship between Scandian and English with regard to this *-r* is as above explained. — Nor do I understand him as to *ek*. It surely cannot be the vowel *e* here (instead of *i* as in Old-English and sometimes in Old-Swedish) which enabled him to pronounce authentic verdicts as to populations and dialects and nationalities a thousand years back. He must be a master indeed in the phonetic niceties of the olden tongues who can tell us, whether the German *ich* and the Old-English *ic* were always pronounced differently as to the vowel, to *ek* in Old-Danish-Norse.

¹ The old and real *w*, as in Jutlandish and English, not the later *v* to which it has sunk in most dialects.

Nothing is more common in most languages than to write *i* where the sound is *e*. Mr. W. does so himself in many Danish words, as in *tiL*. But even if there had been a difference as great between Old-English *ic* and Old-Scandian *ek* as between the sound of the first syllable in Swedish *finna* and Danish *finde*, what would this prove? If this "*i* or *e*" is Mr. W.'s meaning, he wishes I suppose to make it a chief Scandian criterion. If so, I propose to call it "Mr. Wimmer's law".

But surely the "immense learning" of the Germans cannot have culminated in such — (I might find the epithet, if I would pay Mr. W. back in his own coin!) — as this. What would the "uneducated" common-sense *lady* say if they were to hear us affirming that: — The Scandian populations are *Germans*, for they have *sik* as the Germans have *sich*, while the English have no such word? — And: The Scandians have their sing. nom. and accus. neut. adj. terminations, and so have the Germans. But the English are the only *pure* Northmen, for they have not this ending.

Or: — Old North-English is *Scandinavian*, for it has the Infin. in *-a*, and it says *tiL* for *to*; but the Old South-English is *German*, for it has the Infin. in *-an*, and says *to* instead of *tiL*.

Or: — The Old Norse-Icelandic is the *only real* Northern dialect, for it has a negative suffix *-at* or *-a* added to verbs; but this is wanting in all the other Northern dialects, which are therefore German or something else.

And so on *ad infinitum*. Would not these *laymen* laugh? — I look upon such "discoveries" not as linguistic profundities but as — linguistic humbug. I am only a layman.

At p. 61 Mr. W. has another such remark. "The rune *Y* in the oldest runic alphabet is peculiar to the Northern inscriptions; its meaning gives us an important mark of separation between Northern and German in those distant times to which these carvings belong." ("Runen *Y* i det ældste runealfabet er ejendommelig for de nordiske indskrifter; dens betydning giver os et vigtigt skølnemærke mellem nordisk og germansk i hine fjærne tider, hvortil disse indskrifter hører.") I cannot see what new weight is expected from this remark, even from Mr. W.'s own point of view. If *Y* tokened a peculiar sound of *æ*, and if this sound had fallen away in English, of course the mark for that sound would disappear also. Nor can I see, with regard to real German, what proofs Mr. W. can bring for this contrast to the Northern *tung*. I deny that we have any real German runic inscriptions. Even should Mr. W. drag in my couple of "Wanderers" as German, only "German learning" will be able to build up theories of nationality from the forced and fumbling reading of a couple of words written in runic letters. And Mr. W. has not remarkt how certain Old-Northern monuments refrain from using this *Y*. Are they therefore "German"? No, they have a dialectic tendency to the sound *æ* and therefore have *F*, not *Y*, the mark for *æ*. — If Mr. W. supposes that the mark *Y* is only found on objects in Scandinavia, he is mistaken. We have it also on the Osthofen Fibula (Rhin-Hessen, my p. 585), on the English Sword from the Thames, on the English Coin from Wyk, and on Bracteates some of which *may* have had an English origin.

At p. 61 Mr. W. has another strange assertion. He says that the South-Jutland runic monuments from the 3rd century downwards prove that this land was *Danish*. How so? Is it merely because we have the runes there? But Mr. W. declares (in the teeth of the facts) that the runes have been in common to all the Scando-Gothic peoples. Therefore their being found in South-Jutland may as well prove that folkland to be *German* as *Danish*. — Is it because the *tung* is *Danish*?

What is *Danish* of the 3rd or 4th century after Christ?

We have also in England runic monuments from the 3rd or 4th century downwards. What do they prove? Do they show that England is a German or a Northern land? Must we take the proof from the runes as such, or from their being in a *tung* not German?

What is *English* of the 3rd or 4th century after Christ?

Mr. W. has talkt a good deal about German and Northern, and the great differences between them at this early period, and the admirable "laws" as to what is Northern and what is German, and of my folly in daring to doubt these laws, my rashness in overturning some of them, and my mere madness in saying that the archaic forms on the oldest Scandian stones are *English* — that is, Old-Northern still subsisting in England. The question before us is: the oldest Northern *tung* as taken to England in the 3rd, 4th, 5th centuries, and as it long subsisted at home in Scandinavia itself. What is this Old-Northern, and how are we to distinguish it from German?

I have said that we know very little about these things, but that we can see there was a great difference between Old-Northern and German, for German is β while Old-Northern is Δ ; but that there was a small difference between Old-Northern and Saxon, for Old-Northern is Δ , 1, while Saxon is so near that it may be called Δ , 2. I have added that Old-English is Old-Northern for two reasons; 1st, it came from Scandinavia, chiefly Denmark; 2nd, it is identical in all essentials with the language of the oldest runes.

Now what does Mr. W. say? Listen we! The page is 14: "The nearer the language is in age to the common ground-tung, so much the less, as before remarkt, is the difference between Northern and German; nay, some might even suppose an instance where we could not determine whether the language ought to be called the one or the other." ("Jo mere sproget i alder nærmer sig det fælles grundsprog, desto mindre er, som tidligere bemærket, forskellen mellem nordisk og germansk; ja, der kunde endog tænkes det tilfælde, at det ikke kunde afgøres, om vi skulde regne sproget til den ene eller den anden stamme.")

Again. The page is 58: "Even then German and Northern have already developept their characteristic peculiarities in the several tungs; but on the whole the difference cannot have been great. At all events it is difficult for us now to find it out." ("Germansk og nordisk har allerede dengang adskilt sig ved karakteristiske ejendommeligheder for de enkelte sprog; men forskellen i det hele kan næppe have været stor; ialtfald er den vanskelig for os nu at opdaget.")

We must remember that Mr. W. here speaks of *Scandian* (Old-Northern) on the one hand, and on the other BOTH the various *Saxon* dialects AND ALSO the *German* dialects, for he insists that we have *only two* groups, Old-Northern and German. And he speaks of these dialects in the period of the O. N. runic monuments, especially from the 3rd to the 7th century, *the very same time* referred to by me when I discuss the question is *Old-English a Northern dialect*.

Now if Mr. W.'s just-quoted sweeping sentence of *almost-identity* be admitted as to *Scandian* and *Germansk* (= *Saxon*, AND *High-German*), what must we say as to this *almost-identity* in the 5th century after Christ between the so very near akin *Scandian* and *Saxon*, — excluding the more distant *German*? What has become of all the wonderful and striking and "characteristic" differences, and where are the patent handy and infallible "laws" for at once deciding which was which? And why should not Mr. W., like so many German authors, quite simply include both Scandinavians and Englishmen in the Saxon group? He can scarcely find any difference. He cannot even clearly distinguish between Scandian and High-German!

Thus Mr. W. *has answered himself*. The gross ignorance with which he charged me — *falls away*.

Let us now turn to the Runes. We will confine ourselves to the *later* Δ and to the *earlier* Υ .

At pp. 30, 31, Mr. W. expatiates on the Δ (as $-R$, as R , as Υ), as if he had made some discovery. It appears to me that he has added nothing to what I said at my p. 152: — "But Scandinavian-runics have also quite another type for R , later but still *very old*, Δ ; sometimes, as at Alsted, Sealand, \ddagger ; in the Helsing-runics express by two dots low down, $\cdot\cdot$. This is commonly called R -final, but it very frequently occurs at the beginning or within a word, and this on very old monuments. The origin of this distinctively provincial mark is probably connected with a remarkable euphonic and literal tendency in the Scandinavian dialects in early times, — the inability to pronounce s , so that at the end of a word it either fell away altogether, or became a vowel, or hardened into R . This may also explain the remarkable fact that this rune Δ not only stands — on old and classical monuments — for R , but also for œ and Υ . I imagine then that Δ was hit upon to express this dull s , and that it afterwards settled down into R -final or R generally, or to an indistinct vowel. Just so in Sanscrit we have the vowels \ddot{r} and r . These remarks will also apply to the very antique \mid for R (especially R -final). In fact \mid may only be a half- Δ , the upper part (\prime) being often a type for s , while the lower (\mid) becomes employed for this dim R -sound. Δ itself may only be a similar variation of one of the many s -types, purposely invented to signify this dull s or a still duller vowel." — And, p. 160: "But this form [for Υ , of which variations are given] was supplanted by the type Δ (which also stands for the vocalic variation œ , as well as for the dim vocalic R , afterwards also a real R). This is common everywhere, also in Mss., as in the Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms. Sweden, Skåne Law, Ms. Denmark. On all the Manx stones no Υ occurs; we should expect Δ . — We have this form debased, \ddagger , on the Julstad stone, Upland."

As to Ψ , we are repeatedly informed (Mr. W. here following Prof. S. Bugge) that it is certainly and always -R, final R, that final R which (sprung from an older final S) contrary to all linguistic history is made one of the great marks of distinction between the German and the Old-Northern. — But in the later alphabet, as we all know, this same Ψ is the universal mark for the consonant M. Now how is this curious change or mystery or fact — to be explained?

When I said that the olden Ψ is A, that the later Ψ is M, I added that I could not account for the apparently sudden transformation, that I could not fathom the religious or political cause for this change. For this frank confession of my ignorance Mr. W. overwhelms me with reproach. I ought to have known. It is in vain that I announce again and again that I am not a member of the German-philological clique, and therefore that I do not profess to know everything. My ignorance is ridiculous, and adds to the arguments against the olden Ψ being A.

Well. How does Mr. W. explain this same difficulty, the overgang of the olden Ψ (his -R) to the later M? We have it at p. 40: "When the \mathfrak{M} (M) of the older alphabet, which is still found as a ruin on the Helnæs stone in the word $\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}$ Kupumut, went over to Ψ (Φ), here as elsewhere two staves in the oldest alphabet becoming one in the younger, it was necessary in order to avoid misunderstandings to choose the form \mathfrak{A} as the final-R. But in the older alphabet it was immaterial whether the arms were placed above (Ψ) or below (\mathfrak{A}). In either case it was the same rune." ["Da det ældre alfabet \mathfrak{M} (M), der som ruin endnu findes på Helnæs-stenen i ordet $\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{T}$ Kupumut, gik over til Ψ (Φ), idet her som ellers to stave i det ældre alfabet blev til én i det yngre, måtte man som tegn for slutnings-R nødvendigvis vælge formen \mathfrak{A} for at forebygge misforståelse. I det ældre alfabet var det derimod ligegyldigt, om tverstregerne sættes foroven (Ψ) eller forneden (\mathfrak{A}); i begge tilfælde blev det den samme rune.]"

All is now clear. The mystery is solved. \mathfrak{M} (M) went over to Ψ (M) in this wise. First, the two side-strokes became one (\mathfrak{A}). Then, the one side-stroke suddenly jumped up thro the middle (\mathfrak{X}). Then, the one lower arm fell away (\mathfrak{Y}). Then, the other lower arm fell away (Ψ); — and the thing was done, *quod erat demonstrandum*. It is true all this seems very "wonderful", and has not left a single trace on all the monuments, where we never find these overgang-forms of \mathfrak{M} into Ψ . But — the German-philological school, as we know, is infallible and above all monuments, and we must submit.

In order then to read the olden inscriptions, we must hold fast to the Old-Northern forms (of which we know nothing, except from the oldest runic monuments) as categorically and infallibly laid down by the German-philological school on the basis of modern Icelandic of the 13th century, which they call Old-Northern, and we must give a consonantic value to the rune Ψ . — We may tabulate the law as to this Ψ thus:

1. Ψ is always and only -R, altho there is another distinct rune for R, both "final" and not, namely \mathfrak{R} .
2. As this Ψ , is the end-R, all the words in which it is found *must* have it as the final letter.
3. Therefore we must so divide the words, that Ψ is always at the end of a word, else the carving cannot be redd.
4. But we may also say that this Ψ is -s, the soft s, that final s which afterwards in Scandian becomes -R; — altho we have another distinct rune for s, both "final" and not, namely \mathfrak{S} or \mathfrak{Y} .
5. In either case we *must* have an A. Therefore (Ψ being -R or soft -s) \mathfrak{F} is A, contrary to the testimony of the skinbook alphabets and of the oldest monuments, both Old-Northern and Scandian-runic, which make \mathfrak{F} to be \mathfrak{A} .
6. But, whenever we please, \mathfrak{F} is no longer A but o, altho we have another distinct Old-Northern rune for o, namely \mathfrak{O} .
7. But, as it may be impossible to find or divide words so that this Ψ is *always* at the end, and the whole system would then *tumble-down*, — what are we to do? Nothing easier. WHEREVER Ψ CANNOT BE AN -R, WE SIMPLY DENY ITS EXISTENCE. WE ACCUSE THE MONUMENTS, NEARLY ALL WHICH WE HAVE NEVER SEEN, OF BEING INCORRECTLY COPIED.

But for this last paragraph the whole school is not answerable. It is Mr. W.'s own private contribution. For this therefore he alone must bear the responsibility.

But with all these "laws" what does the school accomplish? Out of all the many O. N. runic monuments, which the German philologists assert are in the most orthodox and correct and grammatical

and "sound-law" and "Icelandic" Old-Northern, the very men who declare that *they alone* are in the possession of any skill and that they have a monopoly of all wisdom as to "sound-laws" and "end-laws" and "grammatical Icelandic" — confess that up to this day they have only redd *two and a half short inscriptions*.

1. We begin with *the Gallehus Golden Horn* (p. 51). This is now redd (by Prof. S. Bugge, *Tidsskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik*, 1865, p. 317):

ek Hlevagastir Holtingar
Horna tavido.

*I, Hlevagastir of-Holt (or Holtingson)
this-Horn made.*

Here, as I have said, on a piece so very old (Munch dates it about 200-300) we should certainly expect the elder -s for the younger -r. But let that pass. The above translation makes sense and is so far admissible — always supposing Y to be -r.

I objected — besides the poverty and bareness of such a carving on so very costly an ornament for Temple-use — that the best copy of the Horn [which is LOST] has *everywhere* marks of division between the words, and, at the very beginning such a clear separation-mark between the w and the æ, showing that the words were to be divided

ECHLEW ÆGÆSTIA

whereby the whole "authentic" reading would fall to the ground.

I also objected (p. 326) that "People seldom or never said I in old days. They spoke in the 3rd person. WOLF WROTE THIS, not: I, WOLF WROTE THIS. In fact this pithy epic style belonged to the times. Out of the THOUSANDS of Blocks and Slabs, Jewels, Coins and other Monuments, in *Runic* and in *Roman* letters down to the middle age, which I have seen, bearing the formula MADE ME, ME FECIT, FIERI FECIT, GARED, LET MAKE, WROTE, WROUGHT, LET RAISE, RAISED, CARVED, CAST, &c., I cannot call to mind *even one* beginning with this I. Certainly its occurrence on so ancient a piece as this Golden Horn is altogether incredible."

Now this is a grave, almost a fatal objection. It looks upon the "authentic" translation as an anachronism. It is at all events a reasonable and very powerful argument. How is it met? As I do not belong to the German-philological school, and therefore do not know or profess to know everything, and as I am very chary of making sweeping assertions without full proof — I express myself modestly. "I cannot call to mind *even one* beginning with this I." When last in London, I asked the greatest archæologist in England, Mr. Franks, one of the Directors of the British Museum — a gentleman of enormous acquirements and who has the contents of all the great European Museums at his finger-ends — whether he knew of any such ancient instance of I MADE, &c. He answered no! Well, all this Mr. W. travesties into: "In old days people seldom or never said 'I' (thus they still could say it); they spoke in the 3rd person, with other things which do not concern Bugge's reading." (Page 36. "'Folk sagde i gamle dage sjælden eller aldrig' [de kunde altså dog gøre det?] 'jeg'; de talte i 3dje person' foruden mere, der ikke gælder Bugge's læsning.")

Mr. W. also throws in my teeth that I object to Bugge's reading of the Horn his o in the 1st person past tense, and his double name. But if Mr. W. had enquired, he might have learned the reason. It was because, years ago, all the gentlemen of the German-philological party with whom I spoke about these things, denied and ridiculed (as strongly as Mr. W. now does my other "barbarisms") the possibility of such "ungrammatical" and "un-Icelandic" forms as sing. past in o and double names and many more such. I therefore merely and most respectfully reminded Prof. Bugge that his reading acknowledged that these illegal forms after all might be correct.

But Mr. W. has a triumphant example of I MADE in my own translations. He says (p. 38) that I render the beginning of the Lindholm Amulet EC ERILEAS. I do. But ERILEAS is not a Name. It means in my version ARELESS, *honorless*. I said that I thought this curious bone Fish or Eel was an Amulet, and that the words carved upon it were supposed to be spoken by the fish. — My own translation of the Golden Horn was:

ECHLEW ÆGESTIA HOLTINGÆA HORNE TEWIDO.

ECHLEW for-the-AWEST (most-awful, most-dread, supreme, most-mighty) HOLTINGI (Holt-king, Wood-prince, Woodland-god) this -HORN TAWED (made).

(= *To the ever-to-be-feared Forest-God, Echlew offered this Horn!*)

I still believe that this version is "grammatical", and exactly suitable for such a splendid object. I also reminded my reader that we have the name of the Donor again in Old-English (in Beowulf, as EOGLAFF) and in Old-German (as EGGILEIB). I also said that near Gallehus was Farris Skov, the great forest in the Herred still called FRØS HERRED, and suggested that the god here worshiped and referred to on the Horn was FREA, Danish FRO, N. I. FREYR.

2. *The 2nd instance redd by this school is the one half¹ of the Tune stone (p. 51):*

ek vivar after voduride
vitai(?) gahalaiban vorahito (runar).

Again we will let the EK (i) and the R in VIVAR pass. For the reasons stated above, the reading is admissible (and was P. A. Munch's, only he gave VIVAM, not VIVAR). — In fact it is nearly the same as my own, which was:

ECWIWÆ AÆFTER WODURIDE, WITÆI GÆHÆLEIBÆN, WORAHTO R(UNES).
ÆRBINGES INGOST, LIA, ÆRBINGW (or ÆRBINGÆ)² NODU, INGOA, DOHTRIA, DÆLIDUN (SET)A WODURIDE STÆINÆ.

ECWIWÆ AÆFTER WODURID, her - WISE (noble, illustrious) LOAF-FELLOW (husband) WROUGHT (carved) these - RUNES.

The -HEIRS INGOST and -LIA, the -HEIRESSES NOTHU and -INGOA, DAUGHTERS, DEALED to-SET (shared in setting) to - WODURID this -STONE.

3. *The third piece authentically redd is the Istaby stone (p. 51). With Munch making Y to be -R, 4 to be A, and P to be V, and taking F as A. Mr. W. has:*

Afātr Harivulāfā
Haþuvulāfr Haeruvulāfir
vārait runar þaiar.

After Harivulf
Hathuvulf Haeruvulfer (= Haeruvulf's-son)
wrote runes these.

As before said, the color of a falling syllable being often immaterial, this may be so redd. He admits that HAERUVULAFIR for *son-of-Haeruvulf* is unheard-of. But let it pass.

My own version was:

YFÆTA HYRIWULÆFÆ, HYDUWULÆFA,
HYERUVULÆFIA WÆRYIT RUNYA BYTIA.

AFTER HYRIWOLF and -HYTHUWOLF
HYERUWOLF WROTE RUNES THESE.

Endings in A, Æ, IA, both for nominatives and accusatives of Names, occur repeatedly in ancient Scandinavian-runic inscriptions. Therefore, if they are "ungrammatical and impossible" it is not my fault. I only take what STANDS (not what *should* stand) on the monuments.

We now see what the school has accomplished. It has redd 2½ or 2¾ inscriptions. And what forms has it dug out? Those forms which P. A. Munch troubled it with, TAVIDO, WORAHTO, (DÆDUN),

¹ At p. 60 Mr. W. says he can read part of the other side also, the words dohtria daedun (aftan) voduride staina — *daughters did after Vodurid the-stone*. To get this, he supposes the LI in DALIDUN (my DÆLIDUN) to be miscut for E (NI changed into M), thus making the word DÆDUN. But what a new formula — DÆDUN AFTAR, DID AFTER! And what will other scholars of Mr. W.'s school say to the form DÆDUN? If I had proposed it, I am persuaded that it would have been called "laughable", "barbaric", "impossible", a witness of "perfect ignorance of all language-laws in Northern linguistic history".

² The stone admits the reading ÆRBINGW or ÆRBINGÆ, the last rune being injured.

it has not got rid of and must swallow as best it can. And AFÄTR, HARIVULÁF, HÆRUVULÁFIR, &c., which the school also must take from Munch, — how can they now become “possible”? Why does it not show “perfect ignorance” of all “language-laws” and of all “language-history” to believe in them? By what “iron-laws” have WORAHTO, AFÄTR, &c., now become orthodox Scandinavian forms? And what in all the world is now the real difference between my readings and the “correct” ones? Nay, what in fact are “iron laws”?

At p. 55 Mr. W. says that the Thorsbjerg Shield-boss *must* be redd from right to left. Before Mr. W. had ever heard of this piece I had thought that it *might* be redd in this way, had spoken with Mr. Haigh about it, and had added in my Word-row that it might also be taken as :

ÆISG AH.

Æ1SG *OWNS* - *me*

I cannot have everything in two places. Great numbers of such minor observations will be found in the Word row.

I have repeatedly protested against any translation of these monuments which does not religiously respect what plainly stands there. Mr. W. agrees. But he has not observed this fundamental law.

P. 51. On the *Tune stone*, he alters DALIDUN (my DÆLIDUN) to DÆDUN.

P. 53. On the *Berga stone*, to get his SALIGASTIR (my SÆLIGESTIR, dat. sing. masc.) he changes ʀ into ʁ.

P. 54. On the *Krogstad stone*, he says that the 2nd side may perhaps be redd stain-a-r.

If the ♯ is to be altered into ↑, why not change *all* the other letters also?

P. 59. On the *Stentofien stone*, where we have the plain $G_{\alpha}^{\alpha}FS$ ($= G_{\alpha}^{\alpha}FS$), as sharply in Prof. Worsaae's copy as in mine, he takes away the s and reads $G_{\alpha}^{\alpha}F$.

But in spite of the comparative fewness of these monuments, there are *some* of them where this Y (which Mr. W. says *must* be final-r) is unhappily so placed — at the beginning or inside of a word — where it CANNOT be -r, as to knock his system over and with it his whole linguistic theory. This is disappointing, very grievous, for ONE SUCH PLAIN INSTANCE IS AS GOOD AS A THOUSAND. Now what does he do in this case?

Let us turn to p. 29. We there find a most sweeping accusation, a perfectly unfounded *dead set* against my honesty. After stating what is *not true* about the Y on the Vordingborg stone, he continues: "But what holds good of the Y on the Vordingborg stone, the same holds good of those other places in which Prof. Stephens reads this rune as A, *because its connection forbids it to be a consonant. On the Professor's engravings there is plainly Y, but ON THE MONUMENTS THEMSELVES IT IS ILLEGIBLE.*" ("Men hvad der gælder Y paa Vordingborg-steuene, det samme gælder om de andre tilfælde, i hvilke prof. Stephens læser denne rune som A, fordi den efter forbindelsen ikke kan være medlyd; på professorens afbildninger står tydeligt Y. men på de virkelige mindesmærker er det ulæseligt.")

And all this without a word of local enquiry, without a shadow of monumental proof, without adducing the testimony of capable witnesses or condescending to any other ground for so slashing — and to me so injurious — an assertion. Of the many objects to which he refers he has only seen 2, one of which was in the dark Round Tower, and the other in the Glass-case in the Museum — where the Y is still plainly visible (at least to me) *thro the glass*. And observe there is no mincing of the matter, no weighing of pros and contras. On the one hand he says I have given “PLAINLY Y”; on the other is his authoritative and final and damatory “ILLEGIBLE”.

Let us examine these monuments one by one.

1. P. 26. *The Konghell Staff*. My p. 208. This quite plainly reads — whatever it may signify —

HYCFDUCKUFH.

Here Y *cannot* be R-final. So Mr. W. says that it is "most doubtful" ("højest tvivlsomt") whether the first and last letters are really H. But whether the H's be there or no, the Y is at the *beginning* not at the *end* of the word. He then goes on to ridicule my reading. He even — which he should not have done — is jocose about the argument that this is a Baton of Command. That this piece was a Commander's Staff is now generally acknowledged, and my translation is in perfect harmony therewith.

2. *The Tjängvide stone.* My p. 224. Only part of the inscription is now left, which I divide:

..... RISTI STINNLE IFTI GUDIFIRUDR. SI IS IKUIFIRUDIS YRFINK (or YRFIKR).
 RAISED this-STONE AFTER GUTHIFIRUTH. SI (he) IS IKUIFIRUTH'S ARF-TAKER (heir).

Here IKUIFIRUDISRRFINK, SRR, is impossible. I cannot find that Mr. W. anywhere mentions this stone.

3. P. 29. *The Orstad stone.* My p. 258. Far below the 2 upper lines, and quite independent of them, and so low down that it must have been hidden in the earth, is a line of runes in which the first two staves and the very last rune are indistinct but still readable. The first two are YR, the last is F. My engraving is founded on a Paper Cast and a Photograph, both forwarded by Prof. S. Bugge of Christiania, where the stone now is. Prof. Bugge kindly sent me two separate Paper Casts of all the rune-lines, the one Cast with the letters colored over by his own hand as he stood before the stone, the other Cast with the letters untouched and unmarked that I might judge for myself. In this undermost line the first letter is shaded or marked by Prof. Sophus Bugge as Y, the second as R, the last rune as very indistinct. On the other uncolored Cast we can plainly see that the first letter — tho indistinct — is Y, the second R, the last F.

If Mr. W. had doubted, he could have gone to Christiania to examine the stone; or he could have procured a Paper or a Plaster Cast therefrom; or he could have applied to me for a sight of the Paper Cast which I had stated in my text had been sent me by Prof. Bugge. But, why all this trouble? It was easier to attack the correctness of my engraving, where the Y and R and F are given, but with all due indistinctness. The cause was plain. RR is impossible. So it could not and did not stand on the block. It cost him nothing openly to discredit the whole value of my work, the authenticity, the honesty and truthfulness and minute care of my facsimile-engravings. An idle or biting or capricious word or two more or less was all the same to him. So he writes: "The Orstad stone, Norway, has in Stephens at the beginning of the last line YR, but both these letters are on the stone itself so indistinct that they cannot be made out." ("Orstad-stenen fra Norge har hos Stephens i begyndelsen af sidste linje YR, men begge disse bogstaver er på stenen selv så utydelige, at de ikke kan skælnes.") They are as plain on the Cast as they are on the woodcut. They are no plainer on the woodcut than they are on the Cast.

4. *The Belland stone, Norway.* My p. 262. Has only the name of the deceased, ACEDEN (= AKEDEN, as now pronounced, the old c being k). My careful woodcut is from a Paper Cast taken by Prof. S. Bugge, and colored or marked by him. He marks the first rune Y. But ac is by Mr. W.'s system impossible. So he passes this stone over without mentioning it.

5. *The Tanem stone, Norway.* My p. 269. Also a very short risting, here the 2 words MÆNISLU, clearly

MÆNIS LAU.

MÆNI'S LOW (heap, tumulus, grave-mound).

This same formula we have on other Old-Northern Norwegian stones. The runes are exactly the same in Klüwer's "Norske Mindesmærker", and on the stone itself which is now injured. Lector Rygh kindly sent me a Paper Cast of the stone, which is now in Christiania. On this Cast the 3 last runes are plainly TYN. But

MÆNISLRU

is impossible. So Mr. W. passes this stone over without one word of remark.

6. *The Thorstjern Shield-boss.* My p. 285. At p. 55 Mr. W. mentions this curious inscribed Bronze, belonging to the Shield of a Northern Warrior in the first half of the 3rd century. But he forgets to add that the letters are quite plainly and sharply cut — HYGSIÆ, which will be

HAGSIÆ

if redd from left to right, but

ÆISGAH

if redd from right to left, which is perhaps preferable. Now if Y be -R, this will give us

HGSIÆ or ÆISGRH.

In either case

HAGSI Æ or ÆISG AH

HAGSI-OWNS-me or ÆISG OWNS-me

will be an excellent meaning, and will harmonize with a *large class* of monuments, Runic and non-Runic, in which this *formula of possession* is confessedly employed. But Ψ as *-R, final-R*, is here *impossible*; so Mr. W. does not interpret the carving. But he may say that the letters on *all these* "impossible" pieces are — contractions.

7, 8. *The Vi-moss Plane*. My p. 307. I cannot understand the wit of his observation, p. 27, on the word *Sithe-shaft* as found here. That it is a Plane Mr. W. will perhaps admit. He can put an Iron into it and use it at once to plane wood with. And the planing-angle shows that it was made to plane *sithe-shafts* with, or similar round staves. The word *LÆ-ORRÆ* (*Sithe-shaft*) is clearly there, after the formula *N. N. OWNS*. As the tool is broken at the end and some staves after *LÆ-ORRÆ* are lost, I have suggested *LOGER* (= Plane) as the missing word. As I said, I cannot catch the point of Mr. W.'s sorry jest.

But to the runes. This piece has 3 runic scribbles upon it, from the first half of the 4th century. In 2 of them we have Ψ , and in both cases it is unfortunately so placed as at once to contradict Mr. W.'s theory. Let us now see the candor and loyalty with which he speaks of these two examples. At p. 29 he says: "On the side of the wooden Plane from the Vi-moss Prof. Stephens finds the name $\uparrow\text{IDY}\ddot{\text{Z}}$, *TIDAS*; but the fourth rune has no side-strokes on the Plane itself. What Prof. Stephens has mistaken for these side-strokes are only later scratches in the wood. If we should read the 4th rune as Ψ , still more should we read the 2nd rune as Λ . On the whole, the 3 middle runes in this word are very indistinct on the Plane itself. Also the rest of the side-writing is very indistinct in many places, which is not represented with sufficient exactness in Prof. Stephens' drawing. But on the top of the Plane the runes are very clear in the word on the left, and in the first word of the inscription on the right; but of all that follows only the first rune (P) and the shortly after following Ψ is quite clear; out of all the rest one can get nothing *certain*." ("På siden af træhøvlen fra Vi-mose finder prof. Stephens navnet $\uparrow\text{IDY}\ddot{\text{Z}}$, *TIDAS*; men den fjerde rune-stav har ingen bistreger på høvlen selv; hvad prof. Stephens har antaget derfor er kun senere ridser i træet; skulde man læse den 4de rune som Ψ , måtte man endnu mere læse den 2den som Λ ; de tre mellemste runer er i det hele meget utydelige på høvlen selv i dette ord. Også den øvrige del af side-indskriften er meget utydelig på flere steder, hvilket ikke er betegnet med tilstrækkelig nøjagtighed på prof. Stephens' tegning. På toppen af høvlen er derimod runerne meget tydelige i ordet tilvenstre, samt i det første ord af indskriften tilhøjre; men af alt det, der dernæst følger, er kun den første rune (P) og den kort efter følgende Ψ aldeles klare; alt det øvrige kan man intet sikkert få ud af.")

Again the same tactics. The Ψ is "illegible". But, if so "legible" as not to be gainsaid even by Mr. W., then — the runes *round* it are so "doubtful" that we cannot see whether the Ψ is *R-final* or no!

Now on reading this passage I became alarmed — not as to whether anybody who knows me should accuse me of being either *unwilling* or *unable* to copy rightly a legible inscription — but, as to whether this costly Plane had suffered so much since I saw it last as to be *no longer* "legible".

Here, as elsewhere, I gave in my text a frank and full description of this Plane, and of the way in which my engraved copy had been made. I stated that Archivary Herbst, of the Old-Northern Museum — (who is noted for the exactness and sharpness of his inscription-readings, qualities which have been for years strengthened and exercised by endless examinations of ancient Coins, and on whose eye I could therefore depend in this department), — took an independent drawing at the same time as myself the moment the Plane was drawn from the water, and that afterwards we made a third in union, all *before* the piece was "boiled" by Mr. Steffensen. I also stated that Mr. J. M. Petersen, so well known for his fidelity in works of this description, made his careful copies from the Plane shortly after the successful "preparation" had taken place. Therefore, if Mr. W. had doubted he should have enquired whether the inscription was then perhaps more distinct than it is now. He cannot expect the Plane to be *always* equally clear and fresh as the day it was taken out of the moss-water. Nor can he expect objects 1500 or 1000 years old *always* to have or keep their letters equally plain as if a strong-handed blacksmith had cut them in yesterday¹. At all events *he had no right* to state so broadly — without due enquiry on every side — that my copy was so far from trustworthy.

¹ It would be disastrous indeed for science, if all our Oriental and Classical and Runic and Roman-lettered sculptured or written remains should be rejected or treated as unworthy monuments, whenever now and then they had partly suffered. Even when

But here again, there is never an effect without a cause. The -RS in the first instance on this Plane and the -RH in the second are *impossible*. Hence the glib way in which my photographically exact woodcut is spoken of.

Every statement by Mr. W. about the runes on this Plane is untrue. First about the TIDAS. We must observe that the runes in this line are *divided into words by the carver himself*, there being 2 dots between every word. There are 2 such dots after TIDAS, which is therefore the first word, a simple mans-name, now TID (TIDAS, TIDS, TIDR, TID, TID). The 4th rune, the Y, has its plain side-strokes on the Plane itself. These side-strokes ARE NOT "later scratches on the wood" but regular cuttings exactly the same as all the other letters. But *what are* "later scratches on the wood"? Does this mean "scratches" *after* the Plane was placed in the water or *before*? This tool has been in the water for 1500 years. Who should have got down into the water during these 1500 years to scratch it? Nor CAN WE POSSIBLY read the 2nd rune as A. There are *no arms* below in this rune, but *there is* a very slight abrasure of the wood, by accident, not by any human hand. The word was and is a plain TIDAS. And *neither* in this word *nor* in this line *nor anywhere else* on the Plane is there ANY "DISTINCTNESS" in the runes which is not in accordance with the naked truth.

Next for "the top of the Plane". The Y is here so strikingly evident — that there was nothing for it but to pronounce the *nearest letters* in "NOTHING CERTAIN". Thus we get the Y to stand alone, and it *may* have been R-final. The honest facts are very different. We read *distinctly and sharply*

GISLIONG WILI AH LÆORBE

And these words *divide themselves*, so simple are they. But *the carver himself* has divided them. After GISLIONG are 5 perpendicular dots, after WILI a short central stroke, after AH perpendicular dots (how many we cannot see, apparently 4 or 5); after LÆORBE is a central short divisional stroke. The rest is broken away.

Now we can all see that, in such a sentence, YN as -RH *cannot* be, *must not* be, *shall not* be. Hence Mr. W.'s obliquity of vision. "On the top of the Plane the runes are very clear in the word on the left [WHERE THERE IS NO Y], and in the first word of the inscription on the right [WHERE THERE IS ALSO NO Y]; but of all that follows only" &c. ("På toppen af høvlen er derimod runerne meget tydelige i ordet tilvenstre samt i det første ord af indskriften tilhøjre; men af alt det, der dernæst følger")

When I redd this line: WILI GISLIONG (= GISLI-SON) OWNS this-SITHE-SHAFT — [Plane] I took *plain* runes, without altering a letter. But what shall we do with -RH?

As between Mr. W. and myself I can appeal to the following evidence.

1. My own and Archivary Herbst's careful drawings of all the runes the moment the Plane was found, fresh from the water. These drawings we have happily preserved. *They agree with the engraving.* The TIDAS and the AH are plainly there.

2. My artist's (J. Magnus Petersen's) careful drawings *after* the Plane was boiled. These also I have happily preserved. *They agree of course with the engravings which were made after them.*

3. The testimony of State-Councilor Worsaae, Archivary Herbst and Kammerråd Strunk. They have lately examined the Plane in my presence, with my woodcuts before them — which they have pronounced on the whole admirable, and declared, each for himself: "In the fourth rune in 111Y3 the side-strokes are plain, tho that on the right is somewhat rounder than in the engraving, and on the upper side of the plane the runes YN, whether they mean two or three letters, seem to be correctly given in the woodcut." ("I den fjerde rune i 111Y3 ere sidestregene tydelige, skönt den til højre er noget mer rundagtig end afbildningen udviser, og runerne YN på høvlens overside synes, hvad enten de betegne to eller tre bogstaver, at være rigtigt gengivne på afbildningen.")

9. P. 62. *The Voldtofte stone*. My p. 333. It is a fundamental law in all science, that we must go on slowly by induction and analogy. Now we have a numerous class of runic monuments which consist of funeral blocks (usually old and large) on which is carved only ONE WORD, the name of the deceased. There being plenty of space on the stone, and there being only *one name* to write on it,

broken, conjectural criticism may often restore with *absolute or relative* certainty what is wanting. Next to the *finder* of a precious monument, he is the greatest benefactor who with care and pains and patience — counting how many letters are absent, noting the shape of those that remain, reasoning from analogy, from the formula employed, and so on — judiciously and more or less *surely* reads what had hitherto been an illegible and dead inscription. So of ancient manuscripts. Hence our gratitude to Prof. Uppström for his labor of love on the previously imperfectly redd Mæso-Gothic writings.

there could be no object in or need for *contractions*. Accordingly, out of the many stones of this class known to me in all the Northern lands (England included) there is not *one single instance* of initials or "short writing".

Letters in old times being frequently reverst or upside-down (for instance $\mathbf{h} = \mathbf{c}$ or \mathbf{k} , and $\mathbf{r} = \mathbf{k}$ or \mathbf{c} are the same; $\mathbf{d} = \mathbf{r}$, and $\mathbf{t} = \mathbf{r}$ are the same, &c.) the olden \mathbf{Y} was often carved \mathbf{A} . This, indeed, is asserted by Mr. W. himself many times. He everywhere makes the Old-Northern \mathbf{Y} and \mathbf{A} to be identical.

Now let us turn to Voldtofte. This is a big granite block, with room enough for hundreds of runes. It bears only 9, the dead man's name:

RUULF \mathbf{A} STS.

RUULFASTS

Here we have a name *excessively antique*, and in a form so old that it has the primitive nom. ending in -s for the later -r, RUULFASTS for RUULFASTR. No wonder, then, that we here meet with an Old-Northern letter. The \mathbf{R} , the \mathbf{N} , the \mathbf{F} , the \mathbf{V} , the \mathbf{h} , the \mathbf{t} are *common to both alphabets*, so among these we *cannot* find any variation. But the \mathbf{A} . This is \mathbf{Y} or \mathbf{A} in the old futhorc, \mathbf{t} or \mathbf{d} in the later. And *here* we have \mathbf{A} . It is therefore self-evident:

1. From the *very* old name;
2. From the *very* old ending in -s;
3. From the *very* old \mathbf{A} for \mathbf{A} ;

that we have here a *very old* stone. And I accordingly proposed to fix it at the 7th century — which only procures from Mr. W. a profound "(!)"

But what does Mr. W. say? — He asserts (as the \mathbf{A} *could* not be -r, for RUULFSTS is — nothing) that the whole is *not* one name. It is a name and 2 contractions. We are to read, what has NEVER been met with elsewhere, the 3 last staves (STS) as the *initials* of the words

s[\mathbf{A}]T[\mathbf{I}] s[TAIN].

We thus get:

RUULF SET *this-STONE*.

Did he? Well, we are very glad to hear it. But *what for?* *Over whom?* Did ever anybody before hear of such a monstrosity as that a man should raise a funeral stone and *NOT SAY* to *whom?*

10. *The Vordingborg stone*. My p. 335. This is also a good example of the style of Mr. W. At p. 28 he says: "On Prof. Stephens' engraving is \mathbf{Y} , sure enough; but if we take the trouble to examine the stone for ourselves, it will be very difficult to find this \mathbf{Y} . Neither I, nor other persons very exercised in reading runic inscriptions, have ever (even in the very best light) been able to find this \mathbf{Y} . I therefore suppose that in the word faþur as well as in several other places on this stone, there stands (or *has stood*) \mathbf{t} for \mathbf{A} : and in general I do not take the Vordingborg stone to contain a single one of the older runes, or to belong to the overgang-stones, or to date from the time (600-700) to which Prof. Stephens assigns it." ("På prof. Stephens' afbildning står ganske rigtigt \mathbf{Y} ; men gör man sig den ulejlighed selv at eftersé stenen, vil det være meget vanskeligt at finde det nævnte \mathbf{Y} ; hverken jeg, eller andre, der er meget øvede i at læse runeindskrifter, har nogensinde [selv i den allerheldigste belysning] kunnet finde dette \mathbf{Y} ; jeg antager derfor, at der såvel i ordet faþur som på flere andre steder på denne sten står [eller har stået] \mathbf{t} for at betegne \mathbf{A} . og i det hele taget ansér jeg slet ikke Vordingborg-stenen for at indeholde en eneste af de ældre runer, eller for at høre til overgangsstenene, eller for at tilhøre tiden 600 til 700, som prof. Stephens tildeler den.")

It is clear from this, that Mr. W. finds it very difficult to say what the rune was which stood after \mathbf{F} in the word FADUR. Neither he nor his friends have been able to find any \mathbf{Y} . He "supposes" that there *may* have stood \mathbf{t} here, as elsewhere on the block (where \mathbf{t} signifies \mathbf{A}). Evidently all is dark and doubtful.

Now turn we to p. 62. Here he says — without the least hesitation, and as if the letter was *plain enough*: "On the Vordingborg stone stands $\mathbf{t} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{b} \mathbf{i} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{b} \mathbf{D} \mathbf{R}$ aft aþisl faþur (the rest is not quite clear to me)." ("På Vordingborg-stenen [står] $\mathbf{t} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{b} \mathbf{i} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{r} \mathbf{t} \mathbf{b} \mathbf{D} \mathbf{R}$ aft aþisl faþur [resten er mig ikke ganske klar].")

"THE REST IS NOT QUITE CLEAR TO ME"

That is: the AFT AÐISL FADUR is QUITE CLEAR to him.

Whatever the rune after F was, it *certainly* WAS NOT † . The *staff* of the letter is comparatively clear and sharp, and does not offer *the shadow of a shade* of any cross-bar, or of any mark at the foot. The injury is at the head of the rune, and especially on the one side of the head. Both Worm and Resen gave the rune as F , the one arm only, the other arm being so indistinct. But on examining the place very minutely, we can see that the other arm also was there, and that the whole letter was Y .

Now look at my facsimile-engraving. We there see that the letters L and F and Y , as well as all which follow in this line and as the last letters in the other line, are given so as to show that they are now *very faint and broken*. The block, as I have said, and as all can see, has suffered greatly. Accordingly, these staves have never before been correctly redd, either by Worm or any other.

And yet the ADISL FADUR is "quite clear" to him.

When I had found the H (the 2 Old-Northern runes in one bind-rune, H and P , H and w) low down on this block — which monogram had never before been observed, I began to examine the stone, for weeks and months, more narrowly, and thought that the second rune in the word FADUR was undoubtedly Y . What did I then do? I went to an impartial and careful and learned gentleman, who takes interest in runic studies, State-Councilor Regenburg, and asked him to give me his opinion. After due examination he answered, that he *thought* (no stronger word) I was right. What did I then do? The block stood in a dark niche in the Round Tower. So I got a Rubbing and also a Clay Mould of this part, and begged my artist Mr. Petersen to tell me what the rune now was. He replied that he thought it was Y . What did I then do? I let make a Mould of Plaster of Paris. State-Councilor Regenburg and Mr. Petersen examined it, and they both pronounced the second rune Y . Then, and not till then, did I get the stone most carefully engraved.

When this block was removed to the Danish Museum in March 1867, it was unhappily smashed into several pieces. It has been put together again by the help of my Mould (which I gave to the Museum), and, notwithstanding its injuries, we can still read, but not so distinctly as before:

F Y P N R

On the Mould the Y is now clearer than on the stone.

But we have the H still left. If there are 2 Old-Northern runes below, there may be one above. Nothing is easier. Mr. W. continues, p. 62: "The mark H on this stone undoubtedly is from a much later period, and can much better signify 'Hans Pedersen' than as Prof. Stephens will 'h(airwulfr) w(rait)'." ["tegnet H på denne sten utvivlsomt skriver sig fra en langt senere tid og meget bedre kan sige 'Hans Pedersen' end som prof. Stephens vil 'h(airwulfr) w(rait)'."]

Here again, no hesitation. "UNDOUBTEDLY", "MUCH LATER".

This mark *could not* have been added while the stone stood on its grave-mound, for it is cut so low down that it was then *hidden in the earth*.

It *could not* have been added *after* the middle of the 17th century, at which time it was sent by King Frederick III to the Capital and placed in the Church-yard of Trinity Church.

If "added" at all, it must have been while it was a footstone in the Excise Office at Vordingborg.

But is this likely? *Certain it is*, that this mark is — to all appearances — *as old and genuine* as any other part of the carving.

But, if the Y be on the stone, it is not the less so whether the other mark be genuine or no.

Quite lately, State-Councilor Worsaae has happily formed the Runic Hall in the Museum. Among the runic monuments there brought together, is the fragment from Bårse. This is only a middle part of the funeral block to which it belonged, and contains only the last word (as far as we can see) of the inscription. But under this, in the same manner as on the Vordingborg stone, is a runic monogram, 2 letters in one, P , + and P , H and w . Here also, as on the Vordingborg piece, I take the H to stand for the first letter of a mans-name and w for the first letter of WRAIT (however spelt), *WROTE-the-runes*. This Bårse bind-rune is a sharply and clearly cut as the other runes. Shall we say of it also. "The mark P on this stone undoubtedly is from a much later period, and can much better signify 'Hans Pedersen' than as Prof. Stephens will 'h(airwulfr) w(rait)'?"

11. *The Thisted slab*. My p. 355. At p. 62 Mr. W. observes: "As little do I take it that on the *Hörning* and on the *Thisted* stone there is any older rune." ("Ligeså lidt antager jeg, at der

på Hörning- og Thisted-stenen findes ældre runer.") Not one word more. He does not inform us *what* the runes are or *how* they are to be redd. Let us see.

The overgang Thisted stone reads, quite elegantly and distinctly carved :

THORÆ, TADIS SOL, HUIER HERÆ.

THORÆ, TAD'S SOL (SUN), WHILES (*rests, lies*) HERE.

The 2nd rune in TADIS is Y. Now it is evident that — whatever else it is — Y (*between* T and D in the common name TAD, *is not* end-R. Fin Magnusen, who otherwise took the old Y to be M, sees that it cannot be so here, or even a consonant, and suggested x, a good guess but not correct, and accordingly it misled him in his translation. We should have supposed, at the very least, that Mr. W. would have gone so far as the learned Iclander. But no. We have only the magisterial "as little do I take it", and so he passes on.

While talking about stones, I will remark that *the Veile stone* is, in Mr. W.'s opinion, p. 62: "quite unreadable in the copy which we have of it." ("aldeles ulæselig efter den kopi, der findes deraf.") But it is perhaps not more so than other pieces which have been conjecturally restored. A glance shows that this was an Old-Northern block. It ends in Y. My reading (with scarce any alteration of what stands in the copy) is not an unlikely one. — We have a similar example in the old drawing of the 1st Vånga stone (my p. 241), sent to me from Stockholm. I redd it *temporarily*, and drew attention to it. It also ends in Y. *This block has lately been refound and I possess fresh copies*, among them a Paper Cast and a careful Drawing kindly sent me by Riks-antiquary Hildebrand as executed by the Swed. Intendant of Antiquities Baron G. Djurklou. We now see that the old copy was erroneous in the first 3 letters, so that the first word is HWÜC, not KLAC. Amending this, my proposed version

HWÜC O LWA

HWÜC OWNS *this* - TUVA (*grave-mound*).

is apparently quite correct. HWÜC appears to answer to the Old-Engl. name HUICC.

Besides several others, where we can see that Y as -R is absurd but where we cannot MECHANICALLY prove it, we have here 11 instances with Old-Northern runes, in all of which we have Y in *such positions* that it CANNOT POSSIBLY be R-final. Even if one or two of these examples should after all turn out to be inconclusive, sufficient undoubtedly remain TO PROVE that this Y *was not either -R or even a consonant*. I gave it the value A — 1st; because in the Old-Northern futhorc it stands in the same relative position as the A (†, 4) of the later runic alphabet — 2nd; because the curious names given to it in the comparatively late skinbook stave-rows show that its value was no longer understood, but that it was supposed to mean a dim vowel — 3rd; because we have otherwise NO A AT ALL in the O. N. stave-row, where F is undoubtedly (as in all the oldest manuscript alphabets) Æ — 4th; because the A-value alone at once enables us to read — and to translate most of — *the Old-Northern monuments in which it occurs*, — 5th; we may add, that those great rune-smiths P. A. Munch and F. Magnusen had been driven by facts to suppose that on some pieces it *must be a vowel*.

In my 2nd Part will appear *other monuments*, also putting beyond question that the O. N. Y is A.

And what now is the outcome, the result, harvested by the German philological school with the help of its Sanscrit-learning and its Gothic learning, and its tall talk about A-stems and I-stems and JA-stems &c. in tungs which it does not know and cannot know, with its shuffling away of facts and its capricious systems? What does Mr. W. himself come to, amid his struggle against facts which others of his school have at least not tried to dispute? He says, p. 28, that "as yet no one has succeeded in translating more than a very little in a language which can really have existed." ("det hidtil ikke er lykkedes at tolke mere end ganske lidt i et sprog, der virkelig kan have eksisteret.") — Such a declaration of bankruptcy as this might at least have led him to speak with greater moderation, even tho it might not shake his confidence in the theories of his school.

Both Mr. W. and myself agree in the excellent conditions laid down by him, p. 60: "We must take the inscriptions as we find them, without doing violence to the separate runes, and we must thereby come to a language which can speech-historically be proved to belong to the time which suits the monuments themselves; in other words, I demand a real language which the people can have spoken, not a fancy-tung which a scholar can make in his study." ("tager indskrifterne som de findes uden

at anvende vold på de enkelte tegn, og at den derigennem kommer til et sprog, der sproghistorisk kan bevises at tilhøre den tid, til hvilken indskrifterne selv hører, eller med andre ord: jeg forlanger et virkeligt sprog, som folket kan have talt, ikke noget fantasisprog, som en lærer kan lave i sit studereværelse.")

Now has Mr. W. fulfilled these conditions? He has not. He has given the runes arbitrary values, contrary to the testimony of the monuments. And when these runes displease him, he passes them over or alters them. And he begins by saying that the only language which *can* or *shall* be found on all these monuments is the one which the German-philological school has made in its "study". Instead of asking the monuments what *they* say, he asks the system-makers what *they* say.

In my unpretending pages I have everywhere disclaimed any merit save one — that my engravings are faithful copies of the originals. Mr. W. says that I am a mere *ignoramus*, that my book is *worthless*, and that *many* of my facsimiles (of monuments which he has never seen) are *incorrectly* copied. I have also perpetually offered my readings as only *first attempts*, feeble efforts to *help or warn others*, I have said that I was *feeling my way*, that *somebody must begin*, that the Old-Northern dialects of those times were still, and would probably ever be to a large extent, a *terra incognita*. In fact my expressions were so modest that I was sometimes afraid of being accused of affectation. I had thought that I might be allowed to apply to myself the words of La Fontaine (Fables Choiesies, Preface): "Quoi qu'il en arrive, on m'aura toujours obligation; soit que ma témérité ait été heureuse, et que je ne me sois point trop écarté du chemin qu'il falloit tenir, soit que j'aie seulement excité les autres à mieux faire." — On the contrary, the end of all my labors is — that Mr. W. is not even civil.

The German-philological school is distinguished for *knowing everything*, for its *arrogant and overbearing tone*, and for its air of *intolerable infallibility*. I hope that all this will never find its way into Scandinavia. I trust that men of science in all the Northern lands will hold fast that stamp of friendly candor and chivalric kindness and mutual appreciation and respect which marks so nobly "the Scholar and the Gentleman". As to my learned critic, all I have to say is, that — with his acknowledged talents — he will certainly 30 years hereafter know *much less* than he now appears to do; and I trust he will one day admit that his onslaught against me was in many ways over-hasty and unjust.

I add a paper (also printed in Danish in "Aarbøger f. Nord. Oldk.", 1868, Part 1, pp. 14-28):

ON THE OLD-NORTHERN RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROF. GEORGE STEPHENS.

In the last number (Vol. 7, Part 3) of "Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik", Prof. Sophus Bugge, the accomplished Norwegian linguist, has written a learned and instructive treatise ("Bidrag til Tydning af de ældste Runeindskrifter, I.") in which he has endeavored to decipher some of the Old-Northern Runic Inscriptions on the theory and basis that the Old-Northern rune Ψ is -r, final-r, and not the vowel Δ , as I had proposed and on which all my readings are founded. Applying universally as to Ψ what P. A. Munch had only suggested as to a stone or two, he takes for granted, what I have so long been battling for, that Ψ at all events *is not* Δ as in the later or Scandinavian-runic alphabet, and that these Old-Northern pieces cannot be translated on the ground and theory of their being written in "grammatical Icelandic", — which two, at least, of my propositions we may therefore now assume to be both proved and generally admitted — he offers us certain readings, most of them of course substantially the same as my own, others widely different. Some of the points raised by him I have already discuss in my reply to Candidate Wimmer¹. As to Prof. Bugge's ingenious attempts generally, I will only remark:

1. That we should never resort to desperately-old words and word-forms, where simpler ones offer themselves to our hand. Yet some of those constructed by Prof. Bugge are so "archaic" as to

¹ Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1867, pp. 177-231.

be inconceivable in Scandinavia unless we go back to times centuries earlier than the probable age of the monuments themselves, while in the venerable Old-English they are quite unknown. His proposed Dual form of the verb is unknown in *all* the Scando-Gothic tungs, the Mæso-Gothic excepted. As examples of what I mean I would mention my learned friend's WITADA-HALAIBAN (Tune stone) for *battle-comrade*; his SINGOSTER (Tune stone) for *oldest*; his in Scandinavia unheard-of IAH (Varnum stone) for *eke*, and; his WARITU (*dual verb*, 1st pers., Varnum stone) for *we-two-wrote*; his HATTINAR (Tanum stone) nom. sing. masc. *haten*, *called*; all which things surely strengthen the argument that the forms thus gotten by Bugge cannot be really "Scandinavian", in the sense in which Bugge and his school take that term. What would have been said of me, *if* I had ventured on such terrible things, as a proof that Y was A?

2. That we do not expect on the same excessively old monument forms wonderfully antique side by side with forms comparatively modern. Yet those quoted above stand side by side with *no single instance* of the nominative-ending -s, but with the far later case-ending -R, altho we have *many* examples of the older case-ending -s still existing even on pieces bearing the later runes. Nay, on what may be supposed to be *one of the very fonnest* of the monuments handled by Prof. Bugge, the Gallehus Golden Horn, we have (according to his reading) HLEWAGASTIR and HOLTINGAR, not, as we should undoubtedly expect in the 3rd or 4th century after Christ, HLEWAGASTIS and HOLTINGAS.

3. That, even admitting Prof. Bugge's desperate words and word-forms (and of course they are possible, however unlikely), we should at least suppose that their outcome would be *reasonable and customary formulas*. But who ever heard of such grave-carvings as (on the Tune stone), Prof. Bugge's:

ARBINGA SINGOSTER ARBINGAN, ODLINGOR DOHTRIR,
of - the - HEIRS the - OLDEST HEIRS', OTHLING'S LAUGHTERS,

having done something, without the name of *one single one* of these assumed "Heirs of the Heirs", not even the "oldest" of them, being mentioned! Such omission of the chief thing, *the name*, is surely unheard-of in all our thousands of runic funeral inscriptions. A written tombstone bears at least one word, *the name* of the deceast. Should it further mention its having been raised or carved, *the name* of the loving kinsman or friend who so raised or carved (or of both the raiser and the carver) is *always* given, or implied by direct contact with the name of the forthfare.

So again on the Varnum stone. Whither shall we wander to find a parallel to Prof. Bugge's:

UBAR HITE HARABANAR WIT IAH EK ERILAR RUNOR WARITU,
OVER HIT, HARABAN WE-TWO EKE (and) I. ERIL, (= EARL) these - RUNES we-two - WROTE,

without *two names* before WIT? By the old Northern idioms WE-TWO AND I are impossible, unless the hearer or speaker knows who the WE-TWO are. In all the skinbook examples quoted by Prof. Bugge *the names are known already*, have stood in the context just before; and this besides the grammatical differences. Thus we get the well-known Old-Northern (Old-Scandian and Old-English) idioms by which, where a personal pronoun is joined to a Proper name, AND is omitted but the pronoun is thrown into the dual or plural in the same case as the Proper name. Such a phrase as that of which we really

¹ As to the strange expression of THE HEIRS THE HEIRS, I will remark that in my opinion Prof. Bugge has misunderstood the Harg stone, to which he appeals for support. As he must let ARPS ARFAIR (tho ARFAIR for ARFAIR clashes with his own theory) mean "heirs of the heirship", not "heirs of the heirs", we get at the fact that these "heirs of the heirship" raise this stone to their Father, altho they do not even mention his name — surely the least thing they could have done, as they inherited property after him! But I find no HEIRS OF THE HEIRSHIP at all on the stone ARF is a *wans-name*, the name of the Father spoken of.

Besides the bad text in Liljegren (No. 273), our materials are Bantil No. 558: Bure's Ms. No. 7; Bure's Sveonum Runar, No. 175: Bure's Copper plate: Aschan's Ms. 120 Monumenta, No. 86; P. Dijkman, Hist. Ann. p. 91. Putting these together, the text will be, substantially:

KUTHLEF AUK SINUITH. ALTULF, ARPS ARFAIR, LETO HAKVA STEN APTIR FAÞUR SIN, OK SINBORN, MOÞOR HANS.

This we must translate — for the dead man's name is plainly on the stone:

KUTHLEF EKE SINUITH eke-ALTULF, ARF'S ARFTAKERS (heirs), LET NEW this-STONE AFTER FATHER SIN (their), EKE after-SINBORN, MOTHER HIS.

This KUTHLEF, SINUITH and ALTULF were the children of ARF and the grandchildren of SINBORN. THE HEIRS OF THE HEIRSHIP disappears. As ARF is here a *wans-name*, so we have elsewhere ARFA (= ARFA) as a runic *womans-name*. — I doubt whether ARFS could be used at all with ARFAIR in the sense of *inheritance*; so taken, would it not have been ARFI (or AT ARFI), in the *dative*, as elsewhere? Thus, ARFI (or ARFA), nom., ARFI, dat., *an heir to the inheritance*, not ARFI (or ARFA), nom., ARFS, gen., *an heir of the inheritance*. We have no other example, as far as I know, of ARFS ARFAIR than on this block.

have examples on runic stones, for instance BIARN AUK DAIR BIRUDR, means BIARN, as the oldest or chief and *representative* of the living brothers, EKE (and) THEY (his other) BROTHERS, who, as included in BIARN, need not be mentioned. But such a sentence on a runic stone as HARABAN WE-TWO EKE I (ANOTHER MAN), — where the whole is in the 1st person and I in the 1st person, and yet HARABAN in the 3rd person, and where WE-TWO have carved the runes, but where only one is I — has never yet been found in any runic risting or in any written book.

So again in Prof. Bugge's reading of the Tanum stone. Has any one ever seen or heard of — in all our runic folkships — such an old grave-formula as

DRAWINGAN HAITINAR WAS,
THRAWING'S HATEN (*called*) it - BECAME?

What was it which was so called? Who can tell? We may guess at something as the missing nominative. In this case *the nominative* (say this "stone" or this "stone-kist" or this "earth-mound") *is understood*, of which Prof. Bugge has in vain tried to find a single example. Both his two parallels, here out of place, *mention the nominative*, in the one¹ STIN, in the other BRU. As to the Bridge, we are expressly told after whom it should be called (namely KUNAR), *as it was not to be called after the name of the man who built it* (namely HAKUN), and it is not wonderful that the bridge was to have a name. The name was given on account of the bridge. But a grave-stone is set up for the sake of the person it commemorates.

4. Three of Prof. Bugge's readings depend upon the formula EC (and the name), I (*made or wrote*). But I have said that we know of no such monumental formula, runic or non-runic, in all the west *till the middle age*. Prof. Bugge, citing Prof. Dietrich, says we have this wordfall on Phœnician monuments. But Phœnician ristings do not belong to the west. Let them lie. We might as well refer to Sanscrit or Chinese, Mahometan or Malay, or to lands still farther off, where this I has been or may be discovered. He also, following Dietrich, speaks of Greek instances. Out of the immense number of Greek carvings everywhere left to us, we may painfully gather 2 or 3 in which we have *first the name* and then *the verb in the 1st person singular*. But this idiom is simply a peculiar equivalent for *the name, and the verb in the 3rd pers. singular*. At all events *there is no I followed by the name*. The I, the gist of the whole argument, *is altogether wanting*. Again Prof. Bugge quotes Dietrich for examples from Old-English Charters and from Mæso-Gothic Deeds. Such Christian and Middle-age legal forms in accordance with the Christian-Roman jurisprudence of the time, thus written in *parchment documents*, exist *by hundreds*. Why not go much more simply to work? Instead of the handful of skinbook Deeds which begin with I, why not quote the *hundreds and hundreds* of parchment documents from Christian lands in which *the witnesses* use this well-known *legal formula*? Confining ourselves only to England, the land mentioned by Prof. Bugge, let us take, as an example, the first in Kemble's Vol. 1, omitting all those earlier Charters of whose genuineness he was doubtful. This one is printed at p. 16; its date is 676 after Christ; and it is a *law-document* like all the rest (a deed of gift of lands at Bath in England) and thus ends:

"Signum manus Osrici regis, qui hanc cartam donationi fieri rogavi. †
Ego Aethelredus rex consensi et subscripsi. †
Ego Theodorus, gratia dei archiepiscopus, testis subscripsi. †
Ego Leutherius, acsi indignus, episcopus subscripsi. †
Ego Uuilfridus episcopus consensi et subscripsi. †
Ego Hedda episcopus consensi et subscripsi. †
Ego Frignualdus episcopus consensi et subscripsi. †
Ego Saxulfus episcopus consensi et subscripsi. †
Signum Baldredi. †
Signum Osuualdi. †
Signum Gadfridi. †
Signum Aethelmodi. †"

¹ I cannot follow my learned follow-worker in his new reading of the Års stone. Nor do I know of any instance of the adverb BIR (*here*) used with the enclitic SI (*HIRSI*). This SI is only added to *pronouns*. And Prof. Bugge overlooks that the Års stone has a whole side carved with information about VALTOKE.

The above is in Latin, for most of these documents — in England as in Scandinavia and the rest of Europe — only exist (when old) in Latin originals or translations; but we have many such with *1* also in the folkspeech, chiefly in England. We will take the first in Kemble, Vol. 1, p. 114, issued by Aethilbald of Mercia anno 743-45. *It begins:*

"† In usses dryhtness noman hæclendes cristes IC AEDELBALD cing waer beden from þæm árfullan bisceope milrede þæti ic him áléfde" — *Ends:*

"† Ic Aethelbald cing mine ágene sylene trymmende hic heó wrát.

† Milred bisceop þære hálegan róde tácen he heron gefaestnode.

† Ingwald bisceop gedafiende he hit wrát.

† Wilfrid bisceop he hit wrát.

† Alda cinges gefera he hit wrát."

Here only the king says *ic*¹. We will take the next, Kemble, Vol. 1, p. 185, under Offa of Mercia, year 789 after Christ. *It ends:*

"† Ic offa þurh cristes gyfe myrcena kining ðás mine geoue mid róde tácene gefaestnige.

† Ic aldreð wigracestres undercining þás ylce geoue gefaestnige.

† Ic eadberht bisceop þas ylce þing gefaestnige.

† Ic berhtun ðis ylce gefaestnige."

Of such *1*'s as these we can in 5 minutes collect *thousands*. But what have such to do with the Barbarian North and the Barbarian peoples and *old monumental* formulas? The MERILA that wrote:

IK MERILA BOKAREIS HANDAU MEINAI UFMELIDA,

1, MERILA, BOOKER (? Scribe, Copyist, Book-keeper, Student) with - HAND MINE UF-MAILED (under-wrote, subscribed).

in the short document at Naples, where 4 other such parchments are preserved, all beginning with *IK* followed by the name, was a *Christian man in a Christian city*, writing a *Christian Quittance* or Receipt for a sum of money, 60 shillings, and a "KAUTSYON" (Bill or Acknowledgment or Draft) for a further sum of 160 shillings from the Deacon Alamod, which receipt he makes out in the *usual Christian form* according to the terms admitted as legal by the Christian-Roman Lawyers. Now can all this possibly affect the runic carvings of heathen barbarians? What has a Christian or Roman shoemaker's or tailor's or bookseller's or printer's or copyist's Quittance — *1, JOHN THOMAS, UNDER MY HAND (or HEREBY, &c.) ACKNOWLEDGE TO HAVE RECEIVED, IN PAYMENT FOR THE SUM OF — to do with the monumental formulas of the pagan Northmen and of the half-heathen Christian times? I trow less than nothing.* We all know that our heathen forefathers *never knew or used parchment documents at all*. They had no parchment literature, no written forensic forms. All property was transferred, all payments were made, all things were done, by symbolical or traditionary actions or sentences in the presence of witnesses or in free legal assemblies. The *BOOK* or *WRIT*, as the skinbook was called, was brought in by Romanized Civilization and Romanized Christianity². And the verbal phrases adopted in the Christian Church and in Christian Law-courts (secular and ecclesiastical) were cast in a different mould to those used by the barbarians and their immediate followers in *CARVED PIECES*. If this be so, if no such formula as *1, JOHN THOMAS, WROTE THESE RUNES (or MADE THIS) could exist* in the old runic times on carved objects, then the *readings* founded on this formula *MUST fall to the ground*. Certain it is that *no such reading* (till we come to the middle age) on anything runic or non-runic out of the *thousands* of inscribed pieces every-

¹ The first French king who in his public documents used the formula *xpo* before his name, was Robert II, who reigned from 996 to 1031. — N. de Wailly, *Éléments de Paléographie*, folio, Vol. 1, Paris 1838, p. 356.

² "Throughout Europe the documentary dispositions of the Latins prevailed. The conquerors readily adopted such portions of the law of the conquered, as applied to those new relations of life which the conquest itself had created, and those social wants which had not been provided for in their own unwritten, customary law. The formal study of the Roman law still survived in the seventh century. The peculiar habits and disposition of each individual people, and manifold accidental circumstances, had undoubtedly tended to introduce great variations into the received system; but in the main the formularies were those of the empire and the Church. For amongst the Lombards, Franks, East and West Goths, and other nations that successively prevailed to dismember the enfeebled colossus of the empire, — in spite of all the changes which time, conquest, or opinion introduced, — the Church, as a body, continued to live under the *Lex romana*, or Roman system of rights, privileges, immunities and duties; and in direct proportion to the influence of the clergy was the predominance of Roman and ecclesiastical forms." Kemble, *Codex Diplom.* Vol. 1, 1889, p. vii.

where left to us *has yet been found* (as far as I know) *in all the western lands*; -- always excepting by those scholars who have lately tried to discover it in these Old-Northern runic inscriptions.

My honored friend will probably, on reflection, not hold fast, as an argument in his favor, the *Christian Prayer*, from *late in the middle age*, carved in the church at Tingvold in Norway¹, written in Old-Norse but ending with the Latin word VALETE!, which can surely not be intended as a serious weapon. And even this has not I followed by a name; and it is an ecclesiastical and juridical monument. -- As little would it help us to refer to the I in any other ecclesiastical wording, such for instance as the I in Wills and Testaments, and the I in the common old Christian form of Confession: "I CONFESS TO GOD ALMIGHTY, AND TO ALL HIS SAINTS, AND TO THEE, O MAN OF GOD, THAT" Nor would any one wish to prove that not only I but also AMEN, and ARCHANGEL, and CAUTION, and FOUR OUNCES and 60 SHILLINGS, and suchlike, were *Old-Northern runic monumental formulas*, merely because he had found them in *Mæso-Gothic manuscripts*!

5. We have so many examples of -o and -u as the termination of the 3rd sing. past of the verb, even in Scandinavian-runic inscriptions, that we will spend no more words about it.

6. The Tune stone. Prof. Bugge remarks that my facsimiles of this block are not always minutely correct, and makes some emendations. This, at least indirectly and however unintentionally on his part, brings *my* accuracy into some suspicion. He should therefore have been careful to announce to his readers (some of whom may not be *my* readers) that these his new corrections are NOT to *my* text but to *his own*, for my drawings (from the materials THEN before me) of the famous Tune stone -- which I have never seen -- were kindly revised and corrected BY PROF. BUGGE HIMSELF *with the stone before him*, as I have distinctly and thankfully pointed out in my text, pages 247, 248². My engraved text is therefore his, and its imperfections (if any) are his, not mine. The splendid Paper Cast, a favor conferred upon me by Prof. Olaf Rygh, reached me too late to be used by myself and my artist, else my facsimile-engravings would have been still better than they are. It came in time for me to see that there was no serious error, and that was all. Still, I doubt if any carved monument *in all Europe* has yet appeared on the whole more beautifully and more correctly engraved than *the Tune stone in Norway*. What a contrast to previous copies! And this in spite of my not being able to see the block for myself. It is *so dear* to live in Christiania, and I am a *poor man*. So much the greater thanks and honor to Professors Bugge and Rygh, who have so cheerfully assisted me! -- I add, that I have never proposed -- as a reader of Prof. Bugge's inexact language would suppose -- DALIDUN STAINA, but DELIDUN (SET)A STEINÆ, which is something very different. DALIDUN STAINA is nonsense. But DELIDUN SETA STEINÆ (dealed, took their part, shared, to-set the-stone) *shared in setting up this stone* is, in my opinion, simple and natural and "grammatical".

The "corrections" made by Prof. Bugge to my facsimile-plates are as follows:

A. 1st side. The R in AFTER should be more open in the middle, R not R̄. This it true. The 1st side was already chemityped. It was not possible to make this emendation on the zinc, (other emendations *were* made), and therefore, as being so very small an affair, it was past over. But it was pointed out to me at the time by Prof. Bugge, and should have been mentioned in my text. It was overlookt in the mass of my labors.

B. 2nd side. In my [SET]A, his [ARTE]R, he sees "det nederste af 4 rette Stave, og jeg tror endnu temmelig bestemt at sé Spor af en femte" (the feet of 4 straight strokes, and I think I can also

¹ In this runic carving the Master builder begs the prayers of the faithful for his soul:

EK ÞÍÞ, FÍRI GUDS SAKAR. ÞÐR LERÐA MENN ER VARÐUGITA
STAÐ ÞENNA, OK OLLA ÞA ER RAÐA KUNNU BÖN MÍNA, MÍNISK
SALO MÍNNA I HELGUM BÖNOM. EN EK ET GUNNAR, OK GÆRÐI
EK HUS ÞETTA. CALEVE.

*I pray, for God's sake, you learned men, who serve this
place, and all those who read can bone (petition) mine, remember
soul mine in holy prayers. But I hight (am called) Gunnar, and
made I Church this. Farewell.*

Here are several illegal and "impossible" word-forms, according to those gentlemen who everywhere demand "grammatical Icelandic". But all these unpleasant things disappear in the "normal spelling" ("almindelig Skrivemaade") adopted here by Prof. Bugge. This "normal spelling" system is a fallacy, and has done great harm in the study of the Icelandic writers. People would not be at all "shocked" and "offended" at the endless variations and peculiarities in dialect and spelling on the carved monuments -- if they daily saw the same things in the printed book-texts. But in most modern editions they see only a happy and "grammatical" uniformity!

² P. 247: "the whole carefully checked and corrected from the stone itself by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE". P. 248: "But, thanks to the kindness of my friend Sophus Bugge, I have now the pleasure of giving copies *absolutely perfect*".

with tolerable certainty distinguish the trace of a fifth). On the Paper Cast *I can see no trace* of a 5th letter. Should there have been a 5th, the word may have been written SETTA or SETIA, as on some other stones and in manuscripts. A letter is *often* carved twice on these Old-Northern monuments.

C. "Sporene af Runerne 13, 14 (Runerne efter 22†) tillade ikke anden Læsning end MY ER." (The spores of runes 13, 14 [the runes after 02†] allow no other reading than MY.) Pardon me. My engraving is *exactly* after Prof. Bugge's own drawing of the staves here. Like my facsimile, the Paper Cast now before me plainly shows that the part between the arm of the † and the side of the I is *scaled off*; and it is *impossible* for *any one* to use the words "tillade ikke" (do not allow) any other reading than MY. It *may* have been MY. It *may* have been MY. I prefer the former, Prof. Bugge the latter. The context and general reading must decide. But I doubt whether Prof. Bugge's whole reading of this side of the stone will ever reconcile any one to his "SINGOSTER".

D. "Paa Rune 20 er vistnok noget skallet af, men den er dog sikkert F A; P strider mod Sporene paa Stenen." (On rune 20 something is undoubtedly scaled off, but it is yet certainly F A; P does not agree with the traces on the stone.) My engraving, exactly copied from Prof. Bugge's own drawing of the staves here, permits F but is perhaps more like P. The Paper Cast shows that it should have been given so as to permit P but to be more like F, and, following the Cast, I now agree with Prof. Bugge that F (my A) was the letter originally on the stone. But the difference in the engraving would be so slight (the stone being so much damaged at this spot) as scarcely to be perceptible.

E. In his OBLINGO Prof. Bugge — admitting that "et ved INGO afledet Kvindenavn OBLINGO er mig aldeles uforklarligt", (a female name OBLINGO derived from INGO, is quite inexplicable to me) — first doubts the A, then *proposes* †, then *adopts* OBLINGO as the actual reading. With the Paper Cast before me, I have no hesitation in saying that the letter is, in my opinion, clearly A, certainly not †, the A not more badly or imperfectly cut than several other letters on this block. In my engraving the letter is exactly as it stands in the Paper Cast.

F. "4de Rune i 2den Linje (Ing) er uheldig tegnet hos Stephens; dens Form er mere lig de Former af denne Rune, som ellers findes i Indskriften." (The 4th rune in the 2nd line (Ing) is badly drawn in Stephens; its shape is more like the forms of this rune elsewhere in the carving.) The Paper Cast shows that Prof. Bugge is right. But he omitted to correct my drawing in this place, and when the Paper Cast arrived it was too late.

G. "Foran STAINA er sikkert to Prikker, ikke én Prik." (Before STAINA are certainly two dots, not one dot.) The Paper Cast again shows that Prof. Bugge is right, but Prof. Bugge did not correct this fault in my drawing.

This I believe exhausts the list. The result is — 3 small errors in the engravings: 1st, R for R; 2nd, the 2 hooks of the NG not close enough together; 3rd, 1 dot after STAINA instead of 2. The first I *could* not alter, and forgot to point out in my text. The 2 others were overlooked by Prof. Bugge when he kindly corrected my drawing with the stone itself before him.

While on this head I will give an example how much *our reading must necessarily bias every runologist* in his interpretation of runic marks. I read (with Munch¹, but who takes my A to be A, and my w to be v):

WITÆI GEHELEIBEN.

Prof. Bugge prefers to take this as

WITADA HALAIBAN.

He adds: "DA er Binderune, som i DALIDUN paa den modsatte Side. Man tør ikke antage, at IXF [my IGA, Munch's IGA] kunde skrives sammen, saa at det aldeles kom til at sé ud som M skrevet sammen med F, især naar I maatte slutte et Ord (eller et Sammensætningsled) og X begynde et andet." (DA is a bindrune, as in DALIDUN on the opposite side. One dare not assume that IXF could be carved close, so that the whole would look like M written together with F, especially as I would end one word [or word-joint] and X begin another). — Yet 4 pages after he says of the two runes

¹ Munch's second reading of the Tune stone is evidently much less known than his first. I therefore print here his second reading, from "Aarsberetning fra Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmærkers Bevaring" for 1856 (published in 1857), pp. 72-78. In this place Munch chooses z as the value of Y.

EK VIVAZ AFTER VODURIDE VITAI GAHALAIBAN VORATO R[unbez].

ARBINGA SINGOSTER ARBINGUNO (OF ARBINGANO) IJINGOZ DORTBIZ DALIDUN . . . VODURIDE STAINA.

s and i (ſ), where the ſ (s) and i are carved close in the same way, like an R turned round: "I første Linje er Rune 7 og 8 sikkerlig, som alle har læst, ſi si; de to Runers Træk ere løbne i hinanden; men det er aldeles tydeligt, at det ikke er tilsigtet at skrive dem sammen; Runen for s vender ellers i denne Indskrift til den anden Side." (In the first line Runes 7 and 8 are certainly, as all have read them, ſi si; the strokes of the two runes have run into each other; but it is quite clear that it was not the intention to write them together; otherwise in this risting the rune for s is turned on the other side.) Whatever may have been "intended", it is plain enough that these two letters have here "run into each other" — that is, been carved close, like the ic on the other side; and we all know how very often the same letter (particularly the s) has different shapes on the same block. Thus what we "dare not assume" on the one side of the stone is very properly and very "certainly" to be "assumed" on the other. Not only in runes carved close, but even in bindrunes, the one letter frequently belongs to one word, the other to another.

But all Prof. Bugge's 3 microscopic corrections were quite unnecessary in so short an article, and had nothing to do with the new readings proposed. If anything were required, it should have been given somewhat thus: — *The Chemitypes of the Tune stone are magnificent, and are an honor to the Danish artist J. Magnus Petersen. The venerable old block lives again under his hands, and the inscription is given with wonderful accuracy. But the R in AFTER should be more open, R; and I myself overlooked two equally small errors when I corrected for Prof. Stephens, in 1862, his careful drawings, comparing them with the stone itself (which he has never seen).*

Thus, while I thank my excellent friend for his valuable paper, and while every such courteous and independent and learned critique is a welcome contribution to runic literature, I cannot see that Prof. Bugge has shaken any one of the pillars on which my readings depend, especially as there are so many Old-Northern runic inscriptions where Y so stands (at the beginning or in the middle of a word) that it CANNOT POSSIBLY be final-R, a fact with which my critics, and particularly Prof. Bugge, — in order to give me fair play — should have been bold and frank enough to commence their essays. In this, as in all other things, they would again have followed their real leader, P. A. Munch.

But this field of literature requires many laborers. All can add something, correct something, suggest something. Fresh finds will assist us. In 50 or 100 years we shall know much more than we do now. May my kindly and honored and accomplished fellow-workers¹, who have aided me so largely and so cheerfully thro all my toilsome efforts, gain all the laurels! I am content with the thorns. My system may perhaps not be admitted in my own lifeday. Perhaps its time may come. And even should the result be, after all, that *I am wrong*, I shall be the first to acknowledge my error. I only seek for truth. My efforts will at least have helpt on a study so long and so grievously neglected, and will have saved many a costly runic monument from neglect or entire destruction.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE ALPHABETS.

RUNIC ALPHABET FROM THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY,

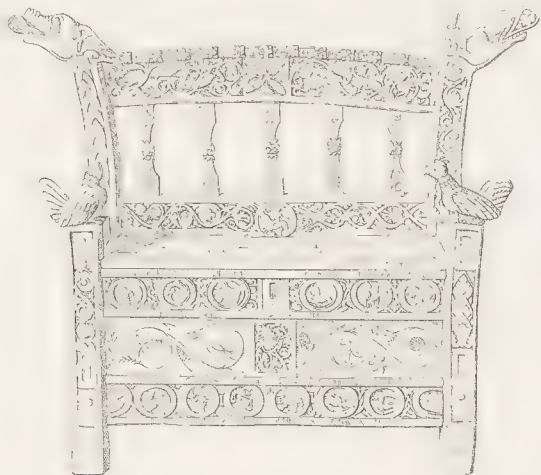
FOUND IN AN ICELANDIC CHAIR².

In the Cheapinghaven Museum are two curious Chairs, richly carved in cornel-wood, Icelandic work of the 13th century. They were sent to Fin Magnusen from Iceland in 1843, and given by him to the Old-Northern collection. He has learnedly described them in *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*, Kjøbenhavn 1843-45, pp. 57-64, with beautiful and accurate engravings. The one with runic carvings is also figured in Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager* (1st ed. No. 421, and 2nd ed. No. 556). This Seat is nearly 4 feet

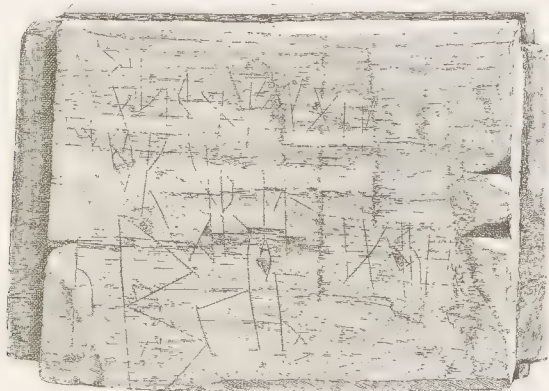
¹ I am happy to state that Prof. S. Bugge and Prof. Ol. Rygh are engaged on a comprehensive work, with engravings, on the Runic Monuments of Norway. The People and Parliament of Norway will take care, that they shall not be troubled or delayed for the sake of a few hundred dollars!

² The substance of these remarks was communicated by me in Danish in "*Illustreret Tidende*", Kjøbenhavn, March 1, 1868, p. 194, with the engraving of the Rune-bit. This latter has been copied, with a German "annexation" text, in "*Illustrirte Zeitung*", Leipzig, March 21, 1868, p. 205.

broad by 2 deep. I would willingly give here both these Chairs from the admirable plates engraved for Fin Magnussen, but they are on copper, and I cannot. I will, however, add *the Runic Stool* from the Chemitype (by J. Magnus Petersen) in Worsaae's book:



In September 1867 the ravages of the worm rendered it necessary to take this Chair in pieces, that it might be scientifically treated for its preservation. In so doing Hr. Steffensen, the Museum Conservator, found that one of the bits fixt into the back bore runes on its inner and hitherto hidden side. Archivary Herbst kindly communicated the fact to me, and on examination, I ascertained that these staves were THE SCANDINAVIAN RUNIC ALPHABET IN THE ORDER OF THE LATIN A B C. Thus in this runic scribble we have an exact counterpart, altho so much later in time, to the runic scribble on the wooden Plane found in the Vi Moss, Fyn, which latter piece dates from about 300-350. The wooden alphabet thus lying inside the Icelandic Chair for 600 years, and which was discovered by such a surprising accident, and for whose preservation we have to thank the sharp eye and careful examination of Hr. Steffensen, is so great a Scandinavian curiosity and is in many ways so valuable, that I give it here, drawn and chemityped by J. Magnus Petersen. It is minutely copied, the full size of the original:



As we see, there are here 3 lines of runic ristings. The first contains 10 letters, from A to K; the second has 14, from L to Z; the third gives 4 characters, apparently A to D in a modified stave-row.

On the edge below are traces of other letters, P, P, Q, Q, &c. Thus one of the the workmen has amused himself by rudely scratching-in with his tool the familiar runic stave-row of his day, and has afterwards used the bit of wood in making up the Chair. This is another instance how common the runes were in the oldest times, how far from being merely "magical and mysterious letters" known only to the ruling classes. And this again adds to my conviction that those Norse-Icelandic verses and traditions in which this "magical" character is attributed to the runes are *by no means so old* as they have commonly been taken. But there are also several other arguments against this alleged "excessive antiquity".

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE RÖK STONE.

The Upsala student Mr. K. A. Hagson has kindly informed me (April 1868) that he has visited the Rök stone (see p. 229), and found one place, *the Right Edge*, where a stave or two was evidently chokt with very old mortar, and had thus led Mr. P. A. Sæve into error. Runes 14, 15 are on the stone not **P**1, as given by Sæve, but **†**1. This will take away my **SKI**AKI-JUB, *Skaw-bear*, and will give us **KIALTI**-UB, *Kilt-bear*, bay-bear, sound-bear, fiord-bear, the s *not* being taken twice. This **KIALTI** is (besides other forms and meanings) the Norse-Icel. **KJALTA**, fem., the O. Swed. and O. Dan. **KILTA**, fem., bosom, bay, hollow fold, &c. M. G. **KILDEI**, fem., womb. Mr. Hagson adds, that rune 21 is perhaps **l**, not **†** (which would change my **FATLADR**, *fettered*, into **FAILADR**, *silent*), and that rune 34 is perhaps **l**, not **†** (which would turn my **REKA** into **RIKA**).

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON BRACTEATE No. 74.

At p. 879 I gave an engraving of this precious "Barbarian" Gold-Solidus, now in the British Museum. I sent proofs to England, and have had the pleasure of receiving a more correct impression. My friend — our great Coin-lorist — Mr. Haigh, at once suspected "something wrong", and at his suggestion Barclay V. Head, Esq., of the Medal Room, British Museum, was good enough to forward me a new sealing-wax stamp on the runic side. From this it appears that the copy previously in my hands, and from which my woodcut was taken, was *somewhat obliterated and bad*; probably it had become warm on its way and slightly flattened¹. The runes are much sharper on this fresh off-take, and the first 3 are clearly **ΣΛF**, not **ΣIF**. The name has therefore been **SCAN**, not **SLEN**. Mr. Head observes, under date Feb. 14, 1868: "as I am now writing a short paper for the Numismatic Society on some of the Runic Sceattæ, and the Aureus with the Runic legend which you have engraved in your book, I think it only right to tell you that there is a slight error in your reading of the legend on that coin. I suppose the impression Mr. de Salis sent you was not as clear as it should have been. The coin reads plainly **ΣΛF†ΣMΣMN**, not **ΣIF†ΣMΣMN**, as I think you will see by the impression I enclose. I hope it is not already too late for you to insert the correction among the errata, as it would be a pity that in such a great work as yours will be, there should be an error in the legend of so precious a coin." — It would, and I hasten to right it from the new and better bild so kindly given me by Mr. Head, to whom I and my readers are very much obliged. The coin really is:



But this improved reading plainly gives us two provincial English runic staves, **Λ** for **c** (instead of the Old-Northern **<**) and **F** for **Λ** (instead of the Old-Northern **Υ**). Thus on this piece,

¹ Count de Salis has since informed me that this was the case, and adds: "I have known this to happen more than once."

struck say about A. D. 450, these English-provincial types are already in use. The \mathfrak{X} apparently still holds its Old-Northern ground as o , has not yet obtained its provincial-English value of \mathfrak{C} . Accordingly there can be no doubt, as far as we can see, that this Barbarian solidus was *made* in the land in which it was *found*, namely *England*. The runes, then, are:

$\mathfrak{S} \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{F} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{N}$

SCAN O MODU,

SCAN OWNS *this-MOT* (stamp, die, coin).

If the words be here properly divided and redd, which is so likely as to be almost certain, we have the Scandinavian form o (otherwise in England $\mathfrak{A}G$, $\mathfrak{A}H$) for the 3rd pers. sing. of the verb $\mathfrak{A}G\mathfrak{A}N$ to own, showing that this shortened sound of the 3rd person of this verb may have been older than is otherwise supposed, at least locally in England itself. But $SCANOMODU$ may of course be one word, in that case a mans-name, probably in dative or ablative (= *This-piece-was-struck-by-or-for-SCANOMOD*).

The excessive *antiquity* of this "mot" is thus shown from its runes, as well as from its type and make. For we have here the oldest s , and the \mathfrak{X} as o , not yet as \mathfrak{C} , while its *colonial* character crops out from its bearing \mathfrak{A} for \mathfrak{C} (c) and \mathfrak{F} for \mathfrak{Y} (\mathfrak{A}). Thus we are continually creeping on in identifying the minutiae connected with runic lore.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE FRANKS CASKET.


As I have said so often, 4 eyes see more than 2, and 16 more than 8. We want all the help we can get with regard to these olden monuments. By degrees we shall know more and more about them. The precious *Franks Casket* has been often and carefully examined by its learned and accomplished finder, and by many old-lorists both in England and Scandinavia after him. And yet we have all mist a cardinal point in its explanation. We have all gone on the supposition, so plausible at first sight, that the *left half* of the panel whose *right half* shows us the *MAGI OFFERING TO CHRIST* — was a scene representing the *Death of John the Baptist*. But this is a great mistake. That none of us should see what it really figures, is wonderful. When speaking of $\mathfrak{E}G\mathfrak{I}L\mathfrak{I}$, in the Word-row, I was very near the solution. I have there identified $\mathfrak{E}G\mathfrak{I}L\mathfrak{I}$ as the famous mythic Arrow-helt, the brother of the world-famous Artist and Weapon-smith $\mathfrak{W}EL\mathfrak{A}N\mathfrak{D}$ (the Scandian $\mathfrak{V}A\mathfrak{L}U\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}$). And yet I was blind, and could not catch the plain meaning of the *left half* panel in question. This honor has been gained by that excellent scholar and rune-smith Prof. Sophus Bugge of Christiania. In a letter just received (end of February 1868) that friend obligingly communicates to me that this cartouche exhibits in miniature *THE SAGA OF WELAND*. See my remarks on that hero in my "Two Leaves of King Waldere's Lay", 8vo, Cheapinghaven and London 1860, p. 35-42.

Prof. Bugge generously allows me to English his remarks, and to give them here to the public:

"The carving on the left hand of the top cannot, as far as I can see, bear the sense given to it by Mr. Haigh — the handing of John the Baptist's head to Herodias and her Daughter. To mention only one objection, how can a Smith hold in his tongs the head of the Baptist?"

"I am persuaded that we have here the tale of $\mathfrak{W}EL\mathfrak{A}N\mathfrak{D}$ (our $\mathfrak{V}OL\mathfrak{U}N\mathfrak{D}$, the $\mathfrak{W}EL\mathfrak{A}N\mathfrak{D}$ of the Germans), nearly as we know it in the Didrik's Saga. The craftsman in his smithy is $\mathfrak{W}el\mathfrak{a}n\mathfrak{d}$; it is well to remark that he *is sitting*, for the sinews in his feet were cut over. In his left hand he grasps pincers, with which he holds a human head over the anvil; it is the off-hewn head of one of the young sons of $\mathfrak{N}i\mathfrak{D}h\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{d}$ (the $\mathfrak{N}i\mathfrak{D}u\mathfrak{D}$ of the $\mathfrak{V}olundarkvi\mathfrak{D}$ a, the $\mathfrak{N}i\mathfrak{D}u\mathfrak{D}$ of the Didrik's Saga); $\mathfrak{V}el\mathfrak{e}n\mathfrak{t}$ made drinking-cups out of their skulls. At the Smith's feet lies prostrate a child, or rather a child's dead body; and, as far as we can see, it is headless: it is the $\mathfrak{li}k$ (body) of one of the young princes; the Didrik's Saga tells us, that $\mathfrak{V}el\mathfrak{e}n\mathfrak{t}$ puts the corpses into a deep hole under his smithy-bellows. The Smith's right hand holds an object apparently reacht over to him by a woman: this woman is the king's

daughter, Beaðohild (the Böðvildr of the Völundarkviða, the Heren of Didrik's Saga). According to the *Norræn Lay and Saga*, she brings Weland her broken Gold-ring for him to mend. Here the object held by the Smith in his right hand does not seem a ring, but rather some other jewel; compare the similar piece on the breast of a (seemingly female) figure in the field inscribed **MF**.

"More to the right is another female, bearing what I take to be a kind of bag or purse; a similar object is carried by one of the Jews who flee from Jerusalem. This female is the handmaid or damsel of the princess, who, according to the Didrik's Saga, follows her mistress to Velent. At the extreme right is a man who grasps two fowls (? Geese) by the neck; farther off are two other birds, perhaps flying. This man can scarcely be any other than Egil, Velent's brother, who, as the Saga says, shot all kinds of birds and brought them to Velent, for him to make himself wings from their feathers. As the headman in this bild is a Smith, we cannot wonder at two Hammers being introduced as ornaments, the one near the Smith's left hand, the other overagainst the princess's face. The flower-like figures on each side the maiden's head are belike only decorations; a somewhat similar object is seen at the top over the middle of the panel representing Titus and the Jews. Can these bils be symbolical, and intended to remind us that the king's daughter and her maid were walking (according to the Saga) in a Garden ("grass-yard") when the Ring was broken? The meaning of the three-cornered object before the Smith's head I do not understand, unless perhaps it be a wall-hole or window¹. The figures below () are found elsewhere on this Casket, and are doubtless only ornaments. In order to group together as much as possible of the legend, the artist has given side by side on the same plate several circumstances which did not pass at one time.

"Should this explanation be correct, it will only be reasonable to take the Bowman of the Top piece and over whom is written **FXIN**, to be *Egil*, Weland's brother. And if this be so, then the carving tells us a story about him of which we know nothing. We see that he is attackt, and that he defends himself with his arrows. Behind him appears to sit a woman in a house; possibly this may be Egil's spouse Ölrún, after whom he has the name mentioned in the Saga ÖLLRÚNAR EGILL.

"What has been the subject on the Right Side we do not know. But I think it possible that **MRXSTYPI**[k] may refer to an incident in the Weland-saga. **DRÖGAN** means not only to *suffer* but also to *do, make* (for instance "inwitnðas þe hi ær drugon" in *Beowulf*), and the words may be connected with the circumstance that Weland put poison² into the king's-daughter's food. The Didrik Saga uses as to this the very word **SVIK**.

"The shrine-carvings are therefore of value in the history of our folk-myths. By their help, assisted by the hints in *Deor's Lay*, *Waldere's Lay* and elsewhere, we obtain a very good general idea of the form in which the Weland-saga ran up and down in the English shires."

¹ I scarcely dare venture an opinion where Prof. Bugge stands still. Otherwise I think that this "three-cornered object" is the *smelting-oven or furnace* used by the Smith. This is so much the more likely as we see a very similar furnace on the wooden side-pillars of the Portal to Hyllestad Church, Setersdal, Norway, figured in the Norse "Skilling-Magazin" for Febr. 4th 1865, p. 73. This last explains the other. We see that the opening above was for the charcoal, which sinks down in its pipe or channel as it is consumed, the bellows being at work below. It is in the lower medallion on the one of the Hyllestad pillars; the fire-place is well figured and well preserved. On the one side is Regin making the Sword for Sigurd, on the other is his man blowing the bellows. These soles are of great value, and are from the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century. Should I be right in this, it is another confirmation of Prof. Bugge's charming discovery.

² Prof. Bugge is justified in here using the expression "gift" (poison). The Swedish version has "forgiftelse". But this word is not employed in the Norse head-codex, and, from a comparison of all the manuscripts we see that it was not exactly "poison", in the modern sense, but "*love-potion*", so that, if the king's daughter did not take Weland as her husband she should become a prey to death. The sequel shows that this strong charm did her no harm. She became Weland's wife.

TO THE READER.

As this work has swollen so enormously, in fact has become about *twice* the size at which it was *last* fixt, and as nearly or quite *one half* (perhaps more!) yet remains to be printed, I think it best to issue these sheets — as a First Part — now. The remainder, I hope, will appear in the spring of 1867. It will contain the Chapters ENGLAND, THE BRACTEATES, WANDERERS, the APPENDIX of Scandinavian-runic Monuments (about 120 in number, most of them either engraved for the first time or first publisht with correct readings), the WORD-ROW of the Scandian-runic words on pieces here given, the WORD-ROLL of all the words occurring on the Old-Northern runic objects, ERRATA AND ADDENDA, and a copious Alphabetical INDEX to the whole volume. Hereto will be added the Title, Dedication, Foreword, &c. At the end of this last part will also be repeated all the chief *Metallic pieces*, but printed in GOLD, SILVER, BRONZE, COLORS, &c., according to their workmanship and material, as only in this way can we obtain any real idea of the wonderful skill of our ancestors in this department of the arts.

While waiting for the many "Errors and Additions", the reader is requested to correct *at once* with his pencil the following misprints:

page 17, line 31, *for* pronouns sing. *read* pronouns sing. fem.

" 101, " 10, " ǃ *read* ȝ.

" — " 12, " ʏ *read* ʘ.

" 107, " 27, " ʍ, 𐍂 *read* 𐍂 (p), ʍ (q).

" 111, " 5, " c, d, *read* c, , d.

" 112, " 34, " pert., *read* p, pert.

" 114, " 8, " Oriosus, *read* Orosius.

At page 67, *add*: The name HENGIST OR HENGEST still lives in England in the forms

HINCKS and HINKS.

Add also, that the SIGDAL stone has now reacht Christiania, and entirely *overturns* (as I expected it might) my "combination or guess". The actual reading is still more interesting than the one proposed at p. 272, which was founded on materials now shown to have been incorrect.

Add also, that a new O. N. Runic stone has just turned up in Norway. This monument is apparently as old as the Tune stone, and the inscription is remarkable.

Both these monoliths will be given in the next Part, together with whatever else may be found in the mean time.

This First Part *should not be bound*, except perhaps in a slight and temporary manner.

As far as I know at present, the price of the Second Part will be the same as that of the First.

Both Parts together will contain not far from 500 Illustrations, besides the many thousands of loose Runic Types cut in wood especially for this work.

Any Corrections, or accounts of fresh Runic Finds, will be thankfully received and duly acknowledged. They can be sent direct to my address, or to that of my English or Danish Publishers.

G. S.

INTRODUCTION.

WAYSIDE HINTS.

"Not only, however, was the ancient language English, but as naturally would follow, the whole race of people, whether Angles, Saxons, Jutes or Frisians, were, when spoken of as one, Angelcynn, English-kin; and the whole country, wherein they dwelt, from the Grampians to Dover was called England."

Seinte Marharete þe Meiden ant Martyr in Old [= Early] English. Now first edited from the skin books. By the Rev. OSWALD COCKAYNE, M. A. London 1862, 8vo, p. 75.

"If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines."

CAMDEN

"Many a noble heart,
Many a noble head,
Labours for our native land
Harder than the horniest hand
For its daily bread."

CHARLES MACKAY. *Hornyhand.*

"In offering these translations, I am conscious that I am somewhat gratuitously laying myself open to criticism. Still, it is better to help those who want helping, than to ensconce oneself in silence, merely for fear of being sometimes caught tripping. Thus, — who ever heard of such a name as »Mercuranetis»? and yet, since I am sure the word is copied accurately, what else can the nominative be? It is a satisfaction to find that Gruter, or his editor, was perplexed by a similar form, — »Diogenetes".

Rev. J. W. BURGON. Letters from Rome. 8vo, London 1862, p. 197.

"Abzustehen, schien mir nicht rätlich, da man einen Autor der Eitelkeit zeihen müsste, wenn er in dem Glauben ein Scherflein zur bessern Aufhellung irgend einer archäologischen Untersuchung beitragen zu können, aus Furcht, die nächstfolgende Zeit könnte durch neue Funde seine Ansichten widerlegen oder sein ganzes Gebäude über den Haufen werfen, die Feder aus der Hand fallen lässt. Es kann uns vielmehr freuen, wenn neue Entdeckungen, oder fernere Untersuchungen unsere Ansichten wesentlich modificiren sollten."

It seemed to me unadvisable to abandon my task. That author must surely be open to the charge of vanity who lets his pen drop, where he otherwise hopes to contribute something to the better elucidation of any branch of Archaeology, merely from the fear that the future, from fresh finds, may possibly refute his conclusions or altogether overturn his building. On the contrary, it should be a pleasure to us if new discoveries or wider researches should considerably modify our views.

Dr. M. A. LEVY. Geschichte der Jüdischen Münzen. Leipzig 1862. 8vo, p. VI.

"Die auffallende Ähnlichkeit der Runen mit den Pelagischen oder ältesten Griechischen, Lateinischen und Etrurischen, so wie mit den Keltiberischen, Ägyptischen, Phönikischen, Samaritanischen und den übrigen Morgenländischen Buchstaben offenbart zwar genugsam ihren gemeinsamen Ursprung, so wie all dieser Sprachen selber."

FR. H. von der HAGEN. *Briefe in die Heimat*. I Band, 12mo, Breslau 1818, p. 156.

"On a rattaché jusqu'ici toutes les runes à deux alphabets, connus des savants sous le nom de *scandinave* ou *marcomann*, et d'*anglo-saxon*. L'ordre insolite dans lequel les lettres s'y suivent également, leurs rapports de forme et de nom, toutes les analogies possibles, montrent avec la dernière évidence que, si l'un des deux n'est point le type primitif de l'autre, ils ont au moins une origine commune."

Edlénstand du Mérid. *Essai sur l'origine des Runes*. 8vo, Paris 1844, p. 14.

"Indessen ist so viel auch gewiss und ausdrücklich zu sagen, dass wir bis jetzt noch kein unbezweifeltes Denkmal mit deutschen Runen in Deutschland selbst entdeckt haben."

Meanwhile, one thing is certain, and this must be said emphatically, that in Germany itself NO confessedly genuine piece bearing German [OLD-NORTHERN] Runes has as yet been found.

W. GRIMM *Ueber deutsche Runen*. Göttingen, 1821, p. 162.

"Es ist nichts wahrscheinlicher, als dass es angelsächsische Priester waren, die diese Runen-alphabete herüber brachten. Auch sehen wir im Hildebrands-Lied das angels. w eingeführt und im Wessobruner Gebet die angels. Abbreviatur für UND gebraucht."

Nothing is more probable, than that these [Old Runic] alphabets were brought over to us [Germany] BY ANGLOSAXON PRIESTS. And in the "Hildebrands-Lied" we find the Anglo-Saxon w introduced, as in the "Wessobruner Gebet" we have the Anglo-Saxon contraction for UND.

Id. p. 134.

"Sannolikt hafva vi runskriften att tacka för bevarandet af Nordens äldsta sånger. Ett af skälen man anför emot dessa sångers ålder har varit, att man ej skulle kunna minnas dem utan till. Detta förfaller naturligtvis om runskriften är gammal. Således se vi huru skaldekonsten, liksom runorne, utgår ifrån Asarne och utbreder sig åt söder och väster."

We have probably to thank Runic Writing for the preservation of the oldest Songs of the North. One reason advanced against the antiquity of these Songs has been, that they could not be learnt by heart. But this of course falls away, if Runic Writing is old. Thus we see how Poetry, like the Runes, springs from the Asar, and spreads to the south and the west.

C. A. AGARDE. *Försök till Statsekonomisk Statistik öfver Sverige*. Part 1, 8vo, Carlstad 1852, pp. 76, 7.

"Nec ignotum volo. Danorum antiquiores conspicuæ fortitudinis operibus editis, gloriæ æmulatione suffosos, Romani styli imitatione, non solum rerum à se magnificè gestarum titulos exquisito contextus genere, veluti Poëtico quodam opere perstrinxisse; verum etiam majorum acta patrii sermonis carminibus vulgata, LINGUÆ SUÆ LITERIS, SAXIS AC RUPIBUS INSCULPENDA CURASSE. Quibus tametsi Romanæ vocis notitia abesset, tanta tradendæ rerum suarum memoriæ cupido incescit, ut voluminum loco VASTAS MOLES amplecterentur, codicum usum à CAUTIBUS mutantes."

Saxo Grammaticus. *Historia Danica*. Prefatio.

"In general it may be laid down as the first and most indispensable rule of interpretation, that the inscription, wherever legible, is to be considered inviolable and sacred: and this I hold particularly applicable to the case of all rudely executed Runic monuments, be the Runes Oriental, Etruscan, Greek, Latin or Teutonic. Once admit a looser system, a habit of substituting for what really is, that which we think *might be* or ought to be, and there is no limit to the extravagance of fancy: the legend then becomes just what the investigator chooses to make it, and the result is finally determined solely by the amount of his knowledge and the strictness of his honesty. I might easily remind you of instances which would justify stronger remarks than these."

J. M. KEMBLE *Additional Observations on the Runic Obelisk at Ruthwell*. 4to, London 1843, p. 15.

"Quamquam paucissimi tituli integri supersunt, tamen magna pars eiusmodi est, ut certâ viâ queant restitui; in quo haud raro fieri solet, ut etiam mutilae quaedam inscriptiones altera ex alterâ restituantur, aut aliae partes eiusdem ex aliis, quemadmodum praesertim in tabulis quaestorum Atticis a Boeckhio factum videmus."

IOANNES FRANZIUS. *Elementa Epigraphices Graecae*. 4to, Berolini 1840, p. 5.

"Lucius una quidem, geminis sed dissita punctis
Littera; prænomen sic L . . nota sola facit.
Post M. incisum est; puto sic M, non tota videtur.
Dissiluit saxi fragmine læsus apex.
Nec quisquam, Marius. seu Martius, anne Metellus
Hic jaceat, certis noverit indicii.
Truncatis convulsa jacent elementa figuris,
Omnia confusis interiøre notis.
Miremur perisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt,
Mors etiam saxis, nominibusque venit."

AUSONIUS. *Epigrammata*. XXXV.

"It may perhaps be thought that a spell has been cast over the learned, and that some sportive Puck yet lurks about the Runes, and seduces the grave antiquaries into these interminable wanderings. Let me be allowed, however, to observe, that I doubt whether, in these and similar instances, any true reading can ever be obtained, unless the object itself (or a cast from it) [OR RUBBINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS] be inspected by those who undertake the task of interpretation. No draughtsman's copy, however skilful he may be, will ever be accurate, unless he can read the inscription, and his mind guides his pencil. If he be ignorant of its meaning, he may mistake an accidental indentation or flaw for a letter; — he will omit the line, nearly effaced by time, which joined the parts — he will lengthen a curve that has been broken, — and shorten a limb which has been partly filled up: — and the aggregate of these errors, though each may be trifling in itself, will cast an impenetrable veil over features, which, under the most favourable circumstances, were sufficiently obscure."

Sir FRANCIS PALGRATE. *History of England*. Vol. 1. Anglo-Saxon period. London 1831, p. 147.

"Mit grösserem Recht als womit Lepsius wegen der auffallend reichen Vocalisation dieser Inschriften dieselbe den Etruskern absprach, hat später Steub (die Urbewohner Rätien, München 1843, S. 12) dieselben als Hauptbeweise dafür benutzt, dass die ältere etruskische Sprache einen ungemeinen ausgiebigen Vocalismus hatte, der freilich später einem widerwärtigen und harten Contractionssystem hat weichen müssen. Es fehlt bekanntlich auch sonst nicht an Beispielen hiefür."

THEOD. MOMMSEN. *Die unteritalischen Dialekte*. Leipzig 1850, p. 18.

"Die meisten Klassiker sind nach *späten* Handschriften zuerst erschienen. Abweichende Schreibarten der *älteren* Handschriften wurden kurzweg als barbarisch verworfen und oft stillschweigend beseitigt, indem bis zur Stunde die Editoren, in gewiss löblichem Bestreben sogenanntem schlechteren Texte das klassische Gewand umwarfen."

HENR. WUTTKE. *Cosmographia Aethiæ Istrici ab Hieronymo*. Lipsiæ, 1854, 8vo, p. CXXXIII.

"Die Schriften haben Aehnlichkeit mit den Pflanzen. Denn auch auf sie wirkt Clima und Boden bey einer Versetzung. Sitten und National-Begriffe, selbst Sprache, und über dieses manchmal Einfluss der Angrenzenden, alles trägt zur Veränderung bey. Man kann nie eine Ton-Schrift zur Zufriedenheit der Sach-Verständigen erklären, ohne die Sprache zu kennen, in welcher sie geschrieben worden. Nur darf er sich bey einer unregelmässigen Sprache, und das sind die ältesten fast immer, nie slavisch an die Orthographie einer geregelten halten. Eine solche Pedanterey würde dem glücklichen Fortgange paläographischer Forschungen sehr im Wege stehen."

U. FR. KOPP. *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*. 2ter Band, 8vo. Mannheim 1821, pp. 106, 107.

"Or quand une langue s'altère, il se passe quelque temps avant que le dialecte qui en dérive s'arrête à l'emploi fixe et régulier de quelques formes parmi le grand nombre de celles qu'a produites l'idiome maternel."

E. BOURNOUF et CHR. LASSEN. *Essai sur le Pali*. 8vo, Paris, 1826, p. 173.

"Upon language, also, the mind impresses its own individuality, and but for artificial restraints against multiplication there would be almost as many languages as individuals. A thousand distinct languages are said to be spoken upon the earth. The number of dialects is immensely greater. There are places even in Europe where the inhabitants of each hamlet or small district speak such different dialects of one language, as to be almost unintelligible to each other. The uneducated inhabitants of one county in England, in some cases, deem the language of the next county strange and almost barbarous. The people of Lancashire and those of Hampshire, both speaking genuine English, would be almost unintelligible to each other."

Rev. T. CLARK, M. A. *The Student's Handbook of Comparative Grammar*. 8vo, London 1862, p. 4.

"The Greek furnishes us with striking examples illustrative of the effect accomplished in a certain length of time by the influences which are continually producing phonetic decay in living languages. The language of Homer may be regarded as five hundred years later than that of the Védas; and this difference of time corresponds with the difference of form in the one language as compared with the other. For instance, the genitive case singular of the *a* stems in Sanskrit ends in *a-sya*. In Homer it is *o-io*, in which we see that every element has undergone a change; for *a* the lighter vowel *o* is substituted in both cases, for *y* the vowel *i*, and *s* is lost altogether. Five hundred years later, again, the Attic dialect presents to us the same form reduced to *ou*; that is, *oo* is reduced to the weaker form *ou*, and *i* is lost altogether. These changes are not sporadic instances which might be owing to accident. They affect the entire mass of the language to which they belong, and rest upon general principles. There is no example of the older *a-sya* in the language of Homer, nor any instance of the Homeric *o-io* in the Attic dialect. These effects appear as if they were accomplished at once and therefore artificially, but this only results from our not possessing literary records during the time which intervened between these epochs to illustrate the gradual approaches towards the final result. Any one will see how gradually such modifications are effected who examines the change which is going on from *th* to *s*, from *hath* to *has*, for instance, in the third person singular of the present tense in English verbs. It is long since it began, and it is not yet completed; but if when *hath* is exterminated and *has* is universal, all the intervening literature between the first employment of *s* and the last use of *th* were to disappear, we should have an instance similar to those noticed above."

Id. pp. 21, 22.

"Thus the genitive singular, which appears in Sanskrit as *a-sya*, in Homer as *o-io*, and in Attic Greek as *ou* (from *oo*), is in Latin, two or three centuries later, reduced to *i* (from *oi*). — — — the letters *s*, *w*, *y*, are generally either lost or disguised in certain positions in Greek, but are more or less fully preserved in Latin. On the other hand, the aspirates, which are numerously represented in Greek, are generally lost or altered in Latin. Again, the Greek preserves short vowels when final, but the Latin drops them, whilst final consonants, lost in Greek, are preserved in Latin. So, also, the Greek distinctly preserves the important aorist forms, but has greatly obscured the reflexive pronoun in verbs, whilst in Latin the latter is unmistakable and the former almost absent."

Id. pp. 24, 25.

"Skjaldene vare ingen Folkedigtene, de vare fribaarne Helte og færdedes med Konger, men ikke med Folkeklassen, der heller ikke forstod dem."

The Scalds were no folkpoets; they were free-born Helts (heroes) and fared with kings, but not with the folkclass (common people), who indeed did not understand them.

BENEDICT GRÖNDAL. *Hrungsmythen*. *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1860, p. 257.

"I should unhesitatingly place the Icelandic at the head of these subsidiary philologies, because, from its close relationship to Anglo-Saxon, it furnishes more abundant analogies for the illustration of obscure English etymological and syntactical forms than any other of the cognate tongues."

G. P. MARSH. *Lectures on the English Language*, 2nd ed. 8vo, London 1863, p. 72.

"Almost every sound which is characteristic of English orthoepy is met with in one or other of the Scandinavian languages, and almost all their peculiarities, except those of intonation, are found in English, while between our articulation and that of the German dialects most nearly related to Anglo-Saxon there are many irreconcilable discrepancies."

Id. p. 338.

"Few subjects belonging to the study of languages are more difficult of investigation than the successive changes in their pronunciation. . . . but whence these tendencies, what are their laws, and what connexion have they with changes in the signification of words, or their combination in periods? The people of Iceland their pronunciation appears to have undergone considerable changes. In Norway there has been a great revolution in the pronunciation and this observation applies with no less force to Sweden, which is almost equally secluded from foreign influences."

Id. p. 336.

"Persons not familiar with the civil history of the middle ages, are generally not aware of the confusion of tongues which prevailed throughout Christendom as late as the beginning of the fourteenth century. The fine old Catalan chronicler Ramon Muntaner, who lived at that period, and had extensive opportunities of observation in Europe and in Asia, testifies that small as were the numbers of his countrymen, yet no other single language was spoken by so many. "Yee will have marvaile," says he, "of what I shall telle you, but natheless, if yee marke well, yee shal finde that I telle you the trouthe; that is to saine, there be nowhere so moche folke that speke one same tongue as of the Catalans. For in the reame of Castille, there be many provinces, and everie of them useth his owne proper speche. Ye shalle finde the lyke diversity in Fraunce, in Englonde, in Almayne, and in all Rumelie; and in lykewise in thempire of Constantinople, the Morea, and Vlaquie, and Natolie, and other marches, and it is even so with as manye other peoples as bee in the worlde. Now some menne may bee abashed hereat, and wene it is but an olde wyfe's tale, but thinke what ye liste, wete ye wel, it is the veray trouthe".

Id. p. 260.

"Il faut joindre ensemble les differens dialectes de tous les peuples Teutoniques, pour expliquer les vieux livres."

C. KORTHOLTUS. *Viri illustris G. G. LEIBNITHI Epistolae*. Lipsae 1738, Vol. 3, p. 359.

"But in all enquiries into the grammatical history of early English, it must be borne in mind that such was the dialectic confusion, and such the irregularity of orthography, that we are not warranted in affirming of scarcely any one form, or any one spelling, that it was normal for its time. It is as true of orthography and grammar as of literary form, that there is no unity until great authors arise and become generally recognised as authoritative standards. The founders of a national literature, therefore, conform not to previously settled and acknowledged canons of national speech, for none such exist, but to some particular dialect, or they perhaps frame a more or less eclectic diction, and by their authority establish a grammar, first for their literary followers, and, after some time, for the nation. . . . Now the tendency of a popular written literature is to harmonise the discordances of language, and we have sufficient evidence that, for many centuries, the dialects have been dying out, and that German has been both spoken and written with constantly increasing uniformity; and yet, in spite of all this, we find in Firmenich's collection examples of some hundreds of Germanic dialects alleged to be actually spoken at the present day, and Stalder has given us the parable of the Prodigal Son in forty-two German and twenty-seven Romance patois employed in Switzerland alone. In all this no doubt there is an enormous exaggeration. . . . There are shades of difference in the articulation of almost any two members of the same family. . . . Until, however, the smaller states and com-

munities of mediæval Europe were absorbed into the larger political organizations, and until national literatures had been created, and a greater fixity and universality given to linguistic forms by the invention of printing, the real local differences of speech were constantly augmenting. It must be remembered that Anglo-Saxon also had not only its local dialects, but its general colloquial forms, which, in all probability, differed very widely from the written tongue."

G. P. MARSH. *The Origin and History of the English Language*. 8vo, London 1862, p. 18-23.

"According to the present views of the ablest linguists, grammatical structure is a much more essential and permanent characteristic of languages than the vocabulary, and is therefore alone to be considered in tracing their history and determining their ethnological affinities. This theory, I think, is carried too far, when it is insisted that *no* amalgamation of the characteristics of different speeches is possible; for though languages often receive and assimilate a great amount of foreign material without much change of structure, yet, on the other hand, there are cases of the adoption of more or less of foreign syntax while the vocabulary remains in a good degree the same, and even while the people who employ it continue almost wholly unmixed in blood with other nations."

Id. p. 45.

"The people who inhabit the coasts of the North Sea have now been Christianised for a thousand years, and brought under the sway of two or three governments. During all these ten centuries, all religious and all political influences have powerfully tended to the extirpation of local differences of speech, and to the reduction of the multiplied patois, if not to one, to two or three leading dialects. Yet, though all known external causes of discrepancy have long since ceased to act, we find that, in spite of the harmonising influences to which I have alluded, every hour of travel, as we advance from the Rhine to the Eider, brings us to a new vernacular. Within the space of three hundred miles, we meet with at least a dozen, mostly unwritten, dialects, not only so discrepant as to be mutually unintelligible to those who speak them, but often marked by lexical and grammatical differences scarcely less wide than those which distinguish any two Gothic or any two Romance tongues. There is not a shadow of proof, there is no semblance of probability, that the inhabitants of these coasts spoke with more uniformity fourteen centuries ago than to-day, but every presumption is to the contrary. Jacob Grimm, indeed, observes that all dialects and patois develop themselves progressively, and the further we look back in language, the smaller is their number and the less marked are they. This is in accordance with all linguistic theory, and if human annals reached far enough back to exhibit to us earlier stages of divergence of speech, the proposition would probably be found historically true; but if we take the different linguistic families of Europe, and follow them up as far as documentary evidence can be traced, the reverse appears, in very many cases, to be the fact. The dialects diverge as we ascend. But between the poem *Heliand* and the *Krist* of *Otfrid* — both of the ninth century and therefore nearly contemporaneous — the former being taken as the representative of the Low, the latter as that of the High German, there is a much more palpable difference than exists at the present day, or at any intermediate period, between the dialects which stand in the place of them. It is not proved that any modern High-German or Low-German speech is derived from the Mæso-Gothic of *Ulphilas*, or from the dialect of *Otfrid*, or of the *Heliand*; and it is just as probable that all the Germanic patois are descended from parallel old dialects, the memory of which is lost because their written monuments have perished, if any such ever existed."

Id. pp. 50-53.

"Inquiries into ancient modes of articulation are extremely difficult, not only from the uncertainty which must always exist, first as to the extent to which any particular system of orthography was regularly phonographic, and secondly, as to the normal force of single letters, the standard sound of which is only traditionally known; and besides this, we are embarrassed by the confusion that attends all phonological discussion in consequence of the different appreciation of familiar sounds by different persons who hear and use them. We wrangle about the identity or diversity of vowels, and even of consonantal sounds in our vernacular, which we have heard and employed every day of our lives; and pronunciation itself is so fluctuating that we cannot rely upon the traditional articulation, even of those

sounds which seem most constant, as sufficient evidence of the ancient utterance of them. There is something surprising in the boldness with which philologists pronounce on the orthoepy of dialects which have been dead for a thousand years, or which are known to them only by written notation. We find between the Swedish and Danish, for example, closely allied as they are in vocabulary and structure, not merely discrepancies in the pronunciation of particular words, for which an explanation might sometimes be suggested, but radical and widereaching differences of articulation, which no known facts connected with the history of either throw much light upon, unless we adopt the theory of a greater ancient diversity between those dialects than exists in their present condition."

Id. pp. 63, 68.

"In fact, in the present linguistic school, British as well as Continental, hastily generalized conclusions and positive assertion are so often substituted for sufficient documentary proof, that he who studies the early philology of modern Europe only so far as it is exhibited in grammars and dictionaries, and speculative essays, is very frequently accumulating unsubstantial theories, instead of acquiring definite truths which can be shown to have ever had a real existence."

Id. p. 141.

"Critical writers speak of particular works as marked by Northern, or Southern, or Western, or Northumbrian, or Anglian peculiarities; but these terms are, from our ignorance of the local extent of such peculiarities, necessarily used in a vague and loose application, and it would be very hazardous to suppose that they have any precise geographical or ethnological accuracy."

Id. p. 151.

"Every part of nature, whether mineral, plant, or animal, is the same in kind from the beginning to the end of its existence, whereas few languages could be recognized as the same after the lapse of but a thousand years. The language of Alfred is so different from the English of the present day that we have to study it in the same manner as we study Greek and Latin. We can read Milton and Bacon, Shakespeare and Hooker; we can make out Wycliffe and Chaucer; but when we come to the English of the thirteenth century, we can but guess its meaning, and we fail even in this with works previous to the *Ormulum* and *Layamon*. The historical changes of language may be more or less rapid, but they take place at all times and in all countries. in the few instances where careful observations have been made on this interesting subject, it has been found that among the wild and illiterate tribes of Siberia, Africa, and Siam, two or three generations are sufficient to change the whole aspect of their dialects."

MAX MÜLLER. *Lectures on the Science of Language*. 3rd ed., 8vo, London 1862, pp. 34-35.

"What we are accustomed to call languages, the literary idioms of Greece, and Rome, and India, of Italy, France, and Spain must be considered as artificial, rather than as natural forms of speech. The real and natural life of language is in its dialects, and in spite of the tyranny exercised by the classical or literary idioms, the day is still very far off which is to see the dialects, even of such classical languages as Italian and French, entirely eradicated. About twenty of the Italian dialects have been reduced to writing, and made known by the press. Champollion-Figeac reckons the most distinguishable dialects of France at fourteen. The number of modern Greek dialects is carried by some as high as seventy, and though many of these are hardly more than local varieties, yet some, like the Tzaconic, differ from the literary language as much as Doric differed from Attic. In the island of Lesbos, villages distant from each other not more than two or three hours have frequently peculiar words of their own, and their own peculiar pronunciation. But let us take a language which, though not without a literature, has been less under the influence of classical writers than Italian or French, and we shall then see at once how abundant the growth of dialects! The Friesian, which is spoken on a small area on the north-western coast of Germany, between the Scheldt and Jutland, and on the islands near the shore, which has been spoken there for at least two thousand years, and which possesses literary documents as old as the twelfth century, is broken up into endless local dialects. I quote from Kohl's *Travels*. 'The commonest things', he writes, 'which are named almost alike all

over Europe, receive quite different names in the different Friesian Islands. Thus, in Amrum, *father* is called *aatj*; on the Halligs, *baba* or *babe*; in Sylt, *foder* or *vaar*; in many districts on the mainland, *täte*; in the eastern part of Föhr, *oti* or *ohitj*. Although these people live within a couple of German miles from each other, these words differ more than the Italian *padre* and the English *father*. Even the names of their districts and islands are totally different in different dialects. The island of *Sylt* is called *Söl*, *Sol*, and *Sal*. Each of these dialects, though it might be made out by a Friesian scholar, is unintelligible except to the peasants of each narrow district in which it prevails. What is therefore generally called the Friesian language, and described as such in Friesian grammars, is in reality but one out of many dialects, though, no doubt, the most important; and the same holds good with regard to all so-called literary languages. It is a mistake to imagine that dialects are everywhere corruptions of the literary language. Even in England, the local patois have many forms which are more primitive than the language of Shakespeare, and the richness of their vocabulary surpasses, on many points, that of the classical writers of any period. Dialects have always been the feeders rather than the channels of a literary language; anyhow, they are parallel streams which existed long before one of them was raised to that temporary eminence which is the result of literary cultivation. Here, however, lies the difficulty. How are we to trace the history of dialects? In the ancient history of language, literary dialects alone supply us with materials, whereas the very existence of spoken dialects is hardly noticed by ancient writers. We are told, indeed, by Pliny, that in Colchis there were more than three hundred tribes speaking different dialects; and that the Romans, in order to carry on any intercourse with the natives, had to employ a hundred and thirty interpreters. This is probably an exaggeration; but we have no reason to doubt the statement of Strabo, who speaks of seventy tribes living together in that country, which, even now, is called 'the mountain of languages'. In modern times, again, when missionaries have devoted themselves to the study of the languages of savage and illiterate tribes, they have seldom been able to do more than to acquire one out of many dialects; and, when their exertions have been at all successful, that dialect which they had reduced to writing, and made the medium of their civilising influence, soon assumed a kind of literary supremacy, so as to leave the rest behind as barbarous jargons. We read of missionaries in Central-America who attempted to write down the language of savage tribes, and who compiled with great care a dictionary of all the words they could lay hold of. Returning to the same tribe after the lapse of only ten years, they found that this dictionary had become antiquated and useless. Old words had sunk to the ground, and new ones had risen to the surface; and to all outward appearance the language was completely changed. If we turn our eyes to Burmah, we find that there the Burmese has produced a considerable literature; and is the recognised medium of communication not only in Burmah, but likewise in Pegu and Arakan. But the intricate mountain ranges of the peninsula of the Irawaddy afford a safe refuge to many independent tribes, speaking their own independent dialects; and in the neighbourhood of Manipura alone Captain Gordon collected no less than twelve dialects. 'Some of them,' he says, 'are spoken by no more than thirty or forty families, yet so different from the rest as to be unintelligible to the nearest neighbourhood.' In the north of Asia the Ostiaks, as Messerschmidt informs us, though really speaking the same language everywhere, have produced so many words and forms peculiar to each tribe, that even within the limits of twelve or twenty German miles, communication among them becomes extremely difficult. Castrén, the heroic explorer of the languages of northern and central Asia, assures us that some of the Mongolian dialects are actually entering into a new phase of grammatical life; and that while the literary language of the Mongolians has no terminations for the persons of the verb, that characteristic feature of Turanian speech had lately broken out in the spoken dialects of the Buriates and in the Tungusic idioms near Njertschinsk in Siberia. Robert Moffat *Missionary Scenes and Labours in Southern Africa*. 'On such occasions fathers and mothers, and all who can bear a burden, often set out for weeks at a time, and leave their children to the care of two or three infirm old people. The infant progeny, some of whom are beginning to lisp, while others can just master a whole sentence, and those still further advanced, romping and playing together, the children of nature, through their 'livelong day, become habituated to a language of their own, and in the course of one generation the entire character of the language is changed.' Only let us clearly see what we mean by Latin. The classical Latin is one out of many dialects spoken by the Arian inhabitants of Italy. It was the dialect of Latium, in Latium the dialect of Rome; at Rome the dialect of the patricians.

It was fixed by Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Nævius, Cato, and Lucretius, polished by the Scipios, Hortensius, and Cicero. It was the language of a restricted class, of a political party, of a literary set. Before their time, the language of Rome must have changed and fluctuated considerably. Polybius tells us (iii. 22), that the best-informed Romans could not make out without difficulty the language of the ancient treaties between Rome and Carthage. Horace admits (*Ep.* ii. 1, 86), that he could not understand the old Salian poems, and he hints that no one else could. Quintilian (i. 6, 40) says that the Salian priests themselves could hardly understand their sacred hymns. If the plebeians had obtained the upperhand instead of the patricians, Latin would have been very different from what it is in Cicero, and we know that even Cicero, having been brought up at Arpinum, had to give up some of his provincial peculiarities, such as the dropping of the final *s*, when he began to mix in fashionable society, and had to write for his new patrician friends. After having been established as the language of legislation, religion, literature, and general civilization, the classical Latin dialect became stationary and stagnant. The sources of Italian are not to be found in the classical literature of Rome, but in the popular dialects of Italy. English did not spring from the Anglo-Saxon of Wessex only, but from the dialects spoken in every part of Great Britain, distinguished by local peculiarities and modified at different times by the influence of Latin, Danish, Norman, French, and other foreign elements. Hindustani is not the daughter of Sanskrit as we find it in the Vedas, or in the later literature of the Brahmans: it is a branch of the living speech of India, springing from the same stem from which Sanskrit sprang, when it first assumed its literary independence. Dialectically we hear *I be*, instead of *I am*; and if Chartistism should ever gain the upper hand, we must be prepared for newspapers adopting such forms as *I says*, *I knows*."

Id. p. 49-68.

"Languages may have a common origin, and yet the words which they originally employed for marking case, number, person, tense, and mood, having been totally different, the grammatical terminations to which these words would gradually dwindle down could not possibly yield any results if submitted to the analysis of comparative grammar. A genealogical classification of such languages is, therefore, from the nature of the case, simply impossible, at least, if such classification is chiefly to be based on the grammatical or formal evidence. It might be supposed, however, that such languages, though differing in their grammatical articulation, would yet evince their common origin by identity of their radicals or roots. No doubt, they will in many instances. They will probably have retained their numerals in common, some of their pronouns, and some of the commonest words of every-day life. But even here we must not expect too much, nor be surprised if we find even less than we expected. You remember how the names for father varied in the numerous Friesian dialects. Instead of *frater*, the Latin word for brother, you find *hermano* in Spanish. Instead of *ignis*, the Latin word for fire, you have in French *feu*, in Italian *fuoco*. Nobody would doubt the common origin of German and English; yet the English numeral 'the first', though preserved in *Fürst*, *princeps*, prince, is quite different from the German 'Der Erste'; 'the second' is quite different from 'Der Zweite'; and there is no connection between the possessive pronoun *its*, and the German *sein*. This dialectic freedom works on a much larger scale in ancient and illiterate languages; and those who have most carefully watched the natural growth of dialects will be the least surprised that dialects which had the same origin should differ, not only in their grammatical framework, but likewise in many of those test-words which are very properly used for discovering the relationship of literary languages."

Id. pp. 175, 6.

"Thus we see that we can follow the High-German as well as the Low-German branch of Teutonic speech, back to about the seventh century after Christ. We must not suppose that before that time there was *one* common Teutonic language spoken by all German tribes, and that it afterwards diverged into two streams — the High and Low. There never was a common, uniform, Teutonic language; nor is there any evidence to show that there existed at any time a uniform High-German or Low-German language, from which all High-German and Low-German dialects are respectively derived. We cannot derive Anglo-Saxon, Friesian, Flemish, Dutch, and Platt-Deutsch from the ancient Low-German, which is preserved in the continental Saxon of the ninth century. All we can say is this, that

these various Low-German dialects in England, Friesland, and Lower Germany, passed at different times through the same stages, or, so to say, the same latitudes of grammatical growth. We may add that, with every century that we go back, the convergence of these dialects becomes more and more decided; but there is no evidence to justify us in admitting the historical reality of *one* primitive and uniform Low-German language from which they were all derived. This is a mere creation of grammarians who cannot understand a multiplicity of dialects without a common type. They would likewise demand the admission of a primitive High-German language, as the source, not only of the literary Old, Middle, and Modern High-German, but likewise of all the local dialects of Austria, Bavaria, Swabia, and Franconia. And they would wish us to believe that, previous to the separation into High and Low German, there existed one complete Teutonic language, as yet neither High nor Low, but containing the germs of both. Such a system may be convenient for the purposes of grammatical analysis, but it becomes mischievous as soon as these grammatical abstractions are invested with an historical reality. As there were families, clans, confederacies, and tribes, before there was a nation; so there were dialects before there was a language."

Id. p. 179, 80.

"The language of Ulfilas, the Gothic, belongs, through its phonetic structure, to the Low-German class, but in its grammar it is, *with few exceptions*, far more primitive than the Anglo-Saxon of the Beowulf, or the Old High-German of Charlemagne. These few exceptions, however, are very important, for they show that it would be grammatically, and therefore historically, impossible to derive either Anglo-Saxon or High-German, or both, from Gothic. . . . Gothic is but one of the numerous dialects of the German [= Scando-Gothic] race; some of which became the feeders of the literary languages of the British Isles, of Holland, Friesland, and of Low and High-Germany, while others became extinct, and others rolled on from century to century unheeded, and without ever producing any literature at all. It is because Gothic is the only one of these parallel dialects that can be traced back to the fourth century, whereas the others disappear from our sight in the seventh, that it has been mistaken by some for the original source of all Teutonic speech."

Id. pp. 189, 90.

"It is commonly supposed that, as late as the eleventh century, identically the same language was spoken in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, and that this language was preserved almost intact, in Iceland, while in Sweden and Denmark it grew into two new national dialects. . . . But though one and the same language (then called Danish or Norrænish) was understood, I doubt whether one and the same language was spoken by all Northmen, and whether the first germs of Swedish and Danish did not exist long before the eleventh century, in the dialects of the numerous clans and tribes of the Scandinavian race. That race is clearly divided into two branches, called by Swedish scholars the East and West Scandinavian. . . . This division of the Scandinavian race had taken place before the Northmen settled in Sweden and Norway."

Id. pp. 191, 2.

"We have thus traced the modern Teutonic [Scando-Gothic] dialects back to four principal channels — the *High-German*, *Low-German*, *Gothic*, and *Scandinavian*; and we have seen that these four, together with several minor dialects, must be placed in a co-ordinate position from the beginning, as so many varieties of Teutonic [= Scando-Gothic] speech. This Teutonic speech may, for convenience' sake, be spoken of as one — as one branch of that great family of language to which, as we shall see, it belongs; but it should always be borne in mind that this primitive and uniform language never had any real historical existence, and that, like all other languages, that of the Germans began with dialects which gradually formed themselves into several distinct national deposits."

Id. p. 195.

"Though in a general way we trace these six Romance languages back to Latin, yet it has been pointed out before that the classical Latin would fail to supply a complete explanation of their origin. Many of the ingredients of the Neo-Latin dialects must be sought for in the ancient dialects

of Italy and her provinces. More than one dialect of Latin was spoken there before the rise of Rome, and some important fragments have been preserved to us, in inscriptions, of the Umbrian spoken in the north, and of the Oscan spoken to the south of Rome. Oscan was still spoken under the Roman emperors, and so were minor local dialects in the south and the north. French is provincial Latin as spoken by the Franks, a Teutonic race; and, to a smaller extent, the same *barbarising* has affected all other Roman dialects. But from the very beginning, the stock with which the Neo-Latin dialects started was not the classical Latin, but the vulgar, local, provincial dialects of the middle, the lower, and the lowest classes of the Roman empire."

Id. pp. 197, 8.

"No two men speak the same language alike. With a good stock of broad Scotch [North English] a dairy-maid goes to Sweden, and in a few months she makes herself understood. The thing has happened repeatedly, as the author was informed at Götheburg, with English and broad Scotch and some other tongues. The author himself had travelled in Norway, and set off without an interpreter. From the first day he began to use familiar words picked up at the inn; and he was satisfied that English, with all its dialects, is to be classed with Norse. For like reasons he included Swedish, Danish, German, and Icelandic with all their dialects. Travelling from place to place, speaking always with peasants, passing rapidly from dialect to dialect, and learning by ear alone, he found that each language (so called) helped him to the next. He found words, forms of speech, grammar, and tone crossing and recrossing till the difficulty of speaking consists in shunting the cognate dialect."

Notice of the Paper read by J. Campbell, Esq., in the Ethnological Society, April 28, 1864; communicated in The Reader, London, May 14. p. 626.

"Der Riesenbaum England hat seine Wurzeln auf der ganzen Länderstrecke zwischen der Bretagne und Norwegen liegen. Ueberall, wo man an irgend eine Stelle dieser Küsten kommt, glaubt man Spuren von den Vorvätern dieses Riesen zu entdecken. Und in der That sind deren auch noch so viele, dass, sollte England seine Einwohner einst sämmtlich verlieren, diese Länder, wenn sie ihre Bevölkerungselemente wieder zusammenhätten, noch einmal eben solche Engländer hervorbringen könnten.

"Wenn die Bretagner, die Normannen, die Flamländer, die Friesen, die Sachsen und Jüten noch einmal ihre Colonisten nach der grossen Insel schickten und ihre Söhne und Töchter sich unter einander verheiratheten und vermischen liessen, so würde nach ein paar Jahrhunderten wieder eine englische Nation daraus entstanden sein."

The Giant-tree England hath its roots in the whole stretch of land from Brittany to Norway. Wherever we come all along these coasts, we feel that we discover traces of the forefathers of this Giant. In fact so many are they that, if England once more lost its inhabitants and these lands once again threw together the elements of their population, they could a second time produce exactly the selfsame Englishmen.

If the men of Brittany, the Northmen, the Flemings, the Frisiers, the Saxons and the Jutlanders were once more to send their colonists to the great island, and their sons and daughters were there to intermix and intermarry, after a couple of centuries we should again see an English Nation spring from their loins.

J. G. KOHL. Die Marschen und Inseln der Herzogthümer Schleswig und Holstein. 8vo, Dresden 1846, Vol. 1, p. 290.

"Buttmann has truly said of many such matters, 'The idiom of language admits only of being observed; let no man ask 'Why?'" We cannot explain why one form should be current in Ireland and Scotland and another in England, any more than why the Athenians did not speak the same Greek as the Thebans."

Sir Edmund W. Head, Bart. "Shall" and "Will". 2nd ed., London. 8vo, (1862), p. 7.

RUNIC LITERATURE.

The number of works in which Runes are treated, either incidentally or at large, is very great. This is not the place to enumerate them. But many of my readers will be glad of a list, for reference, of the principal among them. I therefore give the titles of those referred to in my text, or of the chief collectanea, and *particularly* of those in which *Old-Northern* Runes are more distinctly handled. I do this once for all, to avoid prolixity and polemical discussion. As my Old-Northern interpretations usually differ from those of my predecessors, — and necessarily so, from the extreme incorrectness of most of the older copies and consequently of the readings founded upon them, and from my fresh identification of some among the O. N. Runes —, I refer to these works for the opinions of others in those *very few* cases in which they have treated the same monuments.

J. BUREUS. Runa Känslones Läröspån. Upsaliæ 1599. With drawings of monuments, &c. Is only one engraved sheet, folio.

OL. WORM. Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex. Hafniæ 1643, fol.
 „ „ Additamenta. (1650). fol.
 „ „ Danica Literatura Antiquissima. Hafniæ 1636, 4to; 1651, fol.
 „ „ Fasti Danici. Hafniæ 1626, fol. — All these works abound in wood-cuts of monuments.

H. CURIO. Monumenta Lapidum aliquot Runicorum. Upsaliæ 1664, 8vo. (Appendix to Verelii Gothrici et Rolfi Historia). With wood-cuts and readings.

O. VERELIUS. Runographia Scandica. Upsalæ 1675, fol. With wood-cuts and readings.

G. HICKES. Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus. Oxoniæ 1705, Vol. 1 & 2. With many plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions. — (To this belongs, as Vol. 3, H. WANLEY'S Catalogue of Manuscripts, Oxoniæ 1705, fol.).

J. G. ECCARD. De Origine Germanorum. Göttingæ 1750, 4to. At p. 192 is a folio plate of Alphabets.

J. GÖRANSSON. Bautil, Det är: Alle Svea ok Götha Rikens Runstenar. Stockholm 1750, folio. With nearly 1200 wood-cuts of monuments.

N. R. BROCMAN. Sagan om Ingvar Vidtfarne och hans son Sven, från gamla Isländskan översatt, och undersökning om våre Runstenars ålder. 4to, Stockholm, 1762.

W. C. GRIMM. Ueber deutsche Runen. Göttingen 1821, 8vo. With 11 plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions.

J. H. BREDSORFF. Om Runeskriftens Oprindelse. Kjöbenhavn 1822, 4to. With plate of Alphabets.

N. H. SJÖBORG. Samlingar för Nordens Fornälskare. 3 vol., 4to, Stockholm 1822-1830. Text, and a great number of Runic and other monuments.

L. D. KLÜWER. Norske Mindesmærker, aftegnede paa en Reise igjennem en Deel af det Norden-fjeldske. 4to, Christiania, 1823. With 35 lithographs, including several Rune-stones.

J. G. LILJEGREN och C. G. BRUNUS. — Nordiska Fornlemningar. Stockholm, 1823*, 8vo. — Contains 100 plates and text, including many Rune-stones.

REV. JAMES RAINE. Saint Cuthbert: with an account of the state in which his Remains were found upon the opening of his Tomb in Durham Cathedral in the year 1827. Durham 1828, 4to. With plates.

WILHELM GRIMM. Zur Literatur der Runen. Nebst Mittheilung runischer Alphabete und gothischer Fragmente aus Handschriften. — In "Jahrbücher der Literatur", Vol. 43, Vienna 1828, 8vo.

J. G. LILJEGREN. *Run-Lära*. Stockholm 1832, 8vo. With plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions.
 " " " *Monumenta Runica*. Stockholm 1834, 4to. Printed as Appendix to "*Svenskt Diplomatarium*", Vol. 2, but also published separately in 8vo. Readings only, no plates.

H. DUNCAN. — An Account of the Remarkable Monument in the shape of a Cross, inscribed with Roman and Runic Letters, preserved in the Garden of Ruthwell Manse, Dumfriesshire. By the Rev. Henry Duncan, D. D. Minister of Ruthwell, Corr. Mem. S. A. Scot. Read to the Society 10th December 1832. — Appended is:

T. G. REPP. — Letter from Mr. Thorleif Gudmundson Repp, A. M., F. S. A. Scot. to the Hon. Mountstewart Elphinstone, Honorary Member S. A. Scot. regarding the Runic Inscription on the Monument at Ruthwell.

H. K. RASK (Prof.). — The Glavendrup, Tryggevælde, two Greenland, the Jellinge and the Tirsted stones are discuss by him in the 3rd volume of his "*Samlede tildels forhen utrykte Afhandlinger*", 8vo, Kopenhagen 1838.

J. M. KEMBLE. The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons. *Archæologia*, London 1840, (Vol. 28, pp. 327-372, 4to). With 6 plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions. — Continued, "Additional Observations", in the *Archæologia*, Vol. 30, pp. 31-46.

FINN MAGNUSEN. *Runamo og Runerne*. Kjöbenhavn 1841, 4to. With many Alphabets and plates of Inscriptions.

EDELESTAND DU MERIL. *Essai sur l'origine des Runes*. 8vo, Paris 1844.

P. WIESELGREN. *Ny Smålands Beskrifning*. Wexiö 1844, 5, 8vo. Pp. 54-60, some few Readings.

[Rev. D. H. HAIGH]. — Notes on the Monumental Stones discovered at Hartlepool in the years 1833, 1838, 1843. — Printed in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*. October 1845, pp. 185-196.

J. J. A. WORSAAE. *Blekingske Mindesmærker fra Hedenold*. Kjöbenhavn 1846, 4to. With plates of monuments. — *Om Nye Opdagelser af Runer i Frankrige og England*. 8vo, Kjöbenhavn 1856.

R. v. LILJENCRON und K. MÜLLENHOFF. *Zur Runenlehre*. Besonders abgedruckt aus der *Allgemeinen Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur*. 8vo, Halle, 1852.

[Rev. D. H. HAIGH]. — Notes on the History of S. Begu & S. Hild; and on some Relics of Antiquity discovered in the sites of the Religious Establishments founded by them. 8vo, Hartlepool. — No date, but published about 1854.

A. KIRCHHOFF. *Das Gothische Runenalphabet*. 2te Auflage, Berlin 1854, 8vo.

R. DYBECK. *Svenska Run-Urkunder*. Stockholm 1855-7, 8vo. Plates and Readings.

" " *Sverikes Runurkunder*, Part 1, Stockholm 1860, folio. Plates and Readings. — Up to the close of 1864 five parts of this folio series have appeared.

N. M. PETERSEN (Prof.). — *Danmarks Historie i Hedenold*, 3 vols. 1855, 8vo, Kjöbenhavn, 2nd ed. — In the 3rd vol. of this work, in the section on Runes, pp. 256-283, some few Runic Inscriptions, both Old-Northern and Scandinavian, are handled.

C. J. THOMSEN. — *Om Guldbracteaterne og Bracteaternes tidligste Brug som Mynt*. — In "*Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*", Kjöbenhavn 1855, 8vo, pp. 265-347, 381, 2. — This is Councilor Thomsen's descriptive text to the Bracteates engraved in the following "*Atlas*". It is printed in French in "*Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*", 8vo, 1850-60, Copenhagen 1861, pp. 203-293.

JULIUS ZACHER. *Das Gotische Alphabet Vulfilas und das Runenalphabet*. Leipzig 1855, 8vo. With plate of Alphabets.

Rev. DANIEL H. HAIGH. The Saxon Cross at Bewcastle. — In "*Archæologia Æliana*", New Series, Part 3, November 1856. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 8vo. — Contains accounts of most of the Old-Northern Runic monuments in England (and at Ruthwell) together with a lithograph plate of inscriptions.

C. C. RAFN. *Inscription Runique du Pirée*. Copenhagen 1856, 8vo. With many additional Runic Inscriptions.

C. J. THOMSEN. *Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, fremstillende Prover fra Bronzealderen og fra Jernalderen*. — *Atlas de l'Archéologie du Nord, représentant des échantillons de l'âge de Bronze et de l'âge de Fer*. Publié par la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord. Copenhagen, 1856. Large folio. — With 15 plates including some hundreds of objects, among them all the Bracteates discovered up to the year of publication. Danish and French text. — See the text to the Bracteates under the year 1855.

J. G. CUMMING. *The Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man*. By the Rev. J. G. Cumming, M. A. F. G. S. London 1857, 4to. With many Plates. The inscriptions more correctly given than in P. A. Munch's *Chronica Regum Manniæ et Insularum* (Christiania 1860, 8vo, p. xx-xxiv and plate).

Rev. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH. *On the fragments of Crosses discovered at Leeds in 1838*. — Printed in "Report of the Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1856-7, Leeds 1857". — With Runic facsimiles.

F. J. LAUTH. *Das Germanische Runen-Fudark*. München 1857, 8vo. With a plate of Alphabets and Inscriptions.

Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN, A. B. *A Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*. With an Appendix on the Roman Inscription on Caerme Craig, and the Runic inscription in Carlisle Cathedral. 8vo, 1857, London, Groombridge and Sons.

A. UPPSTRÖM. — *De Lapide Runico Tunensi*. 4to, Upsaliæ 1858. With engravings of the stone. — This is an overprint from the *Acta Reg. Soc. Scientiarum Ups. Ser. III, Vol. II, Fasc. II*.

C. C. RAFN. — *De sydslesvigske Runestene*. In "*Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*", 1859. Kjøbenhavn, 8vo. Pp. 126-215.

CARL SÄVE. — *Gutiiska Urkunder: Guta Lag, Guta Saga och Gotlands Runinskrifter språkligt behandlade*. Stockholm 1859, 8vo. — Contains all the Runic Inscriptions up to that date found in Gotland, 204 in number, in Roman characters.

C. L. GROTEFEND. *Die neuesten Goldschmuckfunde im Königreich Hannover*. (*Zeitschrift d. hist. Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 1860, 8vo). — With 2 plates of the Golden Bracteates.

FRANC. DIETRICH. *Disputatio de inscriptionibus duabus runicis [the Gold-horn and the Buceu Gold-ring] ad Gothorum gentem relatis*. (*Indices Lectionum, &c.* Marburgi 1861, 4to).

Rev. DANIEL H. HAIGH. *The conquest of Britain by the Saxons*. London 1861, 8vo. With 6 plates of Alphabets and Inscriptions.

JAMES FARRER, Esq., M. P. — *Notice of Runic Inscriptions discovered during recent Excavations in the Orkneys*. Printed for private circulation. 4to, 1862, [Edinburgh]. With facsimiles and plates. — Papers on the Maeshowe Runes have also appeared in the "*Illustreret Nyhedsblad*", Dec. 1861 and Jan. 1862, folio, Christiania, with facsimiles, by Prof. P. A. MUNCH; in "*Tidsskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik*", Aug. 1862, København, 8vo, and "*The Gentleman's Magazine*", Sept. 1862, London, 8vo, by Prof. G. STEPHENS; in "*Archæologia Eliana*", 1862, 8vo, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with facsimiles, by Dr. E. CHARLTON; in the "*Collectanea Archæologica of the British Archæological Association*", Vol. 2, 4to, London 1863, with facsimiles, by the Rev. Principal BARCLAY; and by J. M. MITCHELL, Esq., "*Mesehow*", 4to, Edinburgh 1863, with facsimiles.

FRANZ DIETRICH. *Die Blekinger Inschriften, der Stein von Tunc, und andere deutsche Runen in Skandinavien entziffert und erläutert*. 4to, Marburg 1863. — With a plate of inscriptions.

P. G. THORSEN. — *De danske Runemindesmærker, forklarede af P. G. Thorsen*. Forste Afdeling: *Runemindesmærkerne i Slesvig*. Kjøbenhavn, 1864. Royal Octavo. With many Runic Illustrations engraved by J. Magnus Petersen.

U. W. DIETRICH. — *Enträthselung des Odinischen Runen durch das semitische Alphabet*. 8vo, Stockholm and Leipzig, 1864.

THE LANGUAGE OF THESE MONUMENTS IS OLD, AND 'IT IS NORTHERN.

Much of the argument in these pages depends on the occurrence of forms and words unknown to the Dictionaries and the Grammars. But this is the most shining proof, in my eyes, of the correctness of my readings. An *opposite* result would at once have been *incredible*. The farther back we go, the more and the greater the archaisms. No language ever becomes fixt, until it is mummied, "dead". It is always undergoing changes, developments, passing by stages from the older to the old, from the old to the later. On the one hand it preserves fragments and forms belonging to a previous organization, on the other it admits neologies, fresh words and fresh forms. This has always been the case everywhere. It is so at this moment, altho habit so dulls our eyes that we cannot see it. Our own tung, for instance, in spite of "the Schoolmaster" and centralization and the thousand edicts of pedantry, is still full of life. We have things new and old at every step. The *WHILOM* and *WOE WORTH*, the *KINE* and *EYNE* for *COWS* and *EYES*, and hundreds such, the *TH* in the 3rd person singular of verbs present, the *EN* of participles, *BOUNDEN* for *BOUND*, *DRUNKEN* for *DRUNK*, and so on, stand side by side with the *BUS* and *CADDY*, the *DAMPÉR* and the *NUGGET*, the *SHUNTER* and the *RAIL*, together with all the riches of modern Slang, much of which is only — old friends in a new dress.

But modern linguists have usually ignored all this. They have tried to reduce everything to a "standard", what they call a "normal orthography", a thing usually confined to the book-learned coteries of a local capital. During this process numbers of ancient forms have entirely disappeared, or have taken refuge in shire-speech. When we open an old manuscript, or even one comparatively late, down to the 16th or 17th century, nay even printed books as late as the age of Dr. Johnson himself, we find abundant traces of floating unfixt dialects, a struggle between sounds and how to represent them, the influence of local speaking and more general or more school-taught tendencies. Often guided chiefly by the ear, the same "educated" and highborn man, down almost to the last yearhundred, spells his own name in half-a-dozen different ways. The same word in the same sentence or page assumes many shapes. Each copyist or editor tries to alter this. He "corrects", brings everything down to his own standard, just as do the Lindley-Murray-taught compositors and readers in our own printing-offices. Most of our modern editions of *old* writers — particularly in Germany, where this system has been carried on regularly and with a shameful and most impertinent ruthlessness —, are therefore *waste-paper* for all scientific purposes. These people have invented "accents and marks", and with more than Papal infallibility apply true or false "sound-laws", and "harmonize" the vowels and "adjust" the consonants, more or less silently obliterating old forms, which they often do not understand, — and then boast that they have produced what they facetiously call a "correct text". In many instances the original author or scribe would not recognize or comprehend his own work. "Professors" in the 19th century of course understand his language much better than the writer himself in the 9th. Against all this learned rubbish real students must emphatically protest. It is unmitigated snobbishness, shallow-minded insolence, half-learned stupidity and pragmatism Vandalism!

We must also remember that the *names* we give to the *old* dialects are nearly, often entirely, arbitrary. Commonly they are founded on a few lines or pages, mostly of far later date. Men have fixt on 3 or 4 or 5 dialects, and everything has been violently prest under those distinctive heads, the most break-neck contrarities to the theory being either called "exceptions" or entirely ignored. But in older days the Northern lands, as all others, were *full* of dialects, if we choose to call them so. The language was clannish. Every dale or hill or stem, every little stategroup or family-caste, had its own speech more or less, and this was in a continual flux and reflux, influenced by personal faults of tooth or tung or lip, by a drawl or a nasal twang or a listless laziness of enunciation, by marriage, by migration, by conquest, and what not. We have, so to speak, *no* materials, no remains, from these early times; and yet men persist in building up conclusive and authoritative systems — and then call them *facts*. Suppose that some mythical navy should dig up some mythical stone-kist containing a Saga — for instance in Gotlandish, or Uplandish, or Scanian, or any any other speech — from the 3rd century, some lyrics from the 6th, an epic from the 9th, a chronicle or some laws from the 12th:

we should then have 4 distinct dialects if not languages, tho belonging to the same folk-group. In the 15th age and in the 18th, we should have two new developments of the language. Some of these might offer vast differences of structure and sound, and even of syntax.

Besides this, book-monuments often give us the language of a court or a caste, not of the people generally. Let us take an example. In Lithuania we have scarcely anything in the vulgar tung. The official speech became White-Russian, and in this was its "Statutt Litovskoi" (Lithuanian Statute) edited and publisht by its Grand-dukes. But in 1569 Lithuania and Poland melted into one state, and accordingly, at the close of the 16th century, this "Statute" was edited and publisht in *Polish*. Just so in Great Britain. After the Union of the Crowns, the official language became "South-English" in its gradually North-Englishized shape, notwithstanding the multitude of Lowland and Highland dialects in the Scottish kingdom.

From the antiquity and comparative fulness and regular succession of our own written remains, we can follow all this best in England.

The Old-English of the North and the South of our island differs in a remarkable degree. That of the Ruthwell Cross and its kindred pieces contrasts considerably with the Northumbrian Gospels — even these, in their *two* manuscripts, are very different from each other when we come to minutiae —, and again fresh peculiarities meet us in the middle-age remains of Northumberland and the Lowlands, the old Northumbria.

So, coming to niceties, the language of our day is far from being that of SHAKESPEAR¹; and how different is he to Middle-English, to CHAUCER and WYCLIFFE and PIERS PLOUGHMAN; and this how changed, to that Early English which meets us in LAYAMON (whose 2 codices differ so widely) and ROBERT OF GLOUCESTER; while he again strangely swerves from the Old-English of our oldest Laws and Epics and Homilies, — which differ surprisingly among themselves in spite of all the doctoring of the Editors! But *before them* a still older language existed. Our few Runic fragments offer precious archaisms. If we had a bundle of Champion-lays, or some English Edda-songs, or some Tales about the Heathen Kings, from the FOURTH to the SIXTH century, they would again largely vary from the oldest written pieces we at present possess. Successive linguistic characteristics are very much a question of CHRONOLOGY, of mere lapse of time, gradual change and development, and not of any considerable difference of RACE.

Not only is this so, but *antiquity* of dialect by no means depends on the mere *age* of the document. In some districts the written or spoken language may be scores or hundreds of years earlier or later than their neighbors, sometimes the same local speech may be ahead in some forms and phrases, old-fashioned in others. Dialects may stagnate for centuries, or may rapidly change, according to circumstances. Of this we have many proofs, not a few in these pages. The excessively old TUNE stone, for instance, has the infinitive in -A, but on other stones *centuries later* we have occasionally the infinitive in the older -AN.

And this holds good not only of "English" and "Dansk" and "Swedish" and "Norse-Icelandic", but of every folk-land in these regions as elsewhere. In North-England, Mid-England, South-England, East-England, West-England, Sealand, Jutland (both North and South), Fyn, Bornholm, Seoné, Gotland, Swealand, Gota-land, North-Norway, South-Norway, and so on, there would be "dialects" plenty — if we only had a store of skin-books or of carved tablets or inscribed stones from the 1st or 2nd century downwards. In those days there *was* movement endless, and there *was not* the Dictionary and Grammar of the centralized Academy or Book-speech teacher. Everything was comparatively free to form itself in obedience to local and psychological laws of internal development and external contact.

¹ "Tantum n. vel quadringentorum annorum curriculo, a pristina sua & pronuntiatione, & idiotismo, illud quod jam tenemus degeneravit idioma, ut qui vel legum codices vetustiores, vel alia volumina, non usq; adeo magnam præ se ferentia antiquitatem inspexerit, non potest non tantam discrepantiam admirari. Atq; id quidem, si nobis solis contigisset, majori res digna esset admiratione: nunc vero cum nullam penè linguam [his exceptis quibus divina ad nos defluxere eloquia] fatalem hanc mutationem effugisse videamus; quid mirum & nostræ id usu venire. Gallican respice, Latinæ Italicæ & Germanicæ est mistura: Germanica Latinis, Gallicis & Italicis est inquinata: Anglica Danica est & Gallica. Vicinorum commercia, populorum migrationes, elegantiae studium, quæ sibi in Idiomata imperium vendicarunt, hæc primas obtinuerunt. Qui igitur veteris lingvæ nostræ rudis planè ad monumentorum accesserit enucleationem, haud paucæ inveniet, quorum sensum vix ac ne vix quidem assequetur." — *Olaf Wormii Danica Literatura Antiquissima*, Hafniæ 1636, 4to. p. 148, 9.

But we have scarce anything left from these early periods. And what we have we can seldom absolutely localize, much less rigorously fasten on to a local folk. The "folks" and tribes themselves were largely migratory. A Runic stone *may* now and then have been carved by a stranger. We know not when or where the Bracteates were struck, except that both letters and dialect show them to be of Northern make. The Jewels and other loose pieces may have wandered far and wide; some of them, we know, have done so.

It is therefore with great hesitation that I have attempted "to read the runes". In the word-row I have tried to show my meaning — that we must not split hairs — by bringing together the chief floating forms of the nearest dialects. The reader *cannot but* be struck with their diversity. He *must* acknowledge that other variations also, forms older or as old, may have existed in one part or period or other of the many and wide Northern countries.

The old forms found on these Old-Northern monuments are highly instructive. They show transitions from previous systems of language, systems which partly meet us in Old-English and Mæso-Gothic, and consequently that most of the distinctively "Scandinavian" peculiarities were only provincialisms struggling up, but not fixt.

The Accusative singular of masc. strong nouns in *a vowel*, must now be registered as a striking fact in the oldest Scandinavian, as now and then in the oldest English.

The sparing occurrence of Accusative plurals neuter also in *a vowel* at once illustrates the same use in Old-English. Even in our lexicons some examples are entered, such as *ÆGER* (ER), pl. nom. ac. *ÆGRU*, eggs; *WATER*, pl. n. ac. *WÆTRU*, waters; *WOLCEN*, pl. n. ac. *WOLCNU*, welkins, clouds; but others might be added; as *BEALU*, pl. n. ac. *BEALUWA*, bales, wocs; *GUD-SEARO*, arms.

In Norse-Icelandic such archaisms as *GLÍKJA*, *GLÍKUR*, *GNAGA*, *GNEISTI*, *GNÓGUR*, still exist, the *g* (or *κ*) having mostly fallen away both in that and in the other Scandinavian dialects. This guttural prefix is now most kept up, in certain words, in Swedish.

So *w* (*v*) has disappeared at the beginning of a word in many Scandinavian dialects, particularly those of the written speech, while it is kept in others, sometimes only in certain words or word-forms. In English it has been mostly preserved, but it is no longer pronounced; in Jutlandish it is still largely sounded. — Of course I mean *w* before a consonant, as in *WRITE*.

In Gotlandish and Old-Swedish we can still trace the old *s* at the end of the present and past plural conjunctive, *HAFIN*, *QUAMIN*, (Mæso-Gothic *HABAINA*, *QEMEINA*), and this form even still lives in certain Swedish law-phrases. These Swedish dialects again show this *s* in pronouns sing. and pl. neuter. *DAUN*, *ENGUN*, Middle-Swedish *DÖN*, *they*; *INGIN*, *none*; in the plurals of certain comparatives. *LENGRIN*, *longer*, *FLAIRIN*, *feler*, *more*. These have already been pointed out by Prof. C. Sæve; and other similar tendencies might be added, such as *BADEN*, *BADIN*, fem. sing. and nom. ac. neut. pl. *both*, dropt in the later Swedish. In fact he is the only Scandinavian scholar who has yet dared to lift the corner of this veil. See his observations¹ on another of these old terminations, the gradual change in certain feminine nouns from *-ONS* in the gen. sing. to *-OS*, *-US*, *-UR*, *-U*.

A number of distinct forms, some of them of high antiquity, might be pointed out in *each one* of the Old Northern dialects, which have *never gone beyond their own local limits*. — forms used in Norway or Iceland or both, but not in Sweden or elsewhere; in Denmark, but not in Norway or elsewhere; in England, but not in Denmark or elsewhere; and so on of Mæso-Gothic and the rest. The same thing holds good of the Flemish (Saxon) and the German dialects, and of course of all others. All dialects are overgangs, transitions. Some of these peculiarities are so old that they are never found in prose, and they may disappear as noiselessly as they came.

But, as if in anticipation of these olden remains, Prof. Sæve has even gone farther: — "As a proof how long-lived an antique form may sometimes be on the lips of the people, I would mention that in the neighborhood of Upsala, and north towards Roslagen, and even in a part of Gestrikland, the plural [of the old Scandinavian nomin. *SUNR*, *son*] is there pronounced *SYNJER*, which goes far back, beyond even the oldest Scandian book-form *SYNR*, and approaches the M. Gothic pl. *SUNJUS*."²

¹ C. Sæve. *Gutniska Urkunder*, p. xv. — See also my chapter headed *DIALECTS*.

² See Sæve's masterly paper on the Rune-stone at Fjuckby in Upland, in "*Nordisk Universitets-Tidskrift*", Vol. 3, p. 11, Upsala 1868.

Such changes have their analogies in all other languages. To speak only of what we are most familiar with, it is in this way the Romance dialects were gradually formed out of the old Book-Latin, the *Lingua Rustica*, and the infused foreign or "barbarous" elements. Still older was the Old-Italic (the Old-Oscan and other dialects). What the Italian is to the Latin and this to the Old-Italic, that is modern Danish or Norse or Swedish to the Old-Scandinavian, and this to the Old-Northern, — in which, as far as we can see, and of course subject to the influences of intermixture and civilization, were latent and inherent all the English and Scandinavian dialects, as these again were latent and inherent in that still older prehistoric speech from which sprung both the Northern, the Flemish (Saxon) and the German tungs.

One characteristic element of change in Scandinavia, apparently a little before and after the emigration from south and west Scandia to England, is the softening of the *s* into *r*. In Scandinavia largely, in England partially, this *s* either became a lisping consonant or vowel which hardened into *r*, or else it was vocalized and fell away altogether. — Let us take a popular example, the 3rd person singular Past of the verb to BE. The Scandinavians say *VAR* (*WAR* in some dialects). In various of our provinces, particularly in North-England, we also, by the same process, say *WAR* or *WAUR*; but on the oldest Scandinavian-runic stones it is still *UAS* (*WAS*). In one Old-English Charter (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* I, 114) 'between the years 743 and 745, we have *both* *WAES* and *WAER*. In England generally we have retained the *s*, *WAS*. In the plural (Engl. *WERE*, Scand. *VORO*, &c.) both we and the Scandinavians have gotten the *r* for *s*.

This *r*, the usual mark of the 3rd person sing. present of Scandinavian verbs in general, is a singular example of crumbling of forms. It answers to the M. Goth. and O. South-English *ð* (*TH*), to the Old-Fris. *th* or *τ*, the Old-Sax. *τ* or *ð*, the Ohg. *τ*, but to the *Old North-English s*, thro which stage it may have past. Then this *s*, become *r* in Scandia, goes on decaying, till, in some of the "vulgar" Scandian dialects it becomes *e*, and at last this *e* frequently altogether falls away, the 3rd person being thus the same as the first. Yet, by a singular inconsistency, of which all folk-speeches are so full in spite of the system-makers, the Scandinavian tungs have preserved in certain expressions the antique *st*, as in *EST* (M. Goth. *is*), thou-ART (the O. North-Engl. *arþ*, O. South-Engl. *earþ*), while, with one or two exceptions, the Norse-Icelandic has always *r*, (like the English), þu *ert*. In the Gotland dialect, as C. Sæve informs us, both forms are used, *JART*, *JARST* and *JASST*.

During the last 2 or 3 centuries *s* has had a movement in England in another direction, unknown in Scandinavia at present, to *z*. After all but the sharp consonants, and even in some cases after vowels, it has been entirely superseded by *z*, often drawing with it the change of *f* to *v*. Thus *IS* is now sounded *IZ*, *WAS* is *WOZ*, &c.: *LIFE* has its plural *LIVEZ*, like as the verb to *LIVE* makes its 3rd pers. pres. *LIVEZ*, while *GO* makes *GOEZ*, *SAY* makes *SAYZ*, *READ* makes *READZ*. The nouns follow suit, *PEN* pl. *PENZ*, *HAND* pl. *HANDZ*, *TOE* pl. *TOEZ*, *GLASS* pl. *GLASSEZ*, *HOUSE* pl. *HOUEEZ*, &c. It has even become a distinction between the noun and the verb: — a *HOUSE*, to *HOUEZ*; a *USE*, to *UZE*, &c., (tho we still say *ICE* [O. Engl. *is*] to *ICE*), the *GRASS*, to *GRAZE*, &c. So *TH sharp* is the noun, but *flat* the verb: *BREATH*, to *BREATHE*, &c. Vulgarisms always show popular tendencies. Thus we may often hear *UZ* for *US*, and so on. *RAZE* is now fixt for *RASE*, *RAZOR* for *RASOR*; while we say to *ERASE*, yet pronouncing the substantive *ERAZURE*!

Let us compare, for instance, the personal pronoun *I*, in 4 dialects:

	M. Goth.	O. Engl.	N. Irel.	O. H. Germ.
Sing. n.	ia	ic	ek	ih
„ g.	meina	min	min	min
„ d.	miS	me	méR	miR
„ ac.	mik	mec, meh, me	mik	miu
Dual. n.	vit	wit	vit, mit	wiz
„ g.	(ugkara)	uncer	okkar	unchar
„ d.	ugkiS	unc	okkR	un.ch
„ ac.	ugkiS	unccet, unc	okkR	unch
Plur. n.	veiS	we	véR, méR	wiR
„ g.	unSara	uSra, uSer, uRe	váR	unSar
„ d.	unSiS, unS	uS	oSS	unS
„ ac.	unS, unSiS	uS	oSS	unSich

So the 3rd sing. of the verb to BE. The Scandinavians now say ER, but on the oldest runic-stones we always find IS, ES. We have kept the original s and write IS, but, by the above-named tendency to make s into z we pronounce it IZ. In the "popular" dialects in Scandinavia, the R having crumbled away as already remarkt, the actual talk is — for ARE and IS — *I, thou, he, we, you, they*, E or Æ, A.

In like manner as to our nouns plural in s; in Scandinavia this s has become R, or has fallen away.

Compare the Latin in similar development from the Old-Italic:

aSa.	<i>altar</i> ,	became	aRa,
auSum,	<i>gold</i> ,	..	auRum,
soSor,	<i>sister</i> ,	..	soRor,
(f)aSena,	<i>sand</i> ,	..	(h)aRena,
muSes.	<i>mice</i> ,	..	muRes,
quæSo,	<i>I ask</i> ,	..	quæRo,
eSam,	<i>I was</i> ,	..	eRam,
eSas,	<i>thou wast</i> ,	..	eRas,
eSat.	<i>he was</i> ,	..	eRat.

The remarkable tendency of the Scandian dialects to vocalize and cast away N, will be spoken of farther on.

In one word, the language before us is Old-Northern, but with dialectic peculiarities and tendencies according as the monument is found in England or Scandinavia. All is Northern, but not tied down to any distinct book-speech. Of German forms there is no trace.

THE LETTER N.

It is a valuable argument in defence of these readings of the *Old-Northern* runic monuments, that similar forms, or peculiarities equally old, or "exceptions" equally strange, also occur on the *Scandinavian*-runic inscribed stones. On these last a rich store of facts of this kind will be found, now that the ice has been broken. It has hitherto been the general fashion to ignore these forms, to pronounce them mere barbarisms or mis-cuttings. It is to be hoped that they will now be examined in a different spirit. Without passion of any kind, let what is *antique* on these monuments be cheerfully acknowledged as such, what is *phonetic* registered accordingly, what is *provincial* accepted as really dialectic. In this way we shall find, as might be expected, not the sudden leap from a very old stage to the middle age, but a series of gradations and overgangs. We shall often recognize on *Scandinavian*-runics the same features as on *Old-Northern*, — the same accumulation of vowels or diphthongs, the same diversity of terminations, the same absence of later developments, the same examples of plain archaisms. The language of the *Old-Northern* runics will then appear less strange, and we shall be able in some degree — considering the extreme paucity of our materials — to follow the stream of our Mother-tong from a period not far below the Christian era down to the middle age, when greater unity and regularity is at last obtained by the 3 or 4 Scandian and the 2 or 3 English dialects, and they begin to flourish side by side as now distinctive and acknowledged speeches, — which in a certain sense, but not in this sense and to this degree, they were one or two thousand years before.

One interesting feature in language is the bent to liquidize and slur on the one hand, or to sharpen and staccato on the other, certain letters, such as N, M, L, &c. in certain positions. We will here speak chiefly of the nasal N. We all know how M may be sharpened or weighted into MB, MP, FM, &c., L into LT, LD, &c.; GAMLA becoming GAMBLA, the B again falling away in most dialects, as in COMB, LAMB, &c., it is now silent; ALRA becoming ALTRA, ALDRA, still left in our English ALDER-MOST, ALDRE-MOST, ALDRE-MOST, ALLER-MOST, *most of-all* (gen. pl.). Hence such vulgarisms, to be found in Shakespear and still older writers, as VILD for VILE. But the N deserves some further notice.

N may be strengthened or sharpened. It then becomes NT or ND, just as ND becomes NDT or NT. We can often scarcely decide whether the D or T is a part of the stem¹. In some cases we can trace it to later times. But in others this false T or D is of high antiquity. We have it everywhere, particularly in the Scando-Gothic dialects. In English we can follow it far back. The same pronunciation which gave us END-LEOF for EN-LEOF, *eleven*, has given us SOUND (Latin SONUS) for SOUN (the older book-form and still provincial English), as well as such universal vulgarisms as GOWND for GOWN. As our Old-Engl. YNTSA, YNDSA = OUNCE (Lat. UNCIA) and MIST-LIC for MIS-LIC, *mis-like*, *un-like*, so our WHILST for WHILES, and such vulgarisms as WUNST for ONCE and VARMINT for VERMIN. The Old-Engl. ÆMTIG, from ÆMETTA, *leisure*, became EMPTY, tho the P is now silent. In Wycliffe's Bible SIMON is spelt SYMOND and SYMOUNT; and in the middle of the 17th century ALLANT for ALIEN had crept into an edition of the Authorized Bible, and into other books. In many English dialects the ND is pronounced NDT.

This false T has obtained a firm footing even in some modern Swedish words. I will only mention one glaring example, which has puzzled many word-smiths. The Swedish FLINT-SKALLIG means SCALD (bald) on the FLIN (the front of the head upward), and of course has nothing to do with a FLINT, as some have supposed! Many dialects still resist the false T; thus Danish FLEEN-SKALDET; Vesterbotten FLENSKALLI; Helsingland FLENSKALLIG; Gotland FLAINSKALLUGUR.

Known everywhere exceptionally, found in Scandinavia from the earliest times, this ND or NT became in the middle age a characteristic orthographical mark almost exclusively Danish, and is so to this day, tho in hundreds of words the N alone is *heard*. In Danish it is even very frequently found (as in the word IND for IN) where all must see that the D is a mere spellingsign². In older Danish manuscripts and books, to ensure the sharp or hard sound of the N, we have even NDT, NNDT, &c. Happily a tendency exists in modern Danish to lay aside this unnecessary D. As yet very few words — DEN, HAN, KAN, &c. (a year-hundred since spelt DEND, HAND, KAND) — are now written without it; but it is to be hoped that a vigorous effort will be made in this direction, thereby at once removing an eyesore, and harmonizing the written language with the Swedish-Norse³ as well as with the English in such numbers of words.

Now so old in Scandinavia is this ringing N, this NT or ND for N, that we have several Runic examples; the D wanting in the oldest *Scandinavian-runic* alphabet, of course T was used in its stead. Thus on the Brynderslef stone, N. Jutland, we have MISKUNTA, the usual MISKUNNAR. On the Sigtuna stone, Uppland, stands DENTSÅ for DENSA. On the Ekala stone, Uppland, we have FADUR SINT for SIN (his). On the Skrämmstad stone, Uppland, STAIN DINTSA (stone this). On the Langå stone, N. Jutland, now destroyed, we have it twice, FADUR SINT (SIN), and BRUDUR SINT (SIN). In the name HALLSTEN (sing. nom. Liljegren No. 1632), the sharp N is merely doubled.

The T or D is sometimes placed *before* the N, and for the same sound-purpose. Thus in the modern Swedish SEDNARE and SEDNAST (later, latest), comp. and sup. of SEN, late, the N. L. SEINN, SEINNI, SEINAST, SEINST. Rydqvist (*Den Historiska Språkforskningen*, 8vo, 2nd ed., Stockholm 1863, p. 14) doubts whether this D be older than the middle of the 18th century. Yet, and altho unknown elsewhere in Scandia, this sednare, sednast, is now apparently fixt in the language!

But this N may also become a singing nasal, something as in French, with greater or less sharpness. And this will give rise to many phenomena. In English the Old present participle termination -ENDE (in Early North-Engl. -ANDE, in Early South-Engl. -INDE) has gone this way, and has become ING. In various English place-talks it is sharpened or softened into INK and IN. We will take one example for a hundred of this N in North-England. In the Inventory of Margaret Pudsay⁴), drawn up in 1552, we have:

¹ Siegenbeck, in his "Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche Spelling", 8vo, Amsterdam 1804, p. 232-9, has two whole chapters on this false T after N, and D after N, L, R. — See also K. J. Lyngby, "Om inskud af N og D imellem medlyd på gammel Svenske og tildels på gammel Dansk", i *Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik*, 8vo, Vol. 1, Kjöbenhavn 1860, pp. 21-31.

² So the Frisic tungs have the usual Gerundial-Infinite in -AN-E (TO FAR-AN-E, TO GUNG-AN-E, to fare, to go); but the (Frisic) Rüsting dialect adds the D (TO FAR-AND-E, TO GUNG-AND-E).

³ Some excellent remarks on this head will be found in a practical Essay by H. Knudsen, "Er Norsk det samme som Dansk?" 8vo, Kristiania 1862, p. 109.

⁴ *Archæologia Eliana*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Feb. 1858, p. 179 and fol.

BASYNG	for	BASIN,
BRASYNG	„	BRASEN,
HAPPYNG	„	HAPPIN,
LYNNYNG	„	LINEN,
NAPKYNG	„	NAPKIN,
WULLYNG	„	WOOLLEN.

Another specimen from a Scottish writer, King James I, in his King's Quair:

“Ah! suete are ze a warldly creature,

Or HEVINGLY (= heavenly) thing in likenesse of nature?”

In the Early Swedish Dialogue of the Virgin (written in *Runes* on vellum early in the 14th century, twice publisht, now in the National Library, Stockholm), we have the same tendency, EHING for EHIN (— EGIN, OWN), ENING for ENIN (now ENE, ENDE¹, only).

If we now put together what has been said on the ease with which for instance IN may become INK (or ING) and vice versa, and how the N may be sharpened and produce INT or slurred and produce IK (or IE)² or IT where the intermediate N of the sharpened NT has fallen away, we shall be able to explain at once a remarkable formula which occurs on a couple of Danish stones. On the Tjilidse stone, Lolland, we have

E MUN STANTA,
MED STEN LIFIR,
UITRINT SU
IAR UAN ESKIL.

There can be little doubt that Prof. Thorsen is right in his happy suggestion (*Danske Runemindesmærker*, Vol. 1, p. 116) that this UITRINT answers to the Norse-Icelandic VIRDING, *WORTHING*, *worship*, *honor*, *glory*, *fame*. The form here has therefore been UITRIN not UITRINK, but the N has been sharpened producing UITRINT in the regular way. We must therefore translate:

AYE MUN (*shall, will*) STAND,
MITH (*while, long as*) STONE LIVETH,
WORTHING (*glory*) SÚ (*that*)
AS (*which*) WAN (*gained*) ESKIL.

But this is remarkably confirmed by the fragmentary and hitherto unredd Sandby stone, Sealand. At the corresponding place on the carving several letters are gone, and we now have only

I MUN SAN ..
..... LIF
UITRIK SUSI
IR UAN SIL ..

As this stone prefers I to E, and as the name of the hero is mentioned at the beginning (SULFA), and as U and I continually interchange, it is likely enough (the SUSI being exactly the same as SU, SU with SI as enclitic) that we must read:

I MUN SAN (vera,
meþ stain haur) LIF,
UITRIK SUSI
IR UAN SIL(fa).
AYE MUN (*shall, will*) SOOTH (*true*) WARE (be),
MITH (*while, long as*) STONE HATH LIFE,
WORTHING (*glory*) SU (*that*)
AS (*which*) WAN (*gained*) SILFA.

¹ The false *v* comparatively modern, introduced by a wrong analogy, as tho the word were a numeral.

² Compare a passage in Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, Vol. 1. — “There lived at no great distance from this stronghold [near Linlithgow or Lithgow in Scotland] a farmer, a bold and stout man, whose name was BINNOCK, or, as it is now pronounced, BIRNING.”

In Swedish this singling of the *n* has also spread to *gn*, which is now usually sounded *ngn*. Thus *regn* (*rain*) is now pronounced nearly as *RENON*, *vagn* (*waggon, wain*) nearly as *VAgn*, and so on. In old documents &c. this *n* is sometimes written, thus *stoner* (*signet, seal*) is spell *SINGNET*, and so with other words. So also often in Norway.

Thus *UITRINT* and *UITRIK* are absolutely identical.

The Thordrup stone, North-Jutland, as given by Worm, is evidently in many places quite correct and in others as clearly miscopied. The passus: *IS UARD UIKINK A UFU-HIDI*, which I take to mean as (*who*) *worth (was) wiken (slain) on Ove-heath*, may perhaps have so stood on the stone. If so, it is an instance of this singing *κ* sometimes added to the *ν*. — See the stone in Worin, Mon. p. 293 (Lilj. No. 1507), and the remarks and amendments by N. M. Petersen (Danmarks Hist. i Hedenold, 3, 279) and C. C. Rafn (Pirée p. 217).

It was perhaps this singing sound of the *ν*, in certain words and districts, which gave the usual foreign shape to the Scandinavian wiking *HASTEIN*, namely *HASTING* or *HÆSTING* or *HASTENG*. This scourge of the west and the south, in the last half of the 9th century, is found in both English and French chroniclers as *HÆSTEN*, *HASTENG*, &c. Even the Old-English Chronicle has both *HÆSTEN* and *HÆSTING*, but usually the former.

So on a Gotland stone (Vallstaina) of the year 1326 (Säve No. 58), in both runes and Latin, the former carving has the name *AULAIF* (ac. s.) *AF BOTLINI*, but the Latin text *AUTLEUS* (nom. s.) *BOTLINGJS*.

In Old-Engl. Charters, between the years 969 and 977, "*CYNEDEGN clericus*" also signs himself *CYNEDEGN*, *KYNEDEGN* and *CYNEDENG*. And in undated Boundaries (Kemble, Charters, 3, pp. 428, 436) we have *INGTO* for *INTO*.

So in the Danish newspaper "*Dagbladet*" for March 1, 1864, a correspondent speaks of the letters sent to the Danish soldiers on Als, and the strange spellings of the addresses. As an example he mentions that the word *Train-konstabel* is spelt *Tran-konstabil*, &c. but also *Trand-konstabel* and *Trang-konstabel*. This is exactly the continuation of the same law, — *ν* in certain cases *ND* (or *NT*), in others *NG*.

But when we once *begin* to sing the *ν*, it soon melts away. Sometimes we cannot even determine whether it is there or not. In many dialects all over Scandinavia *HON*, she, has become *HO*, thus, whether the same word or no, agreeing in form with our old and provincial *HIO*, *HO*, she; and on Rune-stones we have *HA* for *HAN*, he. But not content with this, the Dalecarlian speech further rejects the *H*, and Prof. Säve informs me that in the Dales it is hardly possible to know how to spell such a word as *HANS* (Johannes, John). For the *s* keeps somewhat of the *ν*-sound back, so that it is only *half* or *three-quarters* swallowed. In this way — the *h* elided and the *ν* nearly gone — such a word as *HANS* is written, no one can tell how, between *AS* and *ANGS*.

I have before me a striking example of how this *ν* may be elided in a local dialect, in a copy of the Middle-English „Moral Ode“, as given in a finely written vellum manuscript of the 13th century in a dialect of Warwickshire (Nuneaton). Here, besides the usual infinitives, plurals of the past tense and of the subjunctives, pronouns &c., almost without exception *without ν*, notwithstanding the early date of the skinbook, we have it slurred *also* in past participles, adjectives, nouns, prepositions, &c., to a wonderful degree. Thus we here regularly find such words as

BEETE, begotten;

FORSETE, forgotten;

IWRITE, written;

IBEQ, been;

IDO, done;

SEVE, given;

ISPEKE, spoken;

OSE, own;

SEVE, seven;

ME, men, people, one;

DRISTE, Drihten, Lord. (only once with the final *ν*);

BUTE, buten, be-out, without;

A, sometimes *ON*, for *ON*;

ORE for *ONRE*, *one*, gen. sing. fem.

ENDIGGE, ending;

ERNIGGE, earning;

ERNIGGES, earnings;

GINNIGGE, (be)ginning;

EUNIGGES, evenings, (equals);

WONIEGGES, wonings, (dwellings);

IMEGD for *IMÆNGD*, mingled.

This brings us then to the third stage of this *ν*, its *entire* slurring or elision, also excessively common everywhere. We have it largely in English, the regular book-speech, from *GOOSE* (the Scandian *GÅS*, but German *GANS*, Latin *ANSER*) to *MOUTH* (Old-Engl. *MUD*, Norse-Icel. *MUNNR*, Swed. *MUN*, Dan. *MUN(D)*, M. Goth. *MUNTHS*, Ohg. *MUNT*). In Old-North-English this slurring was still more prevalent, even be-

fore R. We there have BEO for BEON, SEVE for SEVEN, ME for MEN, MIRE for MINRE (of my, gen. sing. fem.)¹. But it has played an immense part in Scandinavia especially in the early Runic period. As may occasionally be the case with other letters, it was evidently often *understood* by the Carver and the Reader, at the end of a word or syllable. But it is impossible to suppose that its absence in so many thousands of instances on the older stones can *always* be explained by assuming it to have been "omitted for shortness". On the contrary there can be no doubt that it was *usually* or *frequently* omitted because it was *not pronounced*.

This is so much the more evident as it is connected with two Scandian peculiarities, the rapid casting away of the N in the infinitive, and the similar disappearance of N from the nasal nouns, so that nouns of the Simple order (g. d. ac. in AN) have, in Scandinavia, the gen. in S or AR. The N in these nouns has similarly evaporated in O. Netherlandish, as it has in O. Frisic², while in Old N. Engl. there is a strange mixture, the Weak (or Nasal) and Strong nouns being confounded, the N very largely disappearing, and the AN very often replaced by S in the genitive, reminding us of the M. Gothic -NS. As these Nasal nouns are numerous in the M. Goth., O. Engl., O. Fris., O. Sax. and Ohg., they have doubtless been found in Scandinavia also. But I have as yet only met with one example in Scandinavia, the very old rune-stone at Älfvölösa, Öland, (which see in the Appendix). But a solitary instance is always comparatively doubtful; may it soon be clincht and confirmed by a second!³

As we have said, this exclusion of N sweeps largely over the old Scandinavia. It even sometimes occurs where we should not expect it. Thus on the Foglö stone, Södermanland, the N is absorbed in the following D. The words are: HAN UAR MIDA BESTR, *he was of-men the-best*. Here MIDA stands for MINDA and this for MINTA, the N sharpened or staccatoed, thus for MINA, = MÆNNA or MANNA, *of-men*. Other examples will be found in the Appendix. In all our Old-Northern dialects final P for NN is common, and we thus see that N. Icel. MADR, Swed. and Engl. MAN, Dan. MAN(D) are only slight variations in form of originally one and the same sound, whose oldest shape is MAN or MANN⁴.

But this elision of the N has, like everything else, been most capriciously carried out. No two dialects agree⁵. It has, however, reached its extreme limit, been carried to its greatest excess, in the Norse-Icelandic; tho we have great differences there also, at different times and in different landscapes.

Sometimes N is replaced by a kind of half-nasal, ere it falls away. Thus on the Norby stone, Upland, (Dybeck fol. No. 105), TRHKK (*dreng*, soldier, brave) stands for TRINK. It was not yet quite gone in some expressions, tho in others; *of the same time*, it was. As so usually in Old-Engl. &c., the former presence of the N is often markt by the change of the foregoing vowel into o or u. Thus on the Högby stone, Upland, (Lilj. 1180, revised by C. Sæve), we have EOTADIS (he died) for ANTADIS. So we have AUT for ANT, &c.

Occasionally the former presence of the N is shown suddenly and strikingly. Thus the Scandinavian negative prefix, answering to our UN-, is U- (or O-). It is never found otherwise in manuscripts or talks. One of these compounds is the mans-name UFAIKR or OFAIGR or UFIER, &c., the Norse Icel. OFEIGR, signifying the UNFEY, one who was not FEY, one not destined or afraid to die, the charmed-life-bearer, the gallant, fearless. Yet on the Stårkeby stone, Upland, the first name is UNFAIKR, with the N. This, then, goes to prove the existence of this original N, at one time, in the whole class. And accordingly I have since found other instances of this prefix UN-, for which see the Appendix⁶.

Again, OLAF (in England now commonly spelt OLAVE) is a well-known Proper name. It is never found with the N in common documents. — Yet we have now an ONLAF on the Runic Cross at

¹ See some valuable remarks on the falling away of N or M in English, in the Rev. O. Cockayne's "Seinte Marharets", p. 77 & fol.

² Compare the note of J. S. Vater, on the N in the Westerwald dialect: — "Das N am Ende ist ebenfalls ein blosser Hauch, wie etwa das Französ. MON; und A und O laufen in AMEN und NAMME in einander, so dass es kein rechtes A und auch kein rechtes o in der Aussprache ist". — Proben Deutscher Volks-Mundarten, 8vo, Leipzig 1816. p. 26.

³ Since the above was written I have found example No. 2 on the Granby stone, Upland, which see in the Appendix, and perhaps others.

⁴ For remarks on Da instead of an older NNA in the N. I. book-dialect, see B. Gröndal, in An. for Nord. Oldkyndighed, p. 295, 6. — So we have in Mid. N. Engl. BEGOTTN for BEGUN, and other such.

⁵ Nay, even the same dialect does not always agree with itself. The same word swings up and down, backward and forward, in obedience to invisible language-currents. The Norse-Icel. HUNANG is in good Old-Danish HUNUGH, Old-Engl. HUNIG. But in the present orthodox Book-Danish it is always HONNING, while in the South-Jutland dialects it is HUNNEG, HUNNE, the English HONEY. And so of other words.

⁶ For the elision of N in ANS and in ON, with instances of the N still left in these words, see the WORD-ROW, s. v.

Leeds in England; and on the *very oldest* Scandian Coins, from the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century, we usually find the name OLAF spelt ONLAF, ONLAFR, UNLAF. The N is seldom omitted, and was doubtless at that early period still more or less sounded. We now see that this spelling is *not* a "barbarism", still less an "Anglicism". Tho the first Scandian moneyers were Englishmen, they would soon have Scandinavian journeymen and pupils; and at all events a moment's thought will convince us, that the Court officers would never permit "a parcel of workmen", whether foreigners or natives, such a strange impertinence as to spell the name of the reigning monarch in a barbarous manner. These minters would quickly have lost their hands for their pains, or their ears, or worse.

In the middle of the 12th century this N and NG, tho not *written*, was still partly *heard* in Iceland in the nasal vowel. This is distinctly pointed out in the Icelandic orthographical treatise printed in the Younger Edda (Vol. 2, 8vo, Hafnia 1852), pag. 2 and fol. section 3¹.

We have thus seen N sharpened into NT; or singing, NG; or weakened, H or O, &c.; till it finally falls away.

But we may imagine yet another case, — that the N disappears while the T remains! And of this, among others, we have one glaring example, which, for want of attending to this peculiarity, has hitherto remained unredd — the Gåsinge stone, Södermanland. Here it occurs FOUR TIMES; there is consequently no doubt or debate about it. We have SUIT, *nom. sing.*, for SUINT, the usual SUIN, SUAIN, SUAN, SUEIN, &c., Swed. SVEN, Danish SVEN(D), English SWAIN; while in another place on this same stone this name is given in the *accus. sing.* as SUIN; we have also BUTA SIT for BUNTA SINT (SIN), *Bonde (husband) her*, and AT SIT (SINT, SIN) FADUR, *at (to) their father*, and HATS for HANTS (HANS), *his*.

Occasionally this T becomes D, as so often elsewhere; so the N = NT = ND is found — the N gone — as D, as in the above mentioned MIDA, and as in OSMUNTR for ONSMUNTR (the usual OSMUNTR, ASMUND, &c.) on the Alsike stone, Upland.

The Scandian EN, EIN, ÆN, &c. (Norse-Icel. n. s. m. EINN, n. s. f. EIN, n. s. n. EITT) has its neuter ET, assimilated from an older lost ENT or EINT, everywhere the N gone. Yet we have a rare Danish ENT, neuter, *one, a*, with the N. So the N in the pronominal demonstratives has everywhere disappeared, masc. MINN, fem. MIN, neut. MITT, not MINT, the N becoming T by assimilation; SINN, f. SIN, n. SITT (*his, her, their*, our old *SLN*); m. HINN, f. HIN, n. HITT, *that, the, yon*. Yet the Danish dialect has kept the perantique and otherwise unheard-of N in HINT, neuter; and SINT, neut. is sometimes found in old Danish manuscripts. The South Jutland dialects, while sharing in the usual Scandian development and thus casting away the N, so as to use the regular, MIT, DIT, SIT, as neuters of MIN, my, DIN, thy, SIN, his, her, their, *have also preserved the N!* Thus these districts have double forms, both MIT and MINT, DIT and DINT, SIT and SINT. This has given rise to a peculiarity in their use, answering to the English MY and MINE, THY and THINE, &c. Commonly MIT, DIT, &c. are employed when the noun is *expressed*, MINT, DINT, &c. when it is omitted. The South-Jutland DET ER MYT HUS is, *that is MY house*; but ER DET DINT is, *is it THINE?* In North-Jutland MI, DI, SI are used both for MIN and MIT, DIN and DIT, SIN and SIT, just as if we had only MY (no MINE), only THY (no THINE), &c. So much for iron "uniformity of dialect". — We have a good popular instance of this T or D for NT or ND, and thus for NX, in our insect the SPIDER (— SPINDER, — SPINNER). This is a comparatively modern English form, tho now so universal, its older shape being always SPINNER, the Norse SPINNEL, Swedish SPINNEL and SPINDEL, Danish SPINDEL. But even in M. Gothic we have several examples of ND for N and N for ND, &c., as well as a crowd of other variations, transpositions and omissions, both consonantic and vocalic, and of which only a few can be "errors of the scribe".

And this leads us to another observation. In Sanscrit, Zend and Latin the mark of the accusative singular, generally speaking, especially in the masc. and fem., is M; in Greek and Old-Russian N; in O. and Mid. H. Germ. we have still some few instances of accusative nouns in this N. In Pali and Pracrit, which preserve this M to the eye, it in fact disappears, this "niggahitam" mark merely *nasalizing* the preceding vowel, like the French final N in MO(N). It is therefore generally reckoned among *the vowels*, by the grammarians. So in Lithuanian this M has become a dull nasal N, or has fallen away altogether.

¹ With regard to one of the examples cited by the old Icelandic author, Prof. K. J. Lyngby ("Den oldnordiske udtaale", *Tidskrift for Philologi*, 8vo. Vol. 2, Kjöb. 1861, p. 318) observes: "The form *ore* [= YNGRE, *younger*] is not Icelandic only, for the Jutland Law has *thæn yæz* (den yngre) 2, 22, and in Fjölde Parish I have heard *yr* or *yr̥* (accent held on), = YNGRE."

One step further, and we should have the sing. accusative ending in a *vowel* or a *vocalic consonant*.

But on the oldest Runic monuments, both Old-Northern and Scandian, we have many instances of this very stage of development in masculine accusatives, both nominal and adjectival, — ere the vowel or vocalic consonant fell away altogether.

Let us now add to this the tendency in Zend, in stems ending in YA and VA, to change these into I and Ū before the ac. M (which, as we have seen, gradually disappears); — and we shall not be surprised to find so many Old-runic accusatives masc. singular, not only *adjectives* in -AN and -ON (the Old-Engl. -NE in the definite adjective and -AN in the indefinite), — forms which were long fixt and “grammatical” in Scandinavia, but which have now nearly disappeared except in Iceland, — but also, as to *both nouns and adjectives*, in A, E, F, EI, I, O, OA, R, RU, Y, &c. all which afterwards, in the “grammatical” period, died entirely out.

The remaining withering-away of the N in Scandinavia is in the infinitive. In fact its existence there has never been suspected, tho Rydqvist, by analogy and comparison, observed in his “Svenska Språkets Lagar”, 1852, Vol. I, p. 352: — “still I would by no means wish to deny the possibility of a pre-historic -N in the 3rd person plural of the conjunctive, and not there alone but also in the indicative and perhaps in the infinitive.” In Old-Frisic the N is absent, as in O. North-English, tho there were probably dialects in each which preserved it, for we occasionally find it afterwards in both these lands. In English it has expired; and it is already gone in Germany in large popular tungs, tho religiously kept up in that heavy and harsh and intricate High-German book-dialect which has been violently imposed on the peoples of all the German and Saxon lands, as well as on some of their unfortunate, neighboring conquered countries.

I refer to the Appendix for examples of -AN in the infinitive, which I have been fortunate enough to discover on Scandinavian-runic stones &c.

But this infinitive in -AN may sometimes be mistaken for quite a different idiom, when, after the half-auxiliary verbs LĀTA, to let, FĀ, GETA, &c. there may follow (VERDA, to be, to become, *understood*) not only a Supine, which is usual, but a *past Participle* in the accusative, agreeing in gender with the noun. In some rare cases, this past participle may resemble an infin. in -AN. Thus in the Knytlinga Saga, ch. 80 (Fornmanna Sögur, Vol. II, p. 314):

Dróttum (*var. Drottinn*) lét i Danmörk SETTAN
dögling grundar skamt frá Lundi
erkistól, þann er öll þjóð dýrkar,
eljun pungr, á danska tungu.

The-Driht (prince), the mighty land-ruler. LET in Denmark, not far from Lund. SET (now-become-established) an arch-stool (archbishopric) which all the people in the Danish tung (the Northern lands) honor.

Here ERKISTÓL is ac. sing. masc.; consequently the past participle must also be in the ac. sing. masc., and is therefore SETTAN. But this word might at first be taken as an old variation of the verb later usually spelt SETJA, which is so unlikely as to be nearly impossible. LÉT SETTAN is therefore = *had erected*, or, in one word, *erected, established*.

Another example of this same construction, but with the verb HAFJA, meets us on a Runic stone, that at Lille Kyringe, Björkstad Parish, Vestmanland, Sweden, (Liljegren Nr. 999, Bautil No. 1084). It begins:

STEN HAFIR RITON,
DON STANTA MO.
STONE HATH WRITTEN,
THAT (stone which) STAND (last) MO (shall).
(= This long-lasting stone he inscribed with runes.)

STEN being here ac. s. masc., we have RITON (same as RITAN) in agreement with it, and thus HATH WRITTEN is — WROTE.

Let us now see how distinctly this elision of the N, as well as of other letters or of whole syllables or tenses, is often a mere question of time and place, of CHRONOLOGY, and NOT of RACE and difference of language, the *various* tungs often going more or less the *same* way, but not at the same time, local development depending on so many uncertain and often inexplicable causes. The better to follow the

endings, let us take the plurals of the strangely mixt verb to BE, in its simple meanings plural present ARE, plural past WERE, and plural conjunctive MAY BE, MIGHT BE:

	M. G.	Ohg.	Mhg.	Germ.	N. I.	O. Swed.	Swed.
<i>We are</i>	SIJUM	PIRUMES	SIN	SIND	ERUM	ÆRUM	ARO
<i>Ye "</i>	SIJUD	PIRUT	SIT	SEYD	ERUT, EROD	IRU	AREN
<i>They "</i>	SIND	SINT	SINT	SIND	ERU	ARU, ÆRU, IRU	ARO
<i>We were</i>	VESUM	WARUMES	WAREN	WAREN	VARUM	VARUM	VORO
<i>Ye "</i>	VESUD	WARUT	WARET	WARET, WART	VARUT	VARUD	VOREN
<i>They "</i>	VESUN	WARUN	WAREN	WAREN	VARU	VARU	VORO
<i>We may,</i> <i>might be</i>	SIJAIMA; VESEIMA SITES; WARIMES		SIN	SEYEN; WAREN	SEIM, SEM; VÆRIM SE; VARIM		VORE
<i>Ye "</i>	SIJAIÐ; VESEIÐ SIT; WARIT		SIT	SEYD; WÆRET	SEIT, SET; VÆRIT SE; VARID, VARIN		VOREN
<i>They "</i>	SIJAINA; VESEINA SIN; WARIN		SIN	SEYEN; WAREN	SÊI, SE; VÆRI	SEIN, SEN, SE; VARIN	VORE

For all persons plural the Danish has now only ERE, *are*, VARE, *were*, VÆRE, *may*, *would be*. The Old South-English had SYND, or SYNDON, or BEÓD or BEÓ, *are*, WÆRON, *were*, and SÝN, BEÓN, WÆRON, *should be*. But the modern English has only ARE, WERE, WERE. We have now no SYNDON or BEÓD for ARE. — Now whence this ARE?

In Scandinavia we can only go back, for want of *old* documents, as far as to the comparatively modern Norse-Icel. ERUM, ERUT (or EROD), ERU. But older forms, which we cannot now trace, were found farther beyond. Remembering, however, that the common Scandian R stands for an older s, that I is often elided, and that the older I is often softened down or rather let down a peg to the weaker E, we descend regularly from

[The Old M. Goth.	ISIJUM.	ISIJUD,	ISIND.
Common „ „	SIJUM.	SIJUD,	SIND
[Old Norse-Icel.	ESUM,	ESUD,	ESU]
Common „ „	ERUM.	ERUT,	ERU
To the Danish	ERE.	ERE.	ERE.

It has therefore been said that our ARE is "pure Scandinavian", and that it came into England with the Scandinavian Vikings in the 9th and 10th centuries. But, without insisting on the strange idea that this everyday word should be suddenly changed by a whole population to please enemies and strangers, and passing over the argument that the Scandinavians themselves at that early period certainly, or most probably, said ISUM or ESUM, ISUD or ESUD, ISU or ESU, with the s not the R, — the oldest North-English form, which became prevalent at the fall of the Old South-English book-speech, (that is of SYNDON or SYND or BEÓD or BEÓ), *was not* ARE at all! As far back as we can go, it was, (promiscuously with SINDUN, SIND, BEODUN, BEODON), and continued down to the close of the middle-age

ARON, or EARUN, or ARN, *we*, *you*, *they*, *are*.

Now this form is so peculiar and so independent and so very old, that it never *could* have been mechanically taken from Scandinavian dialects, for they *had it not*. They had no final N. This Northumbrian form is as antique as the Mæso-Gothic, tho so different, and is clearly a separately developed local dialectic "nunation", as interesting as any other, copied from nobody as far as we know, but standing on its own legs. From this ARON, by the N becoming vocalized and falling away, in the same manner as in the nouns and adjectives and infinitives &c., we have quite naturally gotten our ARE, which became general English in the same way as the North-English or great Anglie or Northumbrian dialect as a whole became the language of all England, when the artificial supremacy of the West-Saxon book- or court-dialect was broken up and swept away by the Conquest. The revived English which then sprang up was not a daughter of the South-English, but of the Northumbrian or North-English, the mother-tung of 4—5ths of the Angle-kin. In a word, this ARON, our ARE, is an old Anglie heirloom, not a loan from comparatively modern pirates, and (as ARN, ARNE) was also common in the Midland dialect of Early and Middle English. It was thus far too widely spread to be accounted for by modern and local immigration; and the more; as this Midland dialect usually inflected the plural Present Indicative of *all* verbs in -EN, while the Northern had that ending in -ES and the Southern in -ETH.

DIALECTS.

It will be observed that I have only been able to read the Old-Northern monuments here presented to the public, — if it be admitted that I have read them, at least partially, with tolerable correctness, — by the help of two principles, or rather of two things. First: by identifying afresh, from all available sources, the letters themselves, so as to get at their true signification, both locally and generally; Secondly: by altogether denying that these ancient remains are to be translated into that comparatively modern and provincial dialect vulgarly called "Icelandic".

Unless we can identify the powers of the Runes, we can read nothing. But to do this we must carefully study the various characters on all known remains, as well as in the later and partly Romanized or fanciful alphabets; and we must remember that letters may die out or modify their force, that fresh forms may be introduced — such as (unknown to the Romans) our modern *u* as distinct from *v* (the Latin *v* being used for both *u* and *v* [= *w*]), and *j* as distinct from *i* (the Latin *i* being used for both *i* and *j* [= *y*]) —, and that provincial differences will not be absent. And, as to deciphering the inscriptions, unless we ascend to dialects far older than the middle-age Icelandic, we shall understand little as we ought. The crowd of the *later* or Scandinavian-runic stones are Christian, from a period very near to the Icelandic or still later, and are of course in speeches largely sharing the same developments as the Icelandic dialects. Here, therefore, Norse-Icelandic will render precious assistance, will be, in fact, indispensable. But on stones from the heathen time, and the more the farther back we go, the difference is striking, which is of course still more the case in the oldest of all, those bearing Old-Northern runes.

We must therefore endeavor to understand the place which the "Icelandic" (Norse-Icelandic) bears to the other Northern tongues.

All the Scando-Gothic dialects, which naturally fall into three groups — the *Northern*, the *Saxon* or *Flemish*, and the *German* — are one in origin, shoots from a common unknown centre. They are so nearly allied, that the Northern and the Saxon might be called A, 1, and A, 2, but the German B, the two former having nearly the same systems of vowels, consonants and syntax, while the last has important differences. Hence the oldest Northern traditions reckon Saxland to the area of the Northern tongue, dialectic variations being of course understood. As a consequence, the word-ward, the dictionary, the mass of stems, in all these Gotho-Scandinavian talks is more or less *in common*. At this moment there are vast differences, the result of splitting and growth and endless importations and reconstructions; but the farther back the less the disparity. The Norse-Icelandic Edda contains multitudes of words now regarded as pure "German", and the Saxon and German remains and vernaculars hold numbers of expressions now called "Scandinavian". Northmen, Saxons, Germans, all are *Brothers*, all have one common interest, all constitute one great language- and state-cyclis, and should all hold together. The modern German (High-German) movement, by which the High-German propaganda tries with fire and fraud, sword and schoolmaster, to extirpate the rights and freedom and nobler mother-tongues of all the Saxon and Northern folkships, and to steal and annex and incorporate their lands, is a revolting wickedness, a cruel infamy, a great mistake, sheer self-murder. It only plays into the hands of the Mongol Autocrat, whose policy is indeed as ruthless and heartless as the German, but — far more wily.

But with all this unity there are everywhere, and have always been, endless dissimilarities, — and these not only between the one group and the other, but in the same land and province, altho certain of these details were formerly less marked. Some words and phrases run, like the threads in the warp, the whole length of the Scando-Gothic woof, from the highest Northern North to the most southern German Germany; MAN, FATHER, SON, and such like, suggest themselves by hundreds. Others stop short half way, or a little way. Others run thro North or South or all England, but fail at the sea. Others are common to England and North or South or all Jutland, or even to all or most of Denmark or South-Sweden or Norway, and so on. Others flourish in particular provinces. Many technical terms, in religion or law or daily life, are common, others particular, and often change locally and unequally. Animals, birds, fishes, plants, tools, the simplest and most everyday things used by

farmers and fishermen and cottagers, are often different not only in the one land or kingdom but even in separate provinces or parishes of the same land. "In our Swedish language the names of Plants and Animals often change, according as we pass from the one province to the other", says the learned and honest Master Carl Linnæus¹, and this observation holds good as to all other countries. The very Grammar sometimes differs, Syntax included. Genders are unlike even in the oldest times²; so are the forms and formations of substantives and the conjugations of verbs. Here verbs are strong, there weak, sometimes strong or weak in a peculiar way or only for a certain time. And the localities for such forms often hop about. There are *Enclaves*, Wedges, large and small. The system of sounds shows many varieties. We everywhere see both ancient and later dialects. Even Iceland has its dialects. Of course it has! It was peopled at different times and from different districts. And then what flittings³ and movements and changes in forms and words and phrases! What here is noble is there vulgar or filthy. And so of certain set phrases and idioms, for instance of olden Law or Medicine, in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Frisland, England, — how similar, how different, how perpetually changing! The "dialects" add to the multiformity. A cluster of words flourishes in England, or a part of it, but is not heard of or is only faintly spored in Scandia, while words fragmentary or unknown in England are common or universal in Scandinavia or one or other of its folklands. Words so old as to have been long lost in the High-North, even maybe in its hoariest shire-tungs such as those of Gotland or Dalecarlia, are still found in the English book-dialect or some English County or Rape or Riding. One Scandian or English book-language has a noun, another both the noun and the verb, another the same but in varying forms or meanings, while certain dialects supply the missing links. Here a whole class of words is found, there only the stem in an old or provincial phrase or compound. English provincial words illustrate and explain the oldest Scandinavian, otherwise obscure or unknown, and vice versâ. To understand other expressions, all the Northern dialects, written and unwritten, are insufficient, and we must go to the Saxon or the German, which again are wonderfully cleared up by the dialects of England and Scandinavia. Like a smasht mirror, everywhere fragments more or less fitting into each other. Hence the more narrowmindedly we cling to our few bookstores alone, the less able are we really to grasp and follow our Scando-Gothic mother-tung. In the Old-North, in the Low-Countries, in Germany, everywhere running or raveled threads, everywhere both living and fossilized word-foliage, everywhere transition. And also in the *growth* of forms is there endless likeness and unlikeness. Some out-buddings have been more or less same-timed and even-running in all the speeches, others confined to particular shires or folk-groups; others have struggled up for a time here and there, but have again sunk back and disappeared, without affecting their next neighbors in the same speech-cluster. But all this, and a thousand other peculiarities, coupled with the perpetual change of pronunciation in one and the same land, are so much the less to be wondered at as the little "kingdoms" themselves were continually changing both hands and limits. Inroad, and conquest by individual chiefs, endlessly modified the tribal lands and "rikés". Nay, our identification of these large or petty folk-marches is often problematical, hazardous, conventional, a mere guess. What do we know of all these names and borders and movements in all the Gothic lands 1000, 1500, 2000, years ago? In spite of the dogmatic dicta which fill our books, we must answer — little or nothing.

And every 500 years we can mark great changes, produced by inward development and outward influence. North-England and South-England, East-Denmark and South-Denmark. North-Sweden

¹ "Namnen ändras ofta-uti vårt Svenska språk på Örtar och Djur, efter Åtskillige våra *Provincier*." — Västgöta-Resa, 8vo. Stockholm 1747, pref. p. 3.

² O. Rygh (Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstungu, Christiania 1862, p. 41) says of *KVELD*, which is *neut.* in N. I.: — "this word is used in our present [Norse] folkspeech commonly as *masc.*, and is thus one of the few words which in the lapse of time have changed their gender." These few words are many. But why change their gender? The N. I. book-dialect *neut.* and the Norse local *masc.* may be equally old. In the dialects of both Sweden and Denmark this word has also been generally *masculine* as far back as we can go, altho we have also some old examples of the word (Mid. Swed. *QVÆLDER*, *QVÆLLIN*) in the book-dialect as *neut.* The real history of the genders of nouns, embracing old dialects as well as local book-forms, would bring out very curious and astounding results.

³ Of the Norse-Icel. written dialect Prof. Gislason observes (Annaler f. Nord. Oldk., 1860, p. 328): "Forms in an etymological sense comparatively original are sometimes not found in the oldest skin-books, but afterwards come back again as from a kind of banishment. Thus the oldest class of Icelandic codices has the secondary form *KOM* (Danish *KOM* [English *CAME*], *venit*), but the next and later has the primary *KVÁM*, while in the third and latest reappears *KOM*, which is now the only form used in Iceland." — The same thing occurs in all our dialects. — So as to meanings. A word once elegant is often, in the same dialect, after only a few generations, insulting or obscene; sometimes, but rarely, *vice versâ*.

and South-Sweden, East-Norway and West-Norway, and so of the rest in manifold landgroups, how different in some things here, in all things there, from one age to another! Even the commonest words change. Every half-thousand winters a language is more or less a new one, rebuilt, remodeled. All is like a Kaleidoscope. Out of certain given elements a single turn — a small number of centuries — produces a new combination. Only, language is *still more* changeable than the Kaleidoscope. For the toyglass retains its once given elements, its beads and threads and bits of shining fragments. But a language is continually admitting new elements, both from within and without. Hence the pedantic uniformity now so often insisted on is an impossibility, and always has been so. And even if produced it could not subsist, so long as the language "lives".

The orthodox written dialect everywhere depended, as we know, on the local seat of the capital or chief centre of regular government. What would Book-English have been if our capital had been Canterbury or York or Carlisle, instead of London? How vastly different Book-Danish, if its kings had ruled from Odense or Viborg? How much nearer to English would the already half-English Dansk have been, if its Court-tung had been formed in a large capital in South-Jutland? Book-Swedish would have been, so to speak, another speech, if it had sprung and swayed from Visby or Vexjö or Vestervik, anywhere among the shires of the Goths, instead of from the Swea folk-lands. And so of Norway and the rest.

Meantime this flings us at once *in medias res*.

The great Rask has authoritatively pronounced that English *is not* a Northern dialect, and that *it is* a German dialect¹. And this he proves by three arguments: — that our old Infinitive ended in -AN, the Scandinavian in -A; that we have no Passive, while the Scandians have the Passive in -S; and that we have the Article before, (THE MAN), the Scandians the Article behind, (MAN-EN).

But all these features in the Scandinavian tungs, even if they were more and greater, even if they were old and genuine, would be no proof at all of nationality! They would at best be marks of *dialect*. Differences as great still exist in the several speeches of Scandinavia itself, of England itself, of Germany itself, and so in other lands; and yet people persist in calling their landsfolk Swedes, Danes, Norse, Icelanders, English, French, Germans, Italians, and so on. And rightly; for so they are.

But these three features are *not* old. On the contrary, they are all of them mere modern and provincial developments².

When we examine a large bundle of dialects, we always find that some preserve older forms longer than others. So German long continued, and still has in some directions — for instance the infinitive in -AN —, archaisms which became extinct in Scandinavia and England. So Icelandic kept forms which died out in England and Germany. So England, in like manner, long retained certain forms which fell away in Germany and all Scandinavia.

The INFINITIVE in -AN may well have been in common to all the Scando-Gothic peoples; or it may partially have fallen away among many or most of the Scandian tribes before their arrival in their present settlements. Certain it is, that in another place of this work I have collected not a few examples of this very Infinitive in -AN, as found on ancient Scandian Runic monuments. This would seem to show that the form in question was very prevalent, if not universal, among the early Scandinavians, previous to their great folk-wanderings to Britain in the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th centuries. But some of these clans may have cast away the -N as early as this emigration. The oldest Frisic, which is a pure Northern dialect, shows that it had disappeared (at least in the formal book-dialect) in the 13th-14th century in Frisland. But this date is too modern to prove much as to the Frisic 500 years earlier. The oldest North-English, from the 7th century, proves that it was then absent in North-England, at least in the dialects wherein the monuments were inscribed, while it was in full force in Middle- and South-England.

¹ I need not add, that Rask's theory has had strange and disastrous consequences. Taken up by Jacob Grimm and his German followers, it has materially shaped and assisted the absurdities and iniquities of modern "Slesvig-Holsteinism". Admitted by Keyser, it was made the starting-point for a new theory, entirely false and ridiculous, as to the way in which Scandinavia was peopled by the Northern tribes. Further developed by P. A. Munch, it has seriously disfigured the pages and acts of many modern writers. — So much evil may flow from one rash assumption!

² See my article "'English' or 'Anglo-Saxon'", in the Gentleman's Magazine, London, April and May 1852; partly translated into Danish, with observations, by G. Brynjulfsson, "Antiquarisk Tidsskrift", Kjöbenhavn 1854, pp. 81-143.

In England, that is in our common South-English book-dialect, the same process has gone on. First (Old South-English) the -AN is normal; then (Early English) it becomes -EN; then (Middle-English) it is -E or -EN; then (later English) this -E falls away altogether, as in Jutland¹.

That is, by Rask's "Law", in Old-English times we were *Germans* — for we had the -AN; in Early English, we were *Half-Germans*; in Middle-English, we were *Danes* (infinitive in -E); but in later English we have become — *Jutlanders*! In the early ages, on the contrary, in all those Scandinavian folk-lands where we find Runic infinitives in -AN, the population was only *German*!

But in a large sweep of Germany itself this -N has altogether fallen away in a host of local dialects. All those provinces are therefore German no longer. They are either *Scandinavian* or *English*. Can anything be more absurd?

As for the PASSIVE.

The Old-Scandinavian has no Passive. It has a Reflective or Middle form, made by adding *sik* (oneself) to the verb. But this reflective is a *modern* development. In the oldest writings (and these are modern) it is almost unknown. It gradually creeps in, side by side with the common Passive constructions with the verb *BE* or *WORTH* &c.; then extends; then *sik* becomes an enclitic, becomes shortened to *sc*, *sk*, *sg*, *st*, *z*, as a part of the verb; and at last it assumes its modern shape. The farther back we go, the rarer the instances of this mechanical Reflective in Scandinavia².

The English dialect had the pronominal form *sik*, as well as the Scandinavian and the German; but it had not (that is, it had laid aside, lost) the reflective *sik*. So, even if it would, it *could* not follow the Scandinavian in this development of the Reflective³.

But the Germans always had, and still have, this *sik*, as well as the Scandinavians. So far, the Scandinavians were more "German" than the English. Now why did not the Germans go the same way as the Scandinavians, and in like manner make a Reflective or Passive out of their *sik*?

They did not, because they did not. There is no other reason. So much for iron theories! But the ARTICLE.

There was no Article in our old dialects. By degrees it came in as a form or side-form of ONE (A), or of a Demonstrative, like the Romance *LE* from the Latin *ILLE*. As it slowly acquires individuality, it is a mere accident where it may happen to fix itself, before or behind the noun. Unknown in the oldest Scandinavian dialects, as in the oldest English, it gradually settles *before* in England, and in half West-Denmark, *behind* (but with many phraseological exceptions) in the rest of Scandinavia. So in the Hebrew and Chaldee, which we all know are dialects nearly identical, the former has the *pre*-article, the latter the *post*. So, of all the Romance-tungs; the nearest to the Latin is the Rouman (the Wallacho-Moldavian). Yet, sprung from a speech which had no article, it has developed the *postfix* article, while the sister offshoots of the same Roman original, the Italian, French, Spanish, &c. have gotten the *prefix* article!

But the very oldest Runic monuments show the *entire absence* of the article. Others give it indeed, but *before* the noun, as in English. In far *later* stones we see it gradually and very sparingly creeping in, *after* the noun, as in modern Scandinavian. In fact, even on later Runic stones, just as in the Edda and Old-Gotlandic, the post-article is almost unheard-of.

That is, in all the earliest ages the language was nowhere, nothing, neither Northern nor German. Afterwards, large Jutlandish districts and all England became *German*. Afterwards again, all the rest became *Scandinavian*. But England and West-Denmark remain *German*⁴.

¹ So at the other extreme corner of Scandinavia, the most northerly Sweden, some dialects have cast away the infinitive-ending (-A) altogether, while others have only got so far as to soften the A into *ä*. Often, when the A is cast away, the preceding vowel is lengthened, as *te co-om* (to come).

² Even the Germans have now given up this absurd talk about this Scandinavian bastard "Passive", and pronounce it *modern*. Thus, among others: "Das sogenannte Medium in altn. aber, das auch als Passivum verwendet wird, ist offenbar eine jüngere Bildung und durch äusserliche Anfügung des Pronomen reflexivum entstanden (vgl. Grimm Gram. IV, 39 ff. und Lünig Edda S. 113-114), weshalb ich hier nicht weiter darauf einzugehen brauche." — C. W. M. Grein; Ablaut, Reduplication, &c., Bvo, Cassel & Göttingen, 1862, p. 37.

³ We have a solitary example or two of this reflective in -sc or sk in English; as in the word to *rusk* (N. I. *rusak* or *rusask*), to make ready, dress, adorn, &c. But no such words exist in our Old-English. They were introduced by the later Scandinavian settlers in the Viking-period.

⁴ The changes *since* brought about in the Scandian Post-article are as *great*, as the difference between placing it *before* or *after* the noun. The orthodox Book-dialect post-article is one thing; the *actual* post-article of the great Scandian "vulgar" dialects is altogether changed — a NEW SYSTEM. Are they therefore "Scandinavian" no longer?

Good Heavens, what logic!

In all times and dialects Pronouns and Demonstratives &c. have been most liable to change. Even in the last 500 years the difference in Scandinavia (as in England) is enormous. Everywhere, especially in Denmark, a whole bunch of pronouns and article-forms &c. is used more or less unknown in early ages. But if so short a space as 500 years effects so great a change in our European tungs, what was the appearance of the Scandinavian dialects 1500 years ago?

No one can tell. We can only guess.

Let us never forget that we are reasoning in the dark, or nearly so. The *oldest* parchment writings in Scandinavia are worthless for discussions of this kind, and cannot be compared with those of England — this same Scandinavia's earliest colony. The *former* — and they are *very* few — date from the 13th century (perhaps one or two a few years earlier); the *latter* from the 7th and 8th. What a contrast; 5 or 6 hundred years! Why in that space a language may become revolutionized. Compare the language of *CÆDMON* to that of *CHAUCEER*. *CÆDMON* is a sealed book to the few who really can read *CHAUCEER*. And of those men who *understand* *SHAKESPEAR* (in his original text), how many can fluently devour the glorious "Canterbury Tales"? Few indeed. And contrast the speech and idioms of "Sweet Will" with those of *TENNYSON* and *DICKENS*; or compare the *JUTLAND LAW* with *HOLBERG* or the *WEST-GOTLAND LAW* with *TEGNÉR*! We must all admit and repeat, that in 500 years a language, especially in its earlier stages ere Schools and the Press come in to regulate and level and anchor the fleeting floating mass, is largely re-made. Hence the difficulties from the Scandinavian skinbooks being *so modern*!

Therefore, if we would find something reasonably like the dialect of North-west Scandinavia in the 9th and 10th century, we must go to Iceland. Transferred to an *island*, political and geographical causes preserved it there for centuries with comparatively but little essential change, while everywhere on the mainland the Scandian dialects went on crumbling away, in Denmark assuming a largely modified character from immediate contact with Saxon peoples.

In like manner, if we would find something reasonably like the dialect of South-west Scandinavia in the 5th and 6th century, we must go to England. Transferred to an *island*, down to the great Norman influx political and geographical causes preserved it there for centuries with comparatively but little essential change, while everywhere on the mainland the Scandian dialects went on crumbling away, phonetic decay being hastened by endless warlike wanderings, by German settlers — (and afterwards by the German Lutheran Reformation).

We can plainly follow this process in Scandinavia. It chiefly consisted in a remarkable bias to vocalize and slur the *n*, and to weaken or reject the *s*. Hence this *n* gradually and organically falls away altogether at the end of words, as often elsewhere, while the *s* either becomes *u* (the so-called "Rhotacismus") or else disappears. In the middle-age there is apparently a reaction, so that the *u*, which seems to have become silent in certain positions, comes back again. Thus in what we may call Old-Northern (that speech which went from Scandinavia to England) we should have, for instance, the plural nominative *RUNAS*, kept unchanged in Old-English. Then in Early Scandinavian this became *RUNA* and *RUNAR*, in Early English *RUNES*, then in later Scandinavian *RUNAR* and *RUNER*, but in later English *RUNES* (one syllable). In this way the English has kept the *s* which the Old-Northern had 2000 years ago.

Of course it is not my meaning that Old-English was ever exactly and mechanically the same as Old-Swedish, or Old-Norse or West-Danish. It was a mixt speech, still more than Icelandic whose various elements were nearly all Scandian, chiefly Norse. But English resulted from the violent amalgamation of West- and South-Scandinavian with other neighboring cognate dialects, tho the former were largely and distinctively predominant. And in England itself there were and are distinct dialects, just as in Scandinavia. At this very moment the difference in the Scandian vernaculars is immense, far greater than between Old-English and Old-Scandinavian. A Northumberland man can talk with a Jutlander far better than a Jutlander with a Sconing (man from Scöné in South-Sweden, formerly — and still in dialect — a Danish province). The Jutlander cannot understand the Sconing, nor can the Sconing the Norrland man, nor can the latter the Icclander, nor can he or any one the Dalecarlian, and so on. There never has been any mechanical unity in the Northern dialects. The thing was a geographical and political impossibility. But this does not prevent them from being all called *Northern*, the differences not interfering with their general character, and the greatest differences between the Old-English and the present Scandian tungs

being a mere work of time, for they mostly grew up or spread *after* the colonization of England by the Northern peoples. *Modern English* is, *also*, infinitely more *Romanized* than the Scandinavian dialects.

We must therefore insist, that the antiquity and independence and early localization and great number and continual separate development of the manifold Northern tungs, in Scandinavia as in England, has been, to the great detriment of speechlore, far too much either overlooked or denied. People have talkt of *the one holy Scandinavian language* until they at last almost believed that such a thing had really existed! In this way, it is true, they succeeded in excluding the English, but they also excluded 9-tenths of their own citizens, 19-twentieths of the rest of Scandinavia. All written dialects are conventional. They are largely unintelligible to the mass of the people, who speak quite different but equally antique talks, sometimes even tungs still older. The Danish of South-Jutland is older, both in word-roll and in form, than the Danish of the capital. No such thing as this one holy Scandinavian language exists at this moment, after a *thousand years* of historical and commercial intercommunication, after 800 years of schools and Christianity, after a *whole generation* of Steam. Nay, these same writers cannot hold familiar intercourse with their own province-folk, much more with the peasants of the other Scandinavian lands!

But, most curious of all, this one Scandian tung was supposed to be represented by the complicated and difficult "Icelandic". In spite of facts and experience and monuments, how much has not been sacrificed to this theory! Not only has the native Danish and Swedish been grossly neglected, nay despised, but even national writings have been altered, misrepresented, disguised, to look like "Icelandic", and when still something remained which *could* not be so twisted and tortured — how people have begged the Holy Icelandic's pardon! Then they have fallen back on their acknowledged book-languages, and manuscripts have been doctored, when printed, to make them more "regular". Thus have been produced "normal tungs" in England and Sweden and Norway and Denmark, tho in the same breath these system-makers partially admitted at least the great divisions of North-English and South-English, of Jutlandish and Sealandish, of East-Norse and West-Norse, of Gota and of Swea, as if *scores* of others did not stare them in the face, tho book-monuments of course are seldom at hand. Yet again these ancient speechforms have been pronounced "barbarizations from the Icelandic", tho the mixt Norse dialect called Icelandic, with its many peculiar developments, dates only from the 10th and following centuries, and just as if the more ancient and regular olden dialects of Sweden and Denmark *could* have sprung from that modern colony and offshoot — the provincial Icelandic!

In one word, with regard to this onesided worship of Icelandic, everything being violently derived from it or reduced thereto, I would apply, *mutatis mutandis*, the observation of Rask ("Under-søgelse om det gamle Nordiske eller Islandske Sprogs Oprindelse", Kjöbenhavn 1818, 8vo, p. 301, the title itself being a glaring instance of this very tendency): — "But Greek [Scandinavian] is not the old pure Thracian [Old-Northern], least of all must we when speaking of Greek [Scandinavian] confine ourselves to Attic [Icelandic]; for this is one of the latest Greek [Scandinavian] tungs, and is far from being that whose kindredship is most apparent. Whatever the superiority of the Attic [Icelandic] in development and harmony, that of Doric and of Æolian [Danish and Swedish] is as considerable in age and in importance for the philologist."

All this of course by no means lessens the value of this precious Norse-Icelandic, or our veneration for it, or our acknowledgment of the fact that it was for some centuries to a great extent the Anglo-Norman of Scandinavia, the Mandarin-dialect of the High-North, the highly cultivated book-speech chiefly used in Song and Saga, and that in it are preserved treasures inestimable for all the Northern peoples. But this is not the question. Just use does not defend unjust abuse. All honor to the Norse-Icelandic. But that dialect is *not* the mother-tung of Sweden or Denmark or England.

Once emancipated from that bugbear "the laws of Icelandic Grammar", we are straight at liberty to reflect on the *reality* of the many tribes and folk-speeches in all the Northern lands, and to translate accordingly.

The facts are plain enough¹.

¹ I will give only *one* example to how *late* a date similar forms exist on monuments in England. — On a round-headed tombstone in the yard of St. Peter's Collegiate Church, Wolverhampton, is the following inscription: — "Hear (Here) lyeth (lieth) the Boode (Body) of Walthar (Walter) Sorthall. and he is lœd (laid, her (here) to tak (take) his Rast (Rest, and I Hop (Hope) his Sovl in Heaven is blast (blest). A.D. 18. 1441." — See Notes and Queries, 3rd S. vi, Dec. 17, 1864, p. 503.

Even confining ourselves to those comparatively few Rune-stones which have been (as we all hope and presume) *correctly* copied, publicly or privately, in the last few years, and remembering that these are not of the *older* series, they being all in Scandinavian runes, some few in Mixt, and that therefore a good deal of assimilation of dialect had already taken place, we yet find a large number of clear proofs of variety, difference, folk-speech, or by whatever name we may please to call it.

The following examples might have been doubled or trebled. But I have wearied in collecting them. And they are quite sufficient for the purpose. Nearly all the Gotland stones have been excluded, partly because that ancient island-tung has peculiarities now generally acknowledged, and partly because most of them are of far later date than the majority of the other Scandian carvings.

For instance. *A dialectically for I.* — On the Våppeby stone¹: AK for IK. (= UK = AUK), LATU for LITU, ÐANSA for ÐINSA.

Æ for A. I. O². — On the Tirsted stone³: Æ, ÆSRADR, FÆINK, FRÆNTI, FRÆDA, LÆDI, SUÆDIAUDV, DÆ.

On the Bro stone⁴: STEINI, ÆFTIR, FÆÐUR, BOÆNTÆ.

On the Flemlöse stone⁵: ÆFTR, STÆIN, SÆ. UES, FUEIR.

On the Snoldelef stone⁶: KUNUÆLTS, STÆIN.

On the Thisted stone⁷: DORÆ, HÆRÆ.

On the Thorpe stone⁸: ÆLIKR, ÆINRIDI, RÆISTI.

On the 2nd Maeshowe stone⁹: KOLBEINS, RÆIST.

On the Tryggevælde stone¹⁰: ÐÆNSI, GLÆMULAN, ÐÆI.

E for A. — On the Thorsåtra stones¹¹: REISA, STEIN.

On the Kolstad stone¹²: STERKKAR, REISA, EFTR, ÐEIR, HIEKU.

On the 2nd Kolstad stone¹³: STERKKAR, LETU, REISA, ÐESA, STEIN, KEIRA.

On the Hanstad stone¹⁴: ÐEIRA, ÐEIR.

On the Ödeshög stone¹⁵: STEIN, ÐEIM.

On the Hanning stone¹⁶: STEN, ÐENE, EFTIR.

E for I. — On the Agerstad stone¹⁷: SEREF, SEN, HIER.

On the Upsala stone¹⁸: EFTIR, SEN.

On the Bjursta stone¹⁹: MERKI, EFTIR.

On the Hätuna stone²⁰: KERA, MERKI.

On the Sanda stone²¹: LETU, ÐENA.

On the Kumla stone²²: KERDU, MERKI, ÐESA.

On the Linsunda stone²³: RESTI, STEN, SELFAN.

I for A. — On the Honungsby stone²⁴: FIDUR.

On the Skokloster stone²⁵: IHILBI, SILU.

On the Delsbo stone²⁶: STIN, ÐINI.

I for AI. — On the Gällstad stone²⁷: RISA, STIN.

On the Hof stone²⁸: RISTU, STIN.

On the Glenstrup stone²⁹: RISP, STIN.

On the Grensten stone³⁰: RISP, STIN.

O for A. — On the Lundby stone³¹: ÐINO, SINO, OSUAN, ONT.

On the Grynstad stone³²: ÐINO, FODUR, ONTA, HONS, RUNOR.

On the Råby stone³³: ONUNT, OT, ONUTAR, FODUR.

On the Viksjö stone³⁴: ÐENO, OSUR.

On the Hårenhed stone³⁵: KUDON, OSA, SIDON.

¹ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 77. — ² In a Charter in Kemble, Vol. 3, p. 127. date about 965-975, 43 lines have 65 examples of æ, where we otherwise find e. — ³ Lolland, Denmark. — ⁴ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 2. — ⁵ Fyn, Denmark. — ⁶ Sealand, Denmark. — ⁷ North-Jutland, Denmark. — ⁸ Norway. — ⁹ Orkneys. From a Cast in the Cheaping-haven Museum. — ¹⁰ Sealand, Denmark. — ¹¹ Upland, Dyb. Fol. Nos. 12, 13. — ¹² Id. No. 20. — ¹³ Id. No. 21. — ¹⁴ Upland. — ¹⁵ E. Gotland. — ¹⁶ N. Jutland. — ¹⁷ Löt, Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 67. — ¹⁸ Upland, Dyb. Svo. No. 66. — ¹⁹ Id. No. 77. — ²⁰ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 19. — ²¹ Id. No. 29. — ²² Id. No. 42. — ²³ Id. No. 63. — ²⁴ Id. No. 75. — ²⁵ Id. No. 35. — ²⁶ Helsingland. — ²⁷ Upland. — ²⁸ E. Gotland. — ²⁹ N. Jutland. — ³⁰ Id. — ³¹ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 48. — ³² Id. No. 14. — ³³ Id. No. 16. — ³⁴ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 23. — ³⁵ W. Gotland.

On the Skivum stone¹: HON, MONO, DONMARKU.

On the Folsberga stone²: PINO, TUMO, KUMO, ONTA, PON.

On the Vaxala stone³: RONLI, HONS.

On the Sanda stone⁴: ONTUIT, ONUNT, OSBIARN.

On the Löfstadholm stone⁵: KOMAL, PINO.

On the Ars stone⁶: OSUR, DONSI, STONTA.

On the Eistrup stone⁷: DONSI, HARBO.

On the Ferslev stone⁸: DONSI, OSTA.

On the Sjörring stone⁹: OSA, DONSI, OUMUTA [= AUMUTA = AMUND].

On the Vedelsprang stone¹⁰: OSFRIDR, OFT, O.

On the Dynna stone¹¹: OSTRIDO, O.

On the Ölstad stone¹²: KUNOR, RITO, PINO, OSMUNTR.

o for A and U. — On the Balingstad stone¹³: BRO, BOTA, IORL, PORBIORN.

On the Skilstad stone¹⁴: IOKER, (UFTIR for AFTIR), BORKER, IOK, RODI.

o for U. — On the Stäke stone¹⁵: KROK, BRODUR.

On the 2nd Thorsätra stone¹⁶: FOLKI, BRODUR.

On the Viksjö stone¹⁷: AOK, NESBIORN.

On the Gran stone¹⁸: KOLAUK, BONTA.

On the Gidsmark stone¹⁹: PORTERF, BOANTA.

On the Hemstad stone²⁰: ARBION, BRODUR, KOPAN.

U for AI. — On the Ösby stone²¹: HALSTUN, STUN.

U for I or Y. — On the Hjerminde stone²²: IFUR, TRUK.

U for U. — On the Folsberga stone²³: IKÜL, ÜK, ÜKID.

On the Bred stone²⁴: DIKBURN, ÜFTI.

On the Gran stone²⁵: AČNAR, RYKIČ.

Y or æ (A) for I. — On the Great Ängeby stone²⁶: DYIRUTR, LYT, IFTYR, YKIKRIDAR, IRFYKR, RYTU.

Diphthongs and broken vowels. — On the 1st Jellinge stone²⁷: KAURUA, DIURUI, IAS, NURUIAK.

On the Seddinge stone²⁸: UIAR, IAN.

On the Honungsby stone²⁹: BIANSA, SIRIAK.

On the Löfstalund stone³⁰: AIRNFAST, KAIRDI.

On the Skemby stone³¹: HIALBI, SIALU.

On the Bjudby stone³²: SIALFAN, HIALBI, SIALU.

On the Solna stone³³: FORKIYSL, LETU.

On the Bägby stone³⁴: KIARDI, SIALFR.

On the Bustorp stone³⁵: IAS, ION.

On the Vedelsprang stone³⁶: IAS, TREKIAR, HAIFABU, IAN.

On the Odensäker stone³⁷: IAN, HAITA.

On the Valby stone³⁸: KUFFYASTR, ROASA, STOIN.

Various vowel peculiarities congregated on one block. — On the Tillidse stone³⁹: RESA, EFT, EFTIR.

E, MED, STEIN, SIOL, TOKI, KOPA, STIUBMODUR, AOK, SIALFAN.

On the Norby stone⁴⁰: STENO, TUO, EST, SEN, SILFON.

On the Viggby stone⁴¹: SNIBORN, FRAIKAIR, RASA, HIULFAST, BRODUR.

On the 2nd Viggby stone⁴²: RASA, ABORN, KOPAN.

On the Brunna stone⁴³: IARUNTR, STEIN, AIFTIR.

¹ N. Jutland. — ² Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 76. — ³ Upland, Dyb. 8vo. Vol. 2, p. 17. — ⁴ Södermanland. Id. No. 10. — ⁵ Upland. — ⁶ N. Jutland. — ⁷ Id. — ⁸ Id. — ⁹ Id. — ¹⁰ S. Jutland. — ¹¹ Norway. — ¹² Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 129. — ¹³ Id. No. 138. — ¹⁴ Id. No. 150. — ¹⁵ Id. No. 9. — ¹⁶ Id. No. 13. — ¹⁷ Id. No. 24. — ¹⁸ Id. No. 41. — ¹⁹ Id. No. 54. — ²⁰ Id. No. 81. — ²¹ E. Gotland. — ²² N. Jutland. — ²³ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 76. — ²⁴ Id. No. 94. — ²⁵ Norway. — ²⁶ Upland, Dyb. 8vo. No. 64. — ²⁷ N. Jutland. — ²⁸ Lolland, Denmark. — ²⁹ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 75. — ³⁰ Södermanland, Dyb. 8vo. No. 4. — ³¹ Id. No. 27. — ³² Id. No. 41. — ³³ Upland, Id. No. 50. — ³⁴ Oland. — ³⁵ S. Jutland. — ³⁶ Id. — ³⁷ E. Gotland. Dyb. 8vo. No. 58. — ³⁸ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 123. — ³⁹ Lolland. — ⁴⁰ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 89. — ⁴¹ Id. No. 56. — ⁴² Id. No. 57. — ⁴³ Id. No. 87.

- On the Björnsnäs stone¹: HAUkUA, HAILI, PAISI, KAIRDU, PAISI, AIFTIR.
 On the Bred stone²: MIKBÜRN, AKUA, STIN, ÜFTIR, SUNI, SINO.
 On the Högby stone³: RISPI, STIN, EFTIR, IAR, EÖTAMIS.
 On the Arhus stone⁴: STIN, EFTIR, FELAKA, IAR, TUDR, DO.
 On the Glavendrup stone⁵: DONSI, AUFT, SAULUA, UIAR, AIDUIARDAN, DIAKN, HONS, ONON.
 On the Bykirk stone⁶: BUORN, KERPAR, RASA.
 On the Fjuckby stone⁷: SIMS (— SUM'S), IUFUR, AN, HAFNIR.
 On the Grönhögsvad stone⁸: KIARUA, EFTIR, DORKJSL, BONTA, DORKUN.
 On the 2nd Grönhögsvad stone⁹: SIKSTEN, RASTI, DENA, EFTIR.
 On the Styrstad Stone¹⁰: KIARA, EFTIR, SILU.
 On the Tidan stone¹¹: STEIN, DINO, UTUR (= I(f)TIR), DORIR.
 On the Hobro stone¹²: DONSI, AUFTI, TRYK.
 On the Great Kirkeby stone¹³: STIN, HAFT (= APT), IAN, TUDR, O.
 On the Söndervissing stone¹⁴: IAST, UHIMSKON.
 On the Stenalt stone¹⁵: OSUR, AUFT.
 On the Akirke stone¹⁶: OKMUNT, FRUBIORN, RESTU, STÆIN, ÆFTIR, ISBIORN, HIELEBI, SIOLU, HÆNS.
 On the Vänderstad stone¹⁷: LIDMODR, STIN, AUFTI, IULIBIRN.
 So as to consonantic peculiarities. For instance, *B for F*. — On the Kynsby stone¹⁸: UBTIR

(= UFTIR, — AFTIR).

- On the Gunnerup stone¹⁹: ABT, USULB.
 On the Ballaugh stone²⁰: DORLAIBR, DORIULB, ULB.
H omitted. — On the Fitja stone²¹: AKUN, AKUA, AUK, ANS, IALBI.
H retained and omitted. — On the Vårfrukyrke stone²²: HANS and AN.
 On the 2nd Vårfrukyrka stone²³: ANS and HAN.
 On the Nible stone²⁴: HAN and IALBI.
 On the Sjustad stone²⁵: AN and HULMKARDI.
 On the Tingvold stone²⁶: ET and HUS.
 On the Vinje stone²⁷: AN and HIGAT.
 On the Långthora stone²⁸: AN and HAN.

ts for st. — This dialectic lisping, which occurs so frequently, particularly in East-Gotland, is found 3 times on the E. Stenby stone, E. Gotland: TSIN (the mansname STIN, n. s.), TSINAR (the mansname STINAR, ac. s.), and TSINAR (the same, gen. s.) — Again twice on the Högtofta stone in the same province, ITSIN (for ISTIN) and DURTIN (for DURSTIN).

b for t. — On the 2nd Sundra stone²⁹: MARDa, LID, SDAN, DINNA.

In the same landscape the same word or phrase is differently spelt. — On the Gidsmark stone³⁰: I HARUISTAM, but on the Nopsgårde stone³¹: I HERFISTAM.

On the Botkyrka stone³²: UNTI STENI DEDMI. — On the Uglum stone³³: UNDR DÆMMÆ STENE. — On the Långthora stone³⁴: UNTIR DÆME STEN.

On the same stone earlier and later forms are intermingled, D and T, G and K, &c. — On the Lärbro stone³⁵: bonDan olafr i aGHniabo liGr hier unTir. han a miK.

On the Bergemoen stone³⁶: mæRGi, sotranGe, miK, oaK (= auk).

On the Kirigtørsoak stone³⁷: soNR (n. s.), soN (n. s.), TaK, DaG.

On the Gran stone³⁸: uKiGr, amiKr, kupriK.

On the 2nd Bågby stone³⁹: Guþbratr, Kup.

¹ E. Gotland. — ² Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 94. — ³ E. Gotland. — ⁴ N. Jutland. — ⁵ Fyn. — ⁶ Södermanland, Dyb. 8vo. Vol. 1, p. 37. — ⁷ Upland. — ⁸ E. Gotland. — ⁹ Id. — ¹⁰ Id. — ¹¹ W. Gotland. — ¹² N. Jutland. — ¹³ Falster, Denmark. — ¹⁴ N. Jutland. — ¹⁵ Id. — ¹⁶ Bornholm, Denmark. — ¹⁷ Upland. — ¹⁸ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 72. — ¹⁹ N. Jutland. — ²⁰ Ile of Man, Cumming, pl. 1, fig. 2. — ²¹ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 118. — ²² Id. No. 83. — ²³ Id. No. 84. — ²⁴ Södermanland, Dyb. 8vo. No. 82. — ²⁵ Upland, Id. No. 89. — ²⁶ Norway. — ²⁷ Id. — ²⁸ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 108. — ²⁹ Gotland, C. Sæve, No. 197. — ³⁰ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 54. — ³¹ Id. No. 111. — ³² Södermanland. — ³³ W. Gotland. — ³⁴ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 108. — ³⁵ Gotland, C. Sæve, No. 28. — ³⁶ Norway. — ³⁷ Greenland. — ³⁸ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 89. — ³⁹ Öland.

On the Bykvik stone¹: siGfast, Kerþar, uiKiK.

On the Århus stone²: auGuti, Kunulfr, auK, felaKa.

On the Båling stone³: uK, asKun, haKua, Kuþ, *siG, Guik.

On the Honungsby stone⁴: KiGumantr, auK, arnKer, siriaK.

Variations in the same word on the same block. — On the Glavendrup stone⁵: STAIN DANSI, STAIN

DONSI; AUFT, AFT.

On the Furby stone⁶: STAIN DINSA, STAIN DISA.

On the 2nd Clemensker stone⁷: LUS, LIUS.

On the 1st Hangvar stone⁸: SIN and SÜN (both ac. s. m.).

On the 2nd Lärbro stone⁹: FEM, FIM, KUS, GUS.

On the 3rd Lye stone¹⁰: KAIRUATR, KAIRUAT, I LYUM, II LYOM.

On the Orsunda stone¹¹: STAIN, STAEN.

On the Hanstad stone¹²: ARFI, ERFI, DEIR, DIR.

On the Årsunda stone¹³: OK, UK.

On the Great Grönhögsvadsbro stone¹⁴: EFTER, EFTIR.

On the Källa stone¹⁵: KUDAN, KOPAN.

On the Odeshög stone¹⁶: IFTIR, EFTIR.

On the Sandby stone¹⁷: AFTIR; IFTR.

On the Tierp stone¹⁸: AUK, UK.

On the Vrigstad stone¹⁹: OK, AUK.

On the Viggby stone²⁰: EFTIR, ITIR.

On the Svingarn stone²¹: UK, UK.

On the Vaxala stone²²: AUK, UK.

On the Lid stone²³: AUK, AK.

On the Svingarn stone²⁴: UK, UK.

On the Ullstamma stone²⁵: UIKBIURN, KIRBIORN, UIBIORN.

On the Härenhed stone²⁶: IFTIR, IFT.

On the Eneberga stone²⁷: AUK, UK.

On the Orsunda stone²⁸: STAIN, STAEN.

On the Alsted stone²⁹: USTIN (ac.), YSTIS (g.).

On the Alstad stone³⁰: HULFASTR, STÖRFASTR, KUDFAST, all nom. sing. masc.

On the Ryda stone³¹: SEN, SIN, ac. s. m.

On the Fitja stone³²: STAN, STIN, ac. s.

On the Mysinge stone³³: AUK, AK.

On the Fockstad stone³⁴: AUK, UK.

On the Ingle stone³⁵: AUK, AK.

May peculiarity of spelling in the SAME word on the SAME stone occasionally point to some curious internal differencing of the nominative and the accusative? Thus we have:

On the Gunnerup stone³⁶: nom. AUSTAN, ac. STUN.

On the Tillidse stone³⁷: nom. STEIN, ac. STIN.

On the Agerstad stone³⁸: nom. STAN, ac. STAIN.

On the Ryda stone³⁹: nom. STAIN, ac. STAN.

On the Söderby stone⁴⁰: nom. BIRN, ac. STIRBIUN.

On the Alsted stone⁴¹: ac. USTIN, gen. YSTIS.

¹ Södermanland, Dyb. 8vo. Vol. 1, p. 37. — ² N. Jutland. — ³ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 195. — ⁴ Id. No. 75. — ⁵ Fyn. — ⁶ Upland, Dyb. 8vo. No. 54. — ⁷ Bornholm, Denmark. — ⁸ Gotland, C. Sive, No. 1. — ⁹ Id. No. 22. — ¹⁰ Id. No. 124. — ¹¹ Upland. — ¹² Id. — ¹³ Gestrikland, Sweden. — ¹⁴ E. Gotland. — ¹⁵ Öland. — ¹⁶ E. Gotland. — ¹⁷ Öland. — ¹⁸ Upland. — ¹⁹ Småland. — ²⁰ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 74. — ²¹ Id. 8vo. 73. — ²² Id. Vol. 2, p. 17. — ²³ Id. No. 43. — ²⁴ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 99. — ²⁵ Id. No. 60. — ²⁶ W. Gotland. — ²⁷ Upland. — ²⁸ Id. — ²⁹ Sealand. — ³⁰ Upland, Dyb. Fol. No. 114. — ³¹ Upland. — ³² Id. Dyb. Fol. No. 118. — ³³ Id. No. 120. — ³⁴ Id. No. 147. — ³⁵ Id. No. 143. — ³⁶ Denmark. — ³⁷ Id. — ³⁸ Upland. — ³⁹ Id. — ⁴⁰ Id. Dyb. Fol. No. 78. — ⁴¹ Sealand.

Sometimes there are DOUBLE inscriptions on the SAME stone, carvings on the same block by different persons to different kinsfolk. The one risting is perhaps sometimes later than the other. However this may be, they differ in spelling. Thus:

On the East-Stenby stone¹: first scoring, RISPI, STAIN, PANSA, EFTIR; second, RISTI, STIN, DASA, AFTR.

On the Alstad stone²: first carving, STAIN DINA, AFTR; second, STEIN DANA, EFTIR.

But we have also a couple of Instances of TWO SEPARATE STONES raised in or near the same place at the same time by the same man to the memory of THE SAME PERSON, and in words more or less identical. Yet they vary in spelling! Thus:

On the Hummelstad stones³:

1st stone.	2nd stone.
AUKAIR	AUKAIR
DAR	DIR
RAISA	REISA
STAUN	STAN
SEN	SIN

On the two Klistad stones⁴:

UFTR	UFTR
KUNBIRN	KUNBRN

On the two Kyngsby stones⁵:

IFTR	UFTR
BRUDR	BRUDUR
IALIBI	HALUBI

On the two Gran stones⁶:

ARATR	ARUATR
RISTU	RAISTU
KUNLIF	KUNLAIF

So as to the *order of words*, about which so much has been said. We have SUN SIN, BRODUR SIN, &c. *before* the name or *after* it. And on the Glavendrup stone both RAIST RUNAR DASI and UIKI DASI RUNAR. The Glavendrup stone says, AT RITA SA UARDI, the Tryggevelde stone SA UARDI AT RITA. — We have usually KUBL DAUSI, STAIN DINA, &c., but also DAUSI KUBL, DINA STAIN, &c.

But these Scandinavian-runic stones have often a great fulness and richness of vowels, sometimes a sign of antiquity, sometimes merely a mark of local speech⁷. Thus, among others:

ANTRITR	for	ANTUITR	HALUBI	for	HALBI
BARUDR	..	BRUDR	IALIBI	..	JALBI
BEREDR	..	BRUDR	IFTIRK	..	HTIRK
BIRUNULFR	..	BRUNULFR	KAIRFRIDR	..	KAIRFRIDR
BIROTI	..	BRUTI	KIRIKIUM	..	KRIKIUM
BIRUDR	..	BRUDR	KIRIMR	..	KRIMR
BORUDR	..	BRUDR	KIRIMS	..	KRIMS
BURO	..	BRO	KIRIST	..	KRIST
BURU	..	BRU	KRIMULUF	..	KRIMULF
BURUDUR	..	BRODUR	KUDUMUT	..	KUDMUT
ERINBIUN	..	ERNBIUN	PIRIM	..	PRIM
ERINKAR	..	ERNKAR	SIMDR	..	SMDR
FULIKI, FULUHI, FULUKI	..	FULKI	TEREBINA	..	TREBINA
GARASIA	..	GRASIA	TURUTIN	..	TRUTIN
HALFATAN	..	HALFTAN	UISITARLA	..	UISTARLA.

¹ E. Gotland. — ² Norway. — ³ Upland, Dyb. Fol. Nos. 65 and 66. — ⁴ Id. Nos. 85 and 86. —

⁵ Upland, No. 1, Bautil No. 613 a; No. 2 Dyb. Fol. No. 72. — ⁶ Upland, Dyb. Fol. Nos. 37 and 46. — ⁷ Similar "help-vowels for the sake of euphony" are found in many of our modern dialects. But the Grammarians call them all, by a short and summary phrase, "mere modern barbarizations".

SATI (set, placed, this stone) is usually taken with AFTAR or AT or IFIR, all followed by the accusative. But it is also found with the genitive! Thus on the Hune stone, N. Jutland, SATU STIN RUNULFS; and on the Skivum stone, N. Jutland, KARPU STIN HUPSKA.

At this very moment, in each of the Scandinavian book-dialects, the sound of many words is by no means settled; just as in our own tongue, at the same table in spite of "Walker", we may still hear educated people saying (YEAST) YEEST, YEST, YIST, EAST; (DOUGH) DO, DOW, DUFF; (EAR) EER, EYER; (DUE) DYU, DOO; and so on with hosts of familiar words. Many well-taught English people *write* differently also: but when their papers come into the printers' hands, those learned gentlemen make a point of "showing off" by impertinently reducing everything to their own "vulgar" standard.

This continual difference and development appears most strikingly in certain letter-changes, assimilations, &c., of which I will give specimens shortly¹ and rapidly:

A for R. — BAANNE for BARNNE, IFIA for IFIR.

B for F. — DORLAIBR, DURLABR, LIBA, ABTIR, IBOR.

Bþ for B. — BIDUSK for BIRUSK.

D (or T) elided. — OSSON = ODSSON; BUÑA = BUNTA.

F elided. — SUARTHADA = SUARTHAFÐA; ULKIL = ULF&KIL; KUPASTR = KUPFASTR; ATI = AFTI; ITIR = IFIR; UTIR = UFTIR.

FN for F. — HALFNTAN; ALENTAN.

F for P. — IAKAUPS = IAKAUPS.

G elided. — HELA = HELGA; DURLS = DURGILS.

H. — HRRITA and RITA; HUAPUM and UADUM; RHAFNUKA and RAFNUKA; RBUULFR and RULFR; HUAKR and UAKR; HRUALTR and RUHALTS; AIM and HAIM; HIBTIR and YFTIR; HUARU and UARU; IKHUAR and IKUAR; HUT and UT; HRISTI and RISTI; HRTI and RITI; SUTHI and SUTI; HONT and ÖNT; INKIUALTR and INKUALTR, &c. &c.

H for F (see F elided). — KUPHASTR = KUPFASTR.

H for G. — MAHISTER = MAGISTER, &c. &c.

H for K. — SHIALDOLFS.

H for N. — TRIHK = TRINK; HLETAHAR = HLEFANAR.

H for þ. — HENNA = DENNA; GOHA = GODA¹.

K elided. — ILATI (= IKLATI = INKLANTI); UIUM = UKUM; UTU = UIKU; SIHTRIS = SIHTRIS; BERSIN = BERKSN; DIN = DKN; TRIR = TRIKR (= TRINKR).

KI (GI) traces of². — HRISTI, HRITI, HRITA, ISTAIN, ISTIN, IHILBI, ISOLU, IRAISA, ISI.

L elided. — HARATS = HARALTS; HUM = HULM; HUMBIURN = HULMBIURN; HABI = HALBI; HIABI = HIALBI.

M cut off. — HUL = HULM.

MB for B or M. — HIALMBI = HIALBI; HILMBR = HILMR.

MN for M. — HULMFASTR, HULMNLAK, HULMN.

MTN for M. — HULMTNTIS.

N elided³. — FIUUIR = FINUIR; AUT = AUNT; I = IN; STAILTR = STANILTR; AMUR = AMUNR; HAS HANS; RUA = RUNAR, and thousands of others.

NN for KN. — SINNE for SIKNE.

NR for N. — OSMUNRT, OSMUNRT, for OSMUNT.

NT for N. — DENTSÄ, &c. &c.

O for W. — OARTIOL; DALOI-OAISAI.

P for B. — AUSTARPU = AUSTARBU; POTOLBAR = BOTOLBAR.

¹ In an O. Engl. Charter (Kemble, 3, p. 359) we have, in 6 lines, 2 examples of *cynn* for *cymþ*. In the O. Engl. and Early Engl. Psalters (Surtees Soc. Vol. 2, London 1847, pp. 70, 71) the O. Engl. text translates "Castigans castigavit" by "ðregende ðreade", but the E. Engl. by the guttural *n*-sign ȝ, "ȝraihand (Ms. n. ȝraihed, Ms. e. þraighand) ȝraihed (Ms. e. þraigh). The Danish St. Knud's Guild-law for Flensborg, South-Jutland, (date about 1350-1400) spells the word *niTHING* (cowardly wretch) both *niTHING* and *niTHING*.

² This *g* or *k* is still found in many words both in Scandia and England. In the latter province it is silent before *n*, as it is in some words in the Scandian provinces. Otherwise we have in Scandia such words as *GLIDA* from *LIDA*, *GNIST* from *NIST*, *GRANNE* from *RANNR*, &c. besides the common *KNÄ*, *KNIF*, &c. The *r*-prefix (shortened from *kr*, *or*) is sometimes clearly emphatic. Thus in the O. Engl. Charters (Kemble, 3, p. 397) we have "ðanen be sude Scafesbury on ðane hliuc; of ðat ihliuc on ðane castel at Swindune; . . . on ðane stán CASTEL; of ða icastele on Bleðmannes BERGE; of ða iBERGE on landscarlioc".

³ Doubtless, as I have said elsewhere, this *n* was often *understood*, omitted in the carving for shortness, as some other letters may sometimes have been. So the same letter was often carved once, but read twice.

R in the root elided. — KUNAS = KUNARS; TUGUTA = TURGUTA (= DURGUTA); DUSTAIN = DURSTAIN; MEKI = MERKI; MIKI = MIRKI; KADU = KARDU; DULER = DURLER (= DURULFR); IALS = IARLS; KALS = KARLS; DURKAL = DURKARI; DOS = DORS; TOS-DAHINOM = TORS-DAHINOM; MAIU = MARIU; FADU = FADUR; DUKIR = DURKIR; ABIUN = ABIURN; SIBUN = SIBURN; STIRBUN = STIRBIURN; ARBION = ARBIORN; KLBNS = KULBIRNS; ASKIS = ASKIRS; BEON = BEORN; BIANAR = BIARNAR; KUDI = KURDI; HULMKIS = HULMKIRS; DOSTAIN = DORSTAIN; RODMAS = RODMARS; DOKRIM = DORKRIM; BUDUR = BRUDUR.

False R. — ROLUTR = ROLANT.

R inserted, or kept from the nominative. — GUDRS = GUDS.

R flitted. — BAURDUR = BRAUDUR; BURDUR = BRUDUR; KRULIFS (= KURLIFS = KUDLIFS).

R assimilated. — ROBBENN = ROBBERN.

R for þ. — MIR = MID. See *D* elided.

R for þr. — HULMFRIE = HULMFRIÐR.

sp for fs. — UDLLESD for UDLLEFS; HUHLESD for HUHLEFS.

S elided. — RODFOAR = RODFOSAR; DORFATR = DORFASTR.

T for F. — HUSTRU = HUSFRU.

T for þ. — TORTAR = DORÐAR; TURLAK = DURLAK; TUGUTA = DUGUTA; STATUM = STAPUM; FATRAN = FADRAN; TORBIARN = DORBIARN.

T elided. — ALMAKAN = ALMATKAN; MESR = MESTR; FASLUH = FASTLU; BONA = BONTA; HARALS = HARALTS; OSKAUS = OSKAUTS; EKLANS = EKLANTS; ON = ONT; STANR = STANTR; SUPRLANA = SUPRLANTA; HANARST = HANTARST; AFLAS = AFLATS; IKIALR = IKIALTR; KUNILR = KUNILTR; KRISNUM = KRISTNUM; GAIKUALR = GAIKUALTR; UESKINI = UESTKINI; FRINKUNU = FRINTKUNU; UNIR = UNTIR; RISA (= RISSA = RISTA); RISI (= RISSI = RISTI); LANMANNA = LANTMANNA; RASA (= RASSA = RASTA); SAIN = STAIN; SIN = STIN; SAEN = STAEN; SUKRUKS = SUKTRUKS; ANUIT = ANTITT.

TR elided. — KETILPAS = KETILFANTR; ULFAS = ULFASTR.

TS = ST. — TSIN = STIN; DURTIN = DURSTIN; RITSI = RISTI, &c.

þ assimilated. — ROBBENN = ROBBENN.

þ softened to H. — See *H*.

þ for G. — In the Swedish Runic Dialogue of the Virgin we have *ÆLSKUDH* for *ÆLSKUGH*, *DRADEN* for *DRAGEN*, *ENID* for *ENIG*, *MÆD* for *MÆG*, *NAHÐLA* for *NAHGLA*. In several instances this curious substitution has even become the orthodox form in the orthodox N. I. dialect, in such words as *BADMIR*, the M. G. *BAGMS*, O. Engl. *BEAM*, Swed. and Dan. *BOM*, Germ. *BAUM*, a *beam*, tree. This same N. Icel. has sometimes both forms, as *SYNDEDR* and *SYNDUGR*.

þ for T. — DL = TIL; RISI = RISTI; KUDMUD = KUDMUT (KUDMUNT); RAISDU = RAISTU; FECID (Latin *FECEIT*); SID (Latin *SIT*); ED, ED (Latin *ET*); SANCPE (Latin *SANCTE*); KAD = KAT; FYRLADIN = FYRLATIN; SKRIFAD = SKRIFAT; DRIBIN = TRIBIN; MALAP = MALAT; LID = LIT; AUFÐR = AUFTR; ARNFASD = ARNFAST; RAHNUALDR = RAHNUALTR; RID = RIT; SPAN = STAN; UNDR = UNTIR.

þ vocalized. — FEIGA = FEDGA.

þ elided. — BRUR = BRUDR; GORÆ = GORÐÆ; GUS = GUDS; KOSUNR = KOSUNR; SMIS = SMIDS; FAUR = FADUR; KOLAUK = KOPLAUK; KOAN = KOPAN; MIR = MIDR; SIRI = SIRID; KUFAS = KUPFAST; IR = IDR.

þs for sp. — RIBSI = RISI (RISTI).

þT for þ. — HARTSTAIN; ETINA; RESDTU.

þU elided. — HARUITAM = HARUITADUM; GURSTAM = GURSTADUM; BRUR = BRUDUR.

U elided. — FINDR = FINUDR; SEIK = SUEIK; ORD = UORD; URDU = UURDU; BERSIN = BERSUIN; SIKU = SUKU; SIHAT = SIHUAT; KRONTARI = KRONTUARI.

U for F. — ULUEDIN = ULFEDIN (= ULF-ETIN).

**U for I.* — RUSTI = RISTI.

Ü for U. — ÜAS; ÜFTIR; TÜ; IÜK; STÜFBALTIR; AÜBIARN; AUTISI.

UU = U = W. — UUAR; FULUUA.

But let us take a common word — say the commonest of all, *STAIN*, a *stone*, with the verbs which run with it — and see how charming and regular and “grammatical” (in the lower and local and pedantical sense of “Icelandic grammar”) is the uniformity of the shapes and formulæ. These variations, which are not complete, would be largely increased if we were to add the formulas for *carved* followed by *RUNAR*, *KUML*, *MIRKI*, &c., and those in which *STAIN*, &c. are *omitted*.

1. With FA, to FAW, fashion.

3 sing. past. He fawed: FADI STIN DINA.

2. With HAKUA, to HEW, carve.

3 s. p. He hewed: AUK STIN DINO.

HIOK STIN.

HIOK STINI.

HUK STIN.

IAGE STIN.

IOK STENI.

IUK STAIN.

IUK STIN.

IÜK STEN DINO.

3 pl. p. They hewed: HIAKU STAIN.

HIAKU STAIN DENA.

3 s. pr. with Inf. He lets hew:

LITR STAIN HKA DINA.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let hew:

LIT AKUA STAIN.

LIT STAIN AKUA.

LIT AKUA STAIN.

LIT AKUA STEN.

LIT AKUA STENO TUO.

LIT AKUA STIN.

LIT HAGA TISAN STAIN.

LIT HAKUA STAIN.

LIT HAKUA STAIN DINA.

LIT STAIN HAKUA.

LIT HAKUA STAN.

LIT HEKUA STAIN.

LIT HKUA STAIN.

LIT HUKUA STAN DUS.

LIT STAIN HUKUA.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let hew:

LETU HAGA AN STAIN.

LITO HAKUA STIN.

LITU AKUA STAN.

LITU AKUA STEN.

LITU AKUA STINA.

LITU AUKUA STAIN DINA.

LITU HAKUA STAIN.

LITU HAKUA STAIN DINSA.

LITU HAKUA STEN.

LITU HAKUA STIN.

LITU HKUA S.

3. With KAURUAN, KIRUA, &c. to GAR, make, fashion.

3 s. p. He made: STEIN DÄNNA GERDE.

GERDI STAINA.

GIERDI STAIN.

GIERDI STAIN DI.

KARDI STAIN DASI.

KIARDI STAN DISI.

3 pl. p. They made: KARPU STIN.

Supine. Made: HAPA KARUT STAIN DINA.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let make:

KAT KAURUAN STAIN DANSI.

LÄT GÄRA STEN DÄNNA.

LIT GERA HINNA STAIN.

LIT GERA STAIN.

LIT GERA STIN.

LIT GIARA STAIN.

LIT GIARA STAIN HISSAN OK LEGGIA.

LIT GIARA STAIN OK SKIRA.

LIT GIARA STAN.

LIT GIARA STAN HINA.

LIT GIARA DINA STAIN.

LIT GIARA DINNA STAIN.

LIT GIARA DINNA STIN.

LIT GIERA STEIN.

LIT KARA HIN STAIN.

LIT KEARA STAN DINA.

LIT KIARA STAIN.

LIT KIRA TINNA STAIN.

LIT GERA DINNA SPAN.

PINN STEN PA LIT GIERA.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let make:

LIT GERA STAIN HINNA.

LITU GARA DINA STEN.

LITU GIARA STAIN.

LITU GIERA STAIN.

LITU KIARA STAIN DANA.

LITU KIARA DINA STAN.

4. With LEKIA, to LAY

3 s. p. He laid: LAKDI STIN DANSI.

3 pl. p. They laid: LAKDU STAIN DINSA.

LAKPU STIN.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let lay:

(lit) LAKIA STIN DASR.

LET LEGIA STEIN DENA.

LET LEGIA STIN DENSI.

5. With MARKA, to MARK, carve.

3 s. p. He markt: MARKADI STIN DINI.

3 pl. p. They markt: MARKADU STIN DINO.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let mark:

LITU MARKA STAIN DINSA.

6. With RAISA, to RAISE, set up.

3 s. pr. He raises: REISIR STEIN.

3 s. p. He raised: RÄSD STIN.

RAISDI STAIN.

RAISI STAIN DANSI.

RAIST ISTAIN.

RAIST STAIN DINSI.

3 s. p. He raised: RAISTI STAF AUK STAINA.
 RAISTI STAIN.
 RAISTI STAIN DANA.
 RAISTI STAIN DANSI.
 RAISTI STAIN DINSA.
 RAISTI STAIN DINSL.
 RAISTI STAIN DINSO.
 RAISTI STAIN DONSA.
 RAISTI STAINA.
 RAISTI STAINA PASI ALA.
 RAISTI STEIN DINA.
 RAISTI STEIN DINO.
 RAISTI STIN DENA.
 RAISTI STIN DINA.
 RAISTI STIN DINO.
 RAISTI STINNA.
 RAISDI STAIN.
 RAISDI STAIN DANSI.
 RAISDI STIN DANSI.
 RAISDI STIN DINSL.
 RAISDI STINI DONSL.
 RASA STAN.
 RAST STAN DANSI.
 RASDI STAIN DONSL.
 RASDI STAN DANSL.
 REISTI STEIN DANA.
 REISTI STEIN DENA.
 REISDI STEIN DENA.
 REISDI STIAN DESA.
 RESTI STAIN DINA.
 RESTI STAN.
 RESTI STEN.
 RESTI STEN DISA.
 RESTI STIN.
 RESTU STEN PANI.
 RESDI STIN DENSL.
 RESDI STIN DESI.
 RESDI STIN DONSL.
 RISI STIN DANSA AUK KUML.
 RISI STIN DISI.
 RISID STI PASI.
 RIST STIN.
 RISTA STIN PASI.
 RISTA STIN DIYNO.
 RISTI ISTAIN.
 RISTI SANN PASI.
 RISTI STAIN.
 RISTI STAIN DISA.
 RISTI STAN.
 RISTI STANNIO.
 RISTI STEN.
 RISTI STEN DISA.
 RISTI STIN.

3 s. p. He raised: RISTI STIN DANSI.
 RISTI STIN DASA.
 RISTI STIN DASI.
 RISTI STIN DENA.
 RISTI STIN DENSA.
 RISTI STIN DINA.
 RISTI STIN DINSA.
 RISTI STIN DINSL.
 RISTI STIN DISA.
 RISTI STIN DISI.
 RISTI STINA.
 RISTI STINA DISI.
 RISTI STINO DISI.
 RISTI STUN' DANSL.
 RISTDI STIN DANSI.
 RISTU STINA.
 RISD STEN DINI.
 RISD STIN DISI.
 RISDI STAIN DANSA.
 RISDI STAIN DINSL.
 RISDI STAN PASI.
 RISDI STAN DISI.
 RISDI STAN DONSL.
 RISDI STEIN DISA.
 RISDI STEN PASI.
 RISDI STIN.
 RISDI STIN PAISI.
 RISDI STIN PANE.
 RISDI STIN PANSI.
 RISDI STIN PASI.
 RISDI STIN DENA.
 RISDI STIN DESI.
 RISDI STIN DINA.
 RISDI STIN DINSL.
 RISDI STIN DINSA.
 RISDI STIN DONSL.
 RISDI STIN DOYS.
 RISDI STIN DUSI.
 RISDI STINA DISI.
 RISDI STINI PAISI.
 RISDI STINO DISI.
 RISDI STN PAISI.
 RISDI STN DESI.
 RISDI STN DONSL.
 RISDI STUN DANSL.
 RISDU STIN DISI.
 RISDTU SIN.
 RST STN DANI.
 RSTI SINA DINA.
 RSDI STEN DENE.
 RSDI STIN PANI.
 RSDI STIN DESI.

3 *pl. p.* They raised: R.EISTU STEIN.
 RAISTU STIN DENA.
 RAISTU ISTIN DINO.
 RAISTU SAIN DENO.
 RAISTU STAIN.
 RAISTU STAIN DANA.
 RAISTU STAIN DANSI.
 RAISTU STAIN DASI.
 RAISTU STAIN DINA.
 RAISTU STAIN DINSA.
 RAISTU STAINA.
 STAINA RAISTU.
 RAISTU STAINA DINA.
 RAISTU STAINA DISA.
 RAISTU STIN.
 RAISTU STIN DANKA.
 RAISTU STIN DINI.
 RAISTU STIN DINNA.
 RAISTU STIN DINSL.
 RAISTU STIN DIS.
 RAISTU STIN DISA.
 RAISTU STAIN.
 RAISTU STAIN DANSI.
 RAISTU STIN DANSI.
 RASTU ISTAIN DNO.
 RASTU STAIN DINA.
 REISTU STIN DENSI.
 REISDU STEIN.
 RESTU STEIN.
 RESTU STEIN DENSI.
 RIST STIN DINI.
 RISTU SAEN DINSA.
 RISTU STAIN.
 RISTU STAIN DINA.
 RISTU STAIN DINSA.
 RISTU STAIN DISI.
 RISTU STAN DINSA.
 RISTU STEIN.
 RISTU STEN DINSL.
 RISTU STIN DINA.
 RISTU STIN DINSA.
 RISTU STIN DINSL.
 RISTU STIN DISA.
 RISTU STIN DTINA.
 RISTU STINO DISI.
 RISTU STON.
 RISDU STAN DANKI.
 RISDU STEN DONSIL.
 RISDU STIN.
 RISDU STIN DANA.
 RISDU STIN DANSI.
 RISDU STIN DASI.
 RISDU STIN DINSL.

3 *pl. p.* They raised: RISDU STIN DONSIL.
 RISDU STINO DISI.
 RISC.
 RISU STIN DINA.
 RITI IDUN.

3 *s. p. with Inf.* He let raise:
 LAT RAISA STAIN DANA.
 LAT RAISA STAINA DISA.
 LAT RISA STAIN DINASA.
 LET RAISA STAIN.
 LET RAISA STAIN DENA.
 LET RAISA STAIN DENO.
 LET RASA SAIN.
 LET RASA STAIN.
 LET RASA STAN.
 LET RASA STIN.
 LET REISAA STEIN.
 LET REISA STEIN DENSA.
 LET REISA STEIN DINTSA.
 LET RES STEN DENA.
 LIT ANAN RAISA STAIN.
 LIT IRESA STAIN.
 LIT RAISA ISTAIN.
 LIT RAISA SAEN DINA.
 LIT RAISA STAIN.
 LIT STAIN RAISA.
 LIT RAISA STAIN DANSI.
 LIT RAISA STAIN DENA.
 LIT RAISA STAIN DINA.
 LIT RAISA DINA STAIN.
 LIT RAISA STAIN DINO.
 LIT RAISA STAIN DINSA.
 LIT RAISA STAIN DISA.
 LIT RAISA STAIN DONSA.
 LIT RAISA STAINA.
 LIT RAISA STAINA DASA.
 LIT RAISA STAINA DISA.
 LIT RAISA STAINA.
 LIT RAISA STIN.
 LIT RAISA STIN DENO.
 LIT RAISA DINA STIN.
 LIT RAISA STINA.
 LIT RAISA STON DINA.
 LIT RAISA STUN DINA.
 LIT RASA STAIN.
 LIT RASA STAIN DINO.
 LIT REISA STEIN.
 LIT REISA STEIN DENA.
 LIT REISA STEIN DENSA.
 LIT REISA DINSA STEIN.
 LIT REISA STIN DINA.
 LIT RESA STAIN.
 LIT RESA STAN.

3 s. p. with *Inf.* He let raise:

LIT RESA STAN DINA.
 LIT RESA STEIN.
 LIT RESA STEN DENA.
 LIT RESA STIN DISA.
 LIT RISA STAIN.
 LIT RISA AUK ARISTA STIN DINA.
 LIT RISA STAIN DANSI.
 LIT RISA STAIN DINA.
 LIT RISA STAIN DINSA.
 LIT RISA STAN DINA.
 LIT RISA STEN.
 LIT RISA STIN.
 LIT RISA STIN DINA.
 LIT RISA STIN DTINA.
 LIT RISA STN.
 LIT RISA STN DINA.
 LIT RISA STON.
 LITU ROASA STON.
 LID RAISA STAIN DINSA.
 LÆT RAESA STAEN.
 STAINA RAISA.

3 pl. p. with *Inf.* They let raise:

LATA RAISA DINA STAINA.
 LATA RASA STAINI DISA.
 LATA REISA DINA STEIN.
 LATA REISA DINSA STEIN.
 LATIU RAI FA S [² RAISA FADAN
 STAIN].
 LATU RISA STIN DANSI.
 LETU RAISA STAIN DENA.
 LETU RAISA STIN DENSA.
 LETU REISA DESA STEIN.
 LITU ARISA STIN.
 LITU HRISA STAIN DINA.
 LITU HRISA STAIN DINSA.
 LITU RAISA ISTAIN.
 LITU RAISA STAIN.
 LITU RAISA STAIN DANA.
 LITU RAISA STAIN PANSI.
 LITU RAISA STAIN DENO.
 LITU RAISA STAIN DINA.
 LITU RAISA STAIN DINA AUK BRU
 DISA.
 LITU RAISA STAIN DINO.
 LITU RAISA STAIN DINSA.
 LITU RAISA STAIN DINSI.
 LITU RAISA STAIN DISA.
 LITU RAISA STAINA.
 LITU RAISA STAINA BADA.
 LITU RAISA STAINA DASA.
 LITU RAISA STAINA DISA.
 LITU RAISA STAINA DISA ALA.

3 pl. p. with *Inf.* They let raise:

LITU RAISA STAN.
 LITU RAISA STAN DINA.
 LITU RAISA STAUN.
 LITU RAISA STEIN.
 LITU RAISA STEN.
 LITU RAISA STIN.
 LITU RAISA STIN DIN.
 LITU RAISA STIN DINA.
 LITU RAISA STN.
 LITU RAISAN STAIN DINA.
 LITU RAISA TSIN DASA.
 LITU RASA STAIN.
 LITU RASA STAIN DINO.
 LITU RASA STAIN DINSA.
 LITU RASA STAN.
 LITU RASA STAN DINA.
 LITU RASA STAN DINSA.
 LITU REISA DINSA STAIN.
 LITU REISA STAN.
 LITU REISA STEIN.
 LITU RESA STAIN.
 LITU RESA STAN.
 LITU RESA STEN DENSA.
 LITU RISA ISTIN DINSA.
 LITU RISA STAIN.
 LITU RISA STAIN DINA.
 LITU RISA STAIN DINSA.
 LITU RISA STAIN DINSI.
 LITU RISA STAIN DISA.
 LITU RISA STEN DIANSI.
 LITU RISA STIN.
 LITU RISA STIN DINA.
 LITU RISA DINA STIN.
 LITU RISA STIN DISA.
 LITU RISO STIN.
 LITU ROSA STIN DINO.
 LÆTU RASA STAIN.

7. With *RISTA*, to *RIST*, carve, inscribe.

3 s. p. He risted: RISI STAEN DINSA.
 RISTI STAIN DINA.
 RISTI STAN.
 RISTI STN.
 RISTI STAIN.

3 s. p. with *Inf.* He let rist:

LIT RASTI STAIN DENA.
 LIT RISTA STIN.

3 pl. p. with *Inf.* They let rist:

LITU RISA STAIN.
 LITU RISTA STIN.
 LITU RISTA STIN DINA.
 LITU RISTU STIN.

8. With RITA, URITA, to WRITE.

3 s. p. He wrote: RAITI ITSIN TINA.
 RIT STIN.
 RITI STAIN.
 RITI STAIN DINA.
 RITI STAIN DINSA.
 RITI STAN.
 RITI STAN DINA.
 RITI STIN.
 RITI STIN DINA.
 RITI STIN DOL.
 RITI TSIN DINI.
 RID STIN.
 URT STAN DIS.E.

3 pl. p. They wrote: RAITU STAIN.
 RAITU STAIN DISA.
 RATU STIN DINA.
 RITA STAIN.
 RITIDU STIN DANSI.
 RITIDU STIN DINA.
 STAIN RITU.
 RITU STIN.
 STIN RITU.
 RITU STIN DINA.
 RITU STIN DINI.
 RITU STIN DINO.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let write:

LIT HRITA STAIN.
 LIT RHITY.
 LIT RITA STAIN.
 LIT RITA STAIN DINA.
 LIT DINA RITA STAIN.
 LIT RITA STAIN DINO.
 LIT RITA STEN.
 LIT RITA STENA.
 LIT RITA STIN.
 LIT RITA STIN DANSI.
 LIT RITA STIN DINA.
 LIT RITA STIN DINO.
 LIT RITA STIN.E DINO.
 LIT RITA STINO.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let write:

LIT RITA STIN.
 LITO RITA ST.EINI.
 LITO RITA STIN.
 LITU RATA STIN.
 LITU RETA STEN.
 LITU RITA STAIN.
 LITU STAIN RITA.
 LITU RITA STAIN DIN.
 LITU RITA STAIN DINO.
 LITU RITA STAINA.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They let write:

LITA RITA STAINO.
 LITU RITA STEIN.
 LITU RITA STEN.
 LITU RITA STIN.
 LITU RITA STIN DINA.
 LITU RITA STIN DINO.
 LITU RITA STIN DINTO.
 LITU RITA STINA.
 LITU RITA STINO.
 LITU RITA STINO DISA.
 LITH RITA STONO DINA.
 LITU STAIN RITO.
 LITU RITO STIN DINO.

9. With SETA, to SET, set up, raise.

3 s. p. He set: ASATI STIN DINA.
 S.ETI STEN D.E.N.E.
 S.ETI STIN DANSI.
 SATI RUNIRSTHIN.
 SATI SIN.
 SATI STAIN.
 SATI STAIN DANSI.
 SATI STAIN DENSII.
 SATI STAIN DONSI.
 SATI STAN.
 SATI STEIN.
 SATI STEN DANSI.
 SATI STEIN DENA.
 SATI STIN.
 SATI STIN DANSI.
 SATI STIN DASI.
 SATI STIN HNSI.
 SATI STIN DONSI.
 SATI STINA.
 SATI STINA DUSI.
 SATI STNA DESI.
 SATI SUN DONSI.
 SITI STIN DONSI.
 STI STIN DASI.

3 pl. p. They set:

SATI STEN.
 SATU STIN.
 SATU STIN DANSI.
 SATU STIN DASI.
 SAUTU STAIN DANSI.
 SETU STAIN AUK STAKA MARGA.
 SITO STAIN DINA.
 SITU STIN.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let set:

LET SITA STIN DINO.
 LIT SETIA STAIN DENA.

10. With SKIRA, to SHEAR. SHARE, cut, carve, score.

3 s. p. with Inf. He let score:

LIT GIARA STAIN OK SKIRA.

11. With UNA, to UNNE, let make, order.

3 pl. p. with Inf. They caused:

UTU RISA STIN DINI.

A mass of similar and still greater variations might be brought together in the scores of forms assumed by other, the commonest words, such as FADIR, father; MUMR, mother; SUNR, son; TUTIR, daughter; BRUDIR, brother; SUSTIR, sister; BUANTI, bonde, yeoman; master; husband; TRINKR, dreng, soldier; DIKN,thane, soldier; ANT, ANTI, ond, soul; &c. &c. &c. But the reader can make lists for himself. This variation is patent to all, even after making every allowance for letters "omitted for shortness" and for the few "misristings" which may now and then occur, but which are *extremely* rare.

RAISA, to raise, should make its past tense RAISTI; while RISTA, to rist, carve, should make its past tense RIST. But it will be observed above that these two verbs are manifoldly confounded in the past tense. It will therefore be useful to collect here a few examples of the way in which the stonemasons distinguish between the RAISING and the WRITING of the block:

- LITU RITA (let write) STEN IOK (hewed) RUNI DISA¹.
 LITU HAKUA (let hew) STAIN DINSA RISTI (carved) STAIN DISA².
 LIT GIARA (let make ready) STAIN OK SKIRA (score, cut)³.
 LIT KARA (let gare) MERKI, RISTI (carved)⁴.
 LIT KIARA (let prepare) MIRKI, RISTI (risted) EL⁵.
 REIST (carved) MIK OAK (and) REISTI (raised)⁶.
 RAIST (raised) STAIN DINSI KAIRDI (made) KUML DAUSI⁷.
 RAISTI (raised) RAIST (carved) RUNER⁸.
 RAISTI (raised) STAIN DINA REISTI (risted) STEIN DANA⁹.
 RAISTI (raised) STAIN RISTI (wrote) RUNAR¹⁰.
 RAISTI (raised) ISTAIN (r)UNAR R(ait) (wrote)¹¹.
 RESTI (raised) STEN RISTI (carved)¹².
 RISI (raised) STIN DANKA AK KUML SK(A)R (cut) RU(nar)¹³.
 RAISTU (raised) STAIN HIUKU (hewed) RUNIR¹⁴.
 RISTU (raised) STAIN DINA RAISTI (carved) K (? = KIN) RUNAR¹⁵.
 LIT RAISA (let raise) SAEN DINA KA(irpi) (wrote) (run)¹⁶.
 L(it rai)SA (let raise) STAIN DENA (hiak)U (carved) STAIN DENA¹⁷.
 LIT RAISA (let raise) STAIN DONA RIST(i) (carved)¹⁸.
 LET RASA (let raise) STAN ARIS(?ti) (risted)¹⁹.
 LIT RAISA (let raise) STAIN DINSA RISI (carved) STAEN DINSA²⁰.
 LIT RAISA (let raise) RISTI (scored)²¹.
 LIT RASA (let raise) STAIN RISTI (carved) STAIN DINA²².
 LET RES (let raise) STEN DENA RISTI (hewed) RUNAR²³.
 LIT RISA (let raise) STIN DINA RISTI (risted) RUNAR²⁴.
 LATU RISA (let raise) STIN PANKA RISTI (carved)²⁵.
 LITU RAISA (let raise) STAINA DISA ALA RAISTI (wrote)²⁶.
 LITU RAISA (let raise) STAIN RI(sti) (wrote)²⁷.
 LITU RASA (let raise) STAIN DINO HRISTI (carved) RUNOR²⁸.
 LITU RASA (let raise) RISTI (carved)²⁹.
 LITU RISA (let raise) STIN RISTI (wrote) RUA³⁰.
 UTU RISA (got raised) STIN DINI RISTI (wrote) RUNAR PASI³¹.
 SATI (set, placed, raised) STAIN FADI (sculptured)³².

¹ Dyb. Fol. No. 150. — ² Dyb. 8vo. No. 54. — ³ Sundra, Gotl., Sæve, No. 196. — ⁴ Ed. — ⁵ Dyb. 8vo. No. 89. — ⁶ Bergemoen, Norway. — ⁷ Dyb. 8vo. No. 4. — ⁸ Kirk Onchan, Man, Cumming, pl. 10, fig. 26. — ⁹ Alstad, Norway. — ¹⁰ Dyb. 8vo. 85. — ¹¹ Id. 7. — ¹² Dyb. Fol. 63. — ¹³ Dyb. 8vo. 14. — ¹⁴ Id. 37. — ¹⁵ Dyb. Fol. 37. — ¹⁶ Dyb. 8vo. 6. — ¹⁷ Id. 41. — ¹⁸ Dyb. Fol. 119. — ¹⁹ Id. 73. — ²⁰ Id. 130. — ²¹ Id. 54 and 67. — ²² Id. 55. — ²³ Tillidse, Lolland. — ²⁴ Dyb. Fol. 68. — ²⁵ Id. 77. — ²⁶ Id. 100. — ²⁷ E. Dalby, Upland. — ²⁸ Dyb. Fol. 14. — ²⁹ Id. 56 and 91. — ³⁰ Gällstad, Upland. — ³¹ Dyb. Fol. 83. — ³² Helnes, Fyn.

LITU RITA (let write) STIN DINA RITSI (carved) RUNAR¹.

LITU RITA (let write) (stin) RUSTI (carved) RUNOR².

LITU RITO (let write) STIN DINO HIU (carved)³.

SATI (set up) STAIN DÆNSI KARDU (made) KUBL PAUSI RAIST (wrote) RUNAR PASI⁴.

SATU (they placed) KUML DUSI RIST (wrote)⁵.

It is also important to remark the technical use of the verbs for workmanship &c. connected with these runic pieces. I believe the following will be a pretty complete list.

Nouns, incidental: — ?BEKUN, beacon, mark; LOK, lodge, grave; SIAB, seat, mound, grave; STAF-MERKI, stave-mark, inscribed stone, grave-mark.

The Verbs are often used absolutely, without any noun. Thus N. N. FAPI may mean *N. N. fawed me, or made this, or hewed this stone, or carved these runes*, &c. according to circumstances. And so of KARDI, RAISTI and the rest. But they are usually followed by certain nouns, thus:

FA, to faw, fay, sculpture, fashion, make, RUNAR, runes, TYR, door.

FURA, to fere, flit, move, carry, transport, STIN, a stone.

HAUKUA, to hew, carve, HELI, a hill, cliff, rock, slab; KASI, a mark, beacon; LITR, the letters, the runes; LITMERKI, stone-mark, grave-stone; MIRKI, mark, stone; RUNAR, runes; SITU, stone-side; STAIN, stone.

HANTA, to hend, fetch, procure, get, STIN, grave-slab.

KAURUAN, to gare, make, carve, AUR, ore, sand- and shingle-bank, causeway, landing-place; BRU, bridge; BRUTAR KUML, road cumbel, way-side monument; HAUKE, how, hoy, mound; HUALF, vault, tomb; KAMB, comb, hair-comb; KAS, a beacon; KIRKIA, church; KUMBL, cumbel, mark, mound, monument, usually as a plural (the cairn, foot-stones and runic block — all as *one memorial*); KUBLMARK, cumbel-mark, memorial monument; LADBRO, land-bridge, causeway; LIK-HUS, lich-house, bone or body house, probably a resting place for the corpse at and before funerals; LITI AUK MERKI, lade (barrow, grave-mound, stone-heap) and mark, funeral stone; MARKA, marks, marking stones, grave-blocks, setting-stones; MIRKI, mark, funeral stone, grave memorial; RUNAR, runes, inscription; SANTIAR, sand-ore, shingle-bank, causeway, dyke; SBANKAR, spangs, foot-bridges, hand-bridges; SIULAUS, sele-house, wayfarers' inn, house of refuge; SKAID, ?ship-setting (of small stones); STAIN, stone, inscribed block; STAIN-BRU, stone-bridge; STAIN-HUALF, stone-vault, tomb of hewn stone; STEN-KAR, stone-coffin, stone-kist; STEN-MERKI OK BURO, stone-mark and bridge; STEAKAR, stakes, funeral wands or pillars or setting-stones; BRUI, thruch, stone-kist.

GIARA OK LEGGIA, to make and lay, STAIN, the funeral stone.

KUBLA, to cumbel, raise a cumbel, erect a grave-mark.

LEGIA, to lay, BRU, a bridge; STAIN, a grave-stone, a lying slab, flat tomb-stone, as in the later Christian times; I STENDRU, in a stone-thruch, stone-coffin.

MARKA, to mark, write, inscribe, STAIN, grave-block.

RISAN, to raise, erect, BRU, bridge; HUAF (? = HUARF, stone-circle, stone-ring); KRUS, Cross, Runic Cross, Cross-shaped grave-stone; KUML, cumbel, memorial; STAF AUK STAINA, staff and stone, wand or pillar of honor and memorial stone; STAIN, grave-pillar; STAIN-HAL, stone slab; STAIN-KUMBL, stone; STAINLIT, stone-lade, stone-heap, cairn; STAIN AUK HUALF, stone and vault, the inscribed slab above ground and the tomb below; STEK, stake, ?pillar-stone memorials, grave monument.

RISTA, to rist, carve, inscribe, BITI, bind, bend, rune-wind; EL, slab, stone; MIRKI, mark, stone; RUNAR, runes; RUNARAP, rune-row, line of runes, runic carving; STAIN, stone.

RITA, to write, RUNAR, runes, STAIN, stone.

SBIRNA, to spore, score, carve, STAIN.

SETA, to set up, raise; KUML, cumbel; MARKI, mark, grave-stone; STAIN, stone; STAKA, stakes, stone-settings.

SKIRA, to score, cut, inscribe, STAIN, stone.

SKRIFA, to write, carve, STAIN.

UINA to WIN, make, fashion, STAF, a staff.

(Other words and combinations will doubtless be discovered.)

The Icelanders commonly make a distinction according to the material. They say KLAPPA I STEINA (to carve on stone), but RISTA when speaking of wood. I have not seen this KLAPPA on any runic monument; but it is found in the Gotland Law, and is still used in Gotland, for *to cut*.

If we now tabulate a few of the words, we shall see how wild and rich the dialectic forms are, and that they sometimes show fragments of much older tung-fall.

ARTICLE AND DEMONSTRATIVE DE.

Usually omitted. When found, sometimes precedes, sometimes follows the noun. Both in form (by adding the emphatic, declined or undeclined, enclitic *si*) and in meaning, it often signifies also THIS and THAT.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
n. s.	DA	DA	DETТА	ac. s.	DASA		
	LE	DAUN	DAT		DASI		
	DAN	.....	DITA		DANSR		
	DASI				DEISI		
	DAT				DENA		
	DE				DENE		
	DESE				DENO		
g. s.	E	.....	LORS		DENSI		
	DIS				DENTSA		
d. s.	DEMJE	DETRI	TI		DESA		
	DEMMLE	DAIRI	DI		DESI		
	DAIM	.....	DU		DANSA		
	DAIMA				DIYNO		
	DAIMSI				DIN		
	LIM				DINA		
	DISUM				DINASA		
ac. s.	HENI	TISA	HENNA		DINI		
	HISAN	DJLN	I ENJE		DINNA		
	HISSAN	DAISI	DEANNA		DINO		
	TAN	IASA	DETE		DINSA		
	TE ¹	DASI	DETТА		DENSI		
	TINA	DEANNA	DANSI		DANSO		
	TINNA	DESA	DAT		DINTSA		
	TINSA	DESI	DATSI		DINU		
	TISAN	DESSA	DALSI		DISA		
	TISSAN	DLEU	DESA		DISE		
	ILIN	DISA	DET		DISE		
	DEJNE	DISE	DISA		INI		
	DENN	DISI	DISI		INA		
	DENNI	DOSA	DITA		DOI		
	DALSI	TONI	DITSI		DOANSI		
	DAN	.....	DOSI		DOI		
	DANA	.....	DUSI		DOHSE		
	DANE				DON		
	DANI				DONA		
	DANO				DONO		
	DANSA				DONSI		
	DANSI				DOYS		

¹ Perhaps ac. pl.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
n. s.	EIN	HIN	HITTA
	HIN	IN	
g. s.	EINS		
	HINS		
	INS		
d. s.	IN (? um)		
ac. s.	HIN	.....	HITA
	HINA		
	HINNA		
	IN		

THE NOUNS

exhibit many curious forms. Most of the archaisms in strong masculines will be best understood by comparing them with the endings in the masc. vocative nouns in Pali (for instance class 1), compared with the Sanscrit. Here we have the Sanscrit nomin. AH (AS) reduced to O, the Sanscrit gen. ASYA reduced to ASSA, the Sanscrit dat. AYA retained in Pali, the Sanscrit ac. AM or AN also AM in Pali, but *this M has become a nasal sound*, and in Pracrit it *falls away altogether*.

There are some few nom. masc. in s, RUULFASTS, DURALFS, THURGEIS, (this last in a Latin inscription), HÆLEIS, OSLAKS, &c. In England, on coins from the first half of the 9th century, we have ALDATES, GADUTES.

This s is usually R, also IR, but it also passes over to a vowel, or falls away. There have sometimes been 2, or 3 different declensions, in R, in I, and so on, thus separate forms of the same word. We also find not only the usual masc. weak "declension" in I, oblique cases A, but also a "declension" in A, oblique cases I, and in A, oblique cases A, besides a confusion of all three, this technical phrase "declension" being only another term for this same endless "variety". A sometimes stands for I, as ARUA for ARUI (— ARFI). Some feminines, as ARTID, KYDEFI, add I; so some neuters, as MYPKINI.

s and AR often interchange in the genitive of strong masculines, and the R is sometimes added (GUDRS). When we find s elided (as in ROBFOAR = ROBFOAR), it reminds us of the s in the Sanscrit g. s. in AYAS (from a fem. stem in A), which is sometimes compressed to AÊ.

In all our dialects nouns are occasionally undeclined in the gen. sing. Hence the Runic (Dyb. Svo. 55) HAN OAR IRFYKR URN KYKERID, *he was become I(n)kikrith's heir*; (Gällstad, Upland) AT HUTA, FADURI SEN, SUN DORBIARN, *at (to) Huti, father sin (his), son of-Thorbiarn*.

Prof. C. Sæve has already pointed out (Gutn. Urk. p. xv) that in feminines, where the M. Goth. has -ONS in the gen. sing. and nom. and ac. pl., the common Scandian dialects by their usual elision of N and change of O to U and of S to R — have gotten UR, but that in the gen. sing. the R also has fallen away, so that for instance WIKU makes g. WIKU, n. pl. WIKUR, ac. pl. WIKUR. But the Gotland dialect has preserved this R in the genitive, so that the g. s. of WIKU is there WIKUR. He has also pointed out many examples of the same archaism in the rest of Scandinavia, showing that it is very antique and must formerly have been widely spread. This explains such runic genitives as KUNUR, KIRKIUR, IKUR, RUNUR, for which see the Appendix¹. The paradigm then will be:

	M. Goth.	Gotlandic.	Usual O. Scand.
n. s.	WIKO	WIKU	WIKU
gen.	WIKONS	WIKUR	WIKU
n. a. pl.	WIKONS	WIKUR	WIKUR

¹ In his treatise "De oldnordiske navneords bøjning" (Tidsskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik, Vol. 6, p. 49), Dr. K. J. Lyngby gives another, merely mechanical and capricious, explanation of this form in -UR; "-x", he says, "has come into this declension from the gen. sing. of A-stems (N. I. GJAFAR) and I-stems". But he admits the antiquity of the form, by whatever theory it may be explained.

Datives, of all genders, sometimes end in a vowel, E, IE, I, O, U, &c., but they have frequently cast the vowel away from the oldest times.

So accusatives sing. masculine often end in a vowel, A, EI, O, U, &c., often the same word having many forms, as STÆINI, STAINA, STYINY, STANO, STINO, &c. But the accusative ending is often -R (KAIRIELMR, ROBKUTR, SILYDR, ASTULFR, IKRIDR, UIFASTR, &c.) as occasionally in the oldest parchments, this R being only a dull vocalism. In the mass of words the vowel, or its representative -R, has long since died out. The M has everywhere fallen away.

ADJECTIVES,

besides idiotisms like SUN OSKAUS RAUDUMSKIALTA¹ (*the shielded with-red, the red-shielded*), have endings in U and O (RYKIU, g. s. m.), (I RAUDU SIO²); accusatives s. masc. in A (the N vocalized) ÆIN TURUTIN FASTA³, FADUR SIN MAN KIUNA⁴; or in U, AT UBI BUANTI SIN DURU⁵; and definites in A, (DOÆ TURA⁶); in Y, (SUARTHAFDY); in I and U, (PURI, UASKU); in OA, (AUFTI KARL HIN KUDOA⁷); besides indefinites in ON, (UHMESKON HAL⁸), and RU (HARPO KUDRU DIN⁹). — We have also nominatives and accusatives pl. in o, and such datives as I LITLA RONUM¹⁰, and the common I HUITA UADUM.

PRONOUNS,

as might be expected, exhibit precious archaisms. See the Appendix. We will here only mention the Swedish (and occasional Danish) DAUN, and the Swedish DISUN, &c. These numnating nom. and ac. plurals neuter of DE remind us of the Sanscrit and Pali n. pl. n. TANI. The d. s. m. DAIMA, &c. has the Gothic parallel DAMMA. The old DINA¹¹, g. s. of DU, = OF-THEE, has such sideforms as the oldest Swedish SINA, gen. sing. of the reflective pronoun, and as the M. Goth. SEINA, &c. &c.¹². — SIN, his, her, its, their, has the following forms¹³:

¹ Rönninge, Fyn. — ² Lie, Norway. — ³ Skjern, N. Jutland. — ⁴ Dyb. 8vo. No. 98. — ⁵ Aspa, Södermanland. — ⁶ Skjern. — ⁷ Hobro, N. Jutland. — ⁸ Söndervissing, N. Jutland. — ⁹ Asferg, N. Jutland. — ¹⁰ Gotland. Sive, No. 122. — ¹¹ Sylling, Norway.

¹² Moritz Heyne has pointed out a similar very remarkable archaism in West-Frisic, the use of JEMMA for YOU, the Ohg. IER, M. G. JUS, Sanscrit-Vedic *ru-s-mê*. "Unter den Pluralformen müssen wir (neben dem ahd. *ie-r*, das ganz zu goth. *ju-s* stimmt und das im Dillinger Psalmenfragment Ps. 113, 15 gewährt wird) einer eigentümlichen westfriesischen Form des Plurals der zweiten Person gedenken. Sie lautet *jemma* für den nom. gen. und acc. in Urkunden bei Schwarzenberg sowol wie im Westerlauwerschen Texte bei Richthofen, verstimmt *jemma* und *jemman*, und verdient, da sie durch Alter und gute Erhaltung merkwürdig ist, einige besprechende Worte. Das schliessende *s* des gothischen *ju-s* ist nämlich nicht anders wie das von *wei-s*. Rest einer angehängten Pronominal-Partikel *-sma* (vergleiche das vedische *ru-s-mê* ihr, *a-smê* wir), welches in dem ahd. altnord. Dialecte zu *r* wurde, in den sächsischen und friesischen aber abfiel, soweit nicht das westfriesische das gesammte Suffix gegen alle Dialecte gewahrt hat; denn *je-mma* steht durch Assimilation für *je-sma* und ist dem vedischen *ru-s-mê* noch ganz nahe." — Kurze Laut- und Flexionslehre der altgermanischen Sprachstämme, 8vo, Vol. 1, Paderborn 1862, p. 322.

¹³ The M. G. has ac. s. m.	SEIN-ANA,	f. SEIN-A,	n. SEIN-ATA and SEIN
.. O E.	SIN NE.	.. SIN-E.	.. SIN
.. N. I.	SIN-N.	.. SIN-A.	.. SITT
.. O. Fr.	SIN-NE.	.. SIN-E. SIN-NE.	.. SIN
.. O. S.	SIN-AN, SIN-EN,	.. SIN-A.	.. SIN
.. Ohg.	SIN-AN, SIN-EN. SIN-IN.	.. SIN-A. SIN-E.	.. SIN-AZ
.. Germ.	SEIN-EN,	.. SEIN-E.	.. SEIN.

As to the masc. ac. I have not yet found in Scandinavia any SINAN, still less any SINANA. Not only the -A but even the -N has everywhere fallen away. The oldest Runic laves we have of this masc. ac. are SINA, SINAI, SINE, SINI, SINO, SIN. The ac. fem. is SINA, SIN, &c., the ac. neut. SIT. In modern Scandinavia ac. masc. and fem. have both become SIN, while the ac. neut. remains SIT, Icel. SITR; SITR being a rare local or obsolete form. — Similar observations will apply, generally speaking, to the possessives MIN and MIN. — Thus in the oldest O. Engl. O. Frisic and O. Saxon the *r* in the nom. and acc. neut. had already fallen away, as it partly had even in Mæso-Gothic. In later English the whole word SIN died out. In Scandinavia the *r* was kept, but the *n* was assimilated. The Ohg., like the Scandinavian, kept this *r* (SIN-AZ), but in the modern High-German it has dropt off (SEIN). — The same rule applies to the strong Adjectives, save that in modern High-German the *r* (es) is still very often used.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
n. s.	SIN			ac. s.	SINAI		
g. s.	SINS	SIN	SINS		SINE		
	SIS	SINAR			SINO		
		SINIR			SINT		
d. s.	SINUM	SENNI	SINU		SIT		
		SINI			SN		
ac. s.	SAIN	SENA	SIT		SUN		
	SAN	SIN		d. pl.	.....	.....	SINUM
	SEN	SINA		ac. pl.	SIN	? SINAR	SIN
	SIN	SINI			SINA		
	SYN	SINO			SINI		
	SIN	SUNA			SINO		
	SINA				SINU		

THE VERBS

in these Scandinavian-runic monuments also sometimes show old endings. The chief are, the 3rd s. past in *o*, *u*, &c., and the 3rd pl. past in *i*, &c. But very remarkable are the examples of the Infinitive in *-AN*, which sometimes, the *N* falling away, leaves the vowel colored as *o*¹.

The above examples and remarks might have been greatly enlarged. But I leave the subject to more competent scholars. Certain it is, that we cannot explain all these phenomena by the phrase — that the stones are full of “mis-ristings”, “mis-hewings”, are “mis-cut”, abound in “faults of the chisel”. Such *may* occur, tho those I have detected I can count on my fingers. But the objection is inadequate. Even supposing “mis-cuttings” to any reasonable extent, they will not suffice. For these peculiarities, as we have seen, pervade the whole body of these monuments, and these stones, some of them colossal and costly, and many of them, as they expressly inform us, carved by great chiefs, the nearest kinsmen or dearest friends or brothers-in-arms of the dead warrior, or by “Rune-cunning” Masters who perpetuate their name, and who would *not* have perpetuated their gross ignorance and help-
less stupidity, either must be redd as they stand or *cease to have any value*. To pronounce “mis-hewn” or “corrupt” whatever we do not understand, is childish.

Besides, most of these monoliths could not have been carved at all without previous careful measurements and preparations. The artist must have made drawings, — at least on the stone itself, in chalk or some such material, to mark out and arrange his intricate patterns, ere he could lift his hammer. The length of his inscription would often be modified by the quality or perfectness of the block. Many contractions of the words have been occasioned by roughness or breaks in the surface diminishing the available room. And even where the design is simple and the formula short, he must usually have had to sketch it out first, perhaps in chalk, ere he could proceed, for there must be a certain harmony even in simple carvings. He could not but begin by adjusting the runes, as well as the ornaments, so as best to fill the space. Only seldom could he have worked by rule of thumb, as we say, by guess and eye. And certainly the deaceast himself would not be flattered by silly barbarisms, as little as his living friends would usually have permitted them. The carving of these remarkable monuments was too toilsome a task to risk spoiling the whole for want of a little care; and good money — then as now would not be given for bad work. This is the clearer, as almost all the mistakes I have hitherto detected have been rectified on the stone by the rune-cutter himself. There may of course be exceptions, here as elsewhere; *humanum est errare*. But mis-cuttings could never have been common; and, generally speaking, these blocks are either trustworthy monuments or only so much granite.

¹ Some interesting remarks on what was considered by him the oldest Northern, will be found in a paper by Prof. P. A. Munch, printed in “Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed”, Kjøbenhavn 1846, 8vo, pp. 219-283: — “Sproghistorisk Undersøgelse om det ældste Fælles-Nordiske Sprogs Udseende, og Forsøg til at bestemme den Olddanske og Oldsvenske Mundarts normale Orthographi, Grammatik og rette Forhold til Norrøna-Mundarten.”

But we find many of these "barbarisms" — which we now see are *archaisms* — in the oldest manuscripts, and may now hope that these skinbooks will be treated more respectfully. Yet errors in parchments, which are usually copied from older codices, the eye thus so easily misleading the hand, are, for various reasons, as all scholars know, easy enough. On laboriously hewn stone blocks such faults are almost impossible.

This great variety of form can therefore only be traced to floating dialects, older and newer things intermixt, to the efforts made to represent the sound without there being fixt spelling-laws which all could follow, to the frequent elisions of letters to spare room and labor, to the *absence* of centralization and book-written literature, and to the abiding *presence* of phonetic substitution and phonetic decay.

On the rune-stones of one single island (Gotland) we have the very short word FRU (our Old-English FROE, Lady, Mistress, Wife) spelt FRAUA, FRLA, FROIA, FROUA, FROUA, FROUA, FRU, PREYA, and in the Gotland-law FROYA.

Even at this very moment, in various parts of Scandinavia, we have local dialects where D is pronounced TH, F and V as thick B, L as thick L, V as W, H disappears where it should stand or is prefixt where it should not be, and so on, together with double negatives, and hundreds of "exceptional forms", or words, or phrases, not known save in their own districts; altho many may exist in other far-off provinces, and some may claim an antiquity as great as that of the Pali or Sanscrit.

And this is *besides* all sorts of broadenings and thinnings of vowels, diphthongizings, thickenings, doublings, slidings, interchangings, substitutions, hardenings, softenings, elisionings, all the wondrous variations both guttural and consonantic. Yet many moderns will instantly fix the nationality of a district a thousand years ago by the seventieth part of the weight of an accent in a few words in one of its many dialects early or late, — or by the dexterous splitting of one of its "slender vowels", — nay by the mere smell of a "classified consonant"!

Further discussion is superfluous. The same thing, the same billowy changeful flow, holds good in all other language-groups. In the East as in the West, in old times as in new, in German, Keltic, Slavonic, Greek, what endless varieties! And the same was the case more than 2500 years ago in "Classical Italy".

Compare, for instance, Mommsen's tables of the *Oscan* with the usual *Latin* forms.

Latin IS (he, the):						
IZIC,	n. s. m. — IS.		EYSEY,	{	loc. s. m. n. = HOC.	
IUK,	{	n. s. f. } = FA.	ESEY,			
IOC,			{			EIZEIC,
IOIK,	{	n. ac. s. n. = ID.	EKSUK,	{	abl. 1, s. m. n. = HOC.	
IOIC,			{			ESOT,
IOC,			{			EIZUC,
IN,	{	ac. s. m. = EUM.	EISUCEN,	{	abl. 2, s. m. n. = HOC.	
IONC,			{			ESUP,
Latin HIC (this), Sanser. EKAS, one:			EKHAD,	{	abl. s. f. = HAC, HIC.	
(Oscan norm EKUS and EKSUS)			EKAK,			
			EXAC,			
EKYR,	{	n. ac. s. n. = HOC.	EYSAK,	{	? n. pl. n. = HEC.	
EKSS,			{			EIZAC,
EX,			{			EKA,
EYEIC,	{	g. s. m. n. = HUIUS.	? EKAK,	{	g. pl. m. n.? = HORUM.	
EIZEIC,			{			EZUM,
EYSEYS,			{			EIZAZUNC,
EIZEIS,	{	g. s. f. = HUIUS.	EIZOIS,	{	d. abl. pl. m. n. = HIS.	
EIZASC,			{			EKASK,
			ac. pl. f. = HAS.			

Or, let us take an Oscan carving or two. Thus Mommsen, p. 180:

FLUUSAI = FLORAE.

Again, same page:

V. PUPIDIUS . V . MED . TUV
PASSTATA . EKAK . UPSAN
DEDED . ISIDU . PRUFATTR.

Vibius POPIDIUS Vibii filius MEDDIX
TUTICUS PORTICUM HANC OPER-
ANDAM (faciendam) DEDIT, IDEM PROBAVIT.

Again, next page:

V . PUPIDIUS . V . MED . TUV
AAMANAFFED . ISIDU
PRUFATTED.

Vibius POPIDIUS Vibii filius
MEDDIX TUTICUS FIERI
IUSSIT IDEM PROBAVIT.

So in Burgon's Letters from Rome, in his facsimiles of the Catacomb inscriptions, from the 1st to the 5th century, we have Bind-staves, smaller letters intermix with the rest, N and M often elided (thus COIVGI for CONIUGI), E for I (thus SENE for SINE), the archaic form QUERELLA, B for V (thus BIBAS for VIVAS), LIBERA for LIBERE, DOMITIANEN for DOMITIANE, VIROINI for VIRGINI, and so on. I quote from this work because his facsimiles are absolutely trustworthy.

Similar proofs might be adduced from antiquarian remains all the world over. Manuscripts — in spite of their comparative regularity — are full of them. Coins, Medals, Slabs, give the same evidence. I therefore recapitulate and conclude.

Separate clans and families and colonist-groups take with them their own peculiarities of tongue. According to the degree of isolation or intercourse, the influence of climate, and a thousand accidents, these peculiarities may stagnate or wear away, be cristalized or broken off, or the one shire or little kingdom may mix its speech with that of another, so that, after a thousand years, two dialects slightly differing at first may entirely coalesce, or may become so altered that the one provincial can scarcely understand the other. This has been the case everywhere. In the Northern lands it is patent to all who will see. In the early times there was no wide-spread book-literature — that great sheet-anchor for the written, and largely also for the spoken tongue. The swaying and swinging of the various shire-speeches was therefore very markt. No two codices are quite the same in words or forms, even the same page, nay the same inscribed stone, offers variations within itself. Every thing was floating. For all the characteristic unity in essentials, there was extreme variety in details. The dialects were as a boiling pot, so much the more as this was the age of the "folk-wanderings", the flow of "barbarous" peoples southward and westward, and much of this movement swept over the North. Hence the endless transitions, besides the remarkable *enclaves*, the running of the one dialect like a wedge into the local sphere of another. All this was natural. In the old days — say the first 8 or 9 centuries after Christ — the populations were strangely trans migratory, passing easily and rapidly from one ness-kingdom, one island, one main, to another. The Englishman sailed over to Sweden or Denmark, the Dane to Sweden or England, the Norseman to Iceland or Denmark, and so on, sometimes passing years in the one land only to settle finally in another. Then the bulk of the warlike men was in constant foray. The sea was a highway where all met, the land a tourney-ground for the last comer. Everybody — that is, most of the loose free population — was in Wiking, sharing in the expeditions of some lackland Sea-king, or boldly striking for "shire" or "riké" on his own account. Meanwhile the children mixt largely with the serving classes, the *slaves*, and vast numbers of these were originally free men, they or their fathers war-prisoners from lands in the North itself or the nearest kingdoms; or else they were countrymen, fellow-citizens, their own flesh and blood, reduced to serfdom *for debt*. But all this would have the greatest possible influence on the current speech.

Thus, apart from other reasons, mechanical unity of the language in all these Northern states was an impossibility, and would soon have disappeared if it had once been founded.

Of late this great truth, which must lie at the bottom of all our researches into the language actually spoken by our oldest written memorials, THE OLD-NORTHERN CARVED STONES, is *beginning* to be acknowledged. The author who has most openly and fearlessly admitted it is L. Westrem, in his last excellent work advocating a direct and immediate United Scandinavia¹.

¹ "Mere om. Enhedskandinavi-men. og om vore indre Reformer". Bergen 1862, 8vo, p. 43 fol.

As yet we cannot treat the question either exhaustively or comparatively. Materials and Men are wanting for enquiries of this sort. In all Great Britain and Ireland we have only *one* Professor of Old-English, *one* historical expounder of English, confessedly the mightiest and richest and most world-swaying of the modern languages. The Scandinavians have only lately gotten one Professor of their old mother-tung at *each* of their Universities. This whole movement is modern. We have only just ceast from blindly worshipping "the Classics". At the beginning of this century there was no Professor of Old-Scandinavian at any High-Northern University.

The consequence is that we have *all* of us, in England and in Scandinavia, an enormous mass of work to go thro. We must give up transcribing and stealing from humdrum "Grammars". We must cease manufacturing certain given "normals". We must dig down into each separate speech-mine, and register its contents, each for itself. We must examine every document, botching and altering nothing, least of all "rectifying" without notice and without retaining in a note the words we change. In how many such rashly altered lines lie hidden rare words, or forms from a far older age! We must begin with the oldest Inscribed Stones and other Carved Remains, pass over to the venerable bookfells, continue thro the Middle Age, the Reformation period, and so down to our own time, noting and classifying everything, idioms, terminations, constructions, genders, the whole word-hoard, as shown in each class of the people, at every period, in each distinct language-district.

When all this is tolerably accomplisht, and not till then, we may again begin to dogmatize, and write National Grammars and big books, and copy each other. We shall then have some right to our say, and may utter something worth remembering. At present we want workers, diggers, silent students, not bookmakers. Let us first get the honest and solid nuggets, and we can soon mint them into the handy popular sovereigns.

When all the Northern lands have thus done their work, we may form some idea of the famous Northern Tung ere it had toucht the English shores, following it on its course thro North and Middle and Southern England, tracing it as it split, see how original clan-differences became mighty kingdom-speeches — until at length they had well nigh forgotten each other's tones and lineaments. We shall then see that all of them have lost much, all kept much, all battled much, all borne home foreign fee and trophy — the latter too often to their scathe — and that all have much to learn from each other. We shall then admit that Old-English is by far the oldest Northern dialect of which numerous monuments remain, and that the Scandinavian dialects in all their changes remain Northern.

Thus, instead of seeking for, and being angry because we cannot find, one imaginary Old-Northern tung sweeping in iron uniformity over an enormous slice of Europe from the Finnish Gulf to the Scottish Highlands and over half Ireland, we shall perceive scores of talks melting into each other, the folk-speeches of Sweden passing into those of Norway and Denmark, the East-Danish drifting into the West-Danish, these again into the clan-dialects of Frisland and England and Saxland, these equally transitional to the other Flenish and German tungs, until we come to patois strangely made up of Germanic and Romance. The modern axiom — "there is no overgang in language", is eminently absurd. All Nature is full of transition. All Language abounds with it. That we sometimes do not see it, is simply the effect of preconceived systems and theories.

In a word. Let *us* study Scandinavian, and ennoble and restore our mother-tung. Let the Scandinavians study Old-English as well as their own ancient records, give up mere provincial views, and melt their various dialects into one shining, rich, sweet and manly speech, as we have done in England. Their High-Northern shall then live for ever, the home-language of 8 millions of hardy freemen, our brothers in the East-sea, our Warings and Guardsmen against the grasping clutches of the modern Hun and the modern Vandal. The time may come when the kingdom of CNUT may be restored in a nobler shape, when the band of Seakings shall rally round one Northern Union Standard, when *one* sceptre shall sway the seas and coasts of our forefathers from the Thames to the North-Cape, from Finland to the Eider!

RUNIC REMAINS AND RUNIC WRITING.

Diggings and accident have time after time brought to light many remarkable things. Barbarous destruction and shortsighted greed have again annihilated most of them. One of the oldest and largest of these finds in our lands is that described by Matthew Paris¹. He gives a most interesting account of the systematic excavations among the ruins of Verulamium (Wærlamceaster), in the earlier part of the 11th century, by two successive Abbots of St. Albans, Ealdred and Eadmer. The latter especially is said to have exhumed masses of curiosities and stones and treasure, most of which he ruined as heathen, while he kept the rest for building his intended new church. Thomas Wright, Esq., F. S. A., has an instructive paper on all this².

Generally speaking, ancient Inscribed Stones and other Remains have been demolished or used or "realized" as fast as they have turned up, and what is left is only a handful out of the heap. We are now beginning to be more careful; but the harvest has been reapt. Modern times can only hope for partial success in accumulating olden monuments. Under these circumstances we must make the most of what we have, treat them with religious care, and copy them with the utmost exactness. Written pieces should be precious to us as the apple of our eye, for they bear our oldest Mother-tongue, our oldest social and political history.

And this "history" is not the less "historical" that we know nothing, commonly, of the persons mentioned. Most of the names cannot be identified. I have not been anxious to find at every step Gods and Kings and Heroes and Mysteries. On the contrary. Every stone or ornament marked JOHN did not belong to King JOHN of England. Every tomb inscribed ELIZABETH is not that of our great Queen. Every ALEXANDER was not the famous Greek. There were commoner people in old days as well as now. Where the monument says so, I attribute it to an historical personage. Otherwise I let it alone.

All I can lay claim to is hard work and honesty. The labor of gathering and engraving and elucidating these pieces has been immense. Their interpretation has been in strict accordance with the laws of the Runes and of the ancient Dialects. I have not invented or doctored or twisted or fancied or altered or added a single letter. I take everything as it stands, and control myself at every step by giving the reader the most exact facsimiles possible. All is from originals or casts or rubbings or photographs, and I everywhere state my proceedings and authorities. I have had no theory to prove, no school to establish. Whatever the faults of my texts and versions, the pieces themselves will remain invaluable to the linguist and the antiquary. Others may succeed in deciphering, where I have failed. Still, tho I may often have erred on points of detail, the general results will, I think, remain unshaken. The language of these remains is so old, and the specimens are so few and so short, and the floating dialects were so many, and the pieces extend over so wide a space both of land and of time — that we are always at a loss, always compelled to be tentative, to feel our way, to dogmatize in nothing, to suggest rather than conclude.

I therefore submit this attempt to the *kindly* consideration of the learned world. Real Scholars will be well aware of the difficulties, will criticize and correct with candor and mildness. Surely bitterness and malice should never intrude into such far-off and harmless domains!

Passing by rudely scratcht or carved but Staveless blocks, the earliest sparingly found Symbol-stones in kists and cromlechs and raths and cairns and wild rocks, bearing *marks* (simple strokes or rings or concentric circles or stars or angles or zigzags or cup-shapes or honeycomb patterns, and so on) but NOT *letters*, these artless risings apparently made with stone tools and dating chiefly from the

¹ Hist Major, Lond. 1640, folio. Appendix p. 41, Eadmarus nonus.

² "On Antiquarian Excavations and Researches in the Middle Ages". Archæologia, Vol. 30, London 1844, 4to, p. 438-457.

Stone Age and constituting the hieroglyphics of the stone people in the Scandinavian and British lands as elsewhere, — it would be a great thing if we had a comprehensive Account of British as of Scandian Iron Age Monuments, Churchyard and Wayside Crosses, &c., Inscribed (Stave-stones) or Figured (Bild-stones) or both (Stave Bild-stones), and whether Keltic or English. Many valuable materials now exist particularly for Ireland¹, Scotland², Man³, &c., while we can get a general and popular idea of especially English funeral stones in Mr. Cutts' Handbook⁴. But masses remain *in situ*, or in County or Collegiate Descriptions and Topographical works, or in the numberless and scattered volumes of Academies and learned Societies. Still we have enough to trace the gradual transition of styles from the early and simple to the copiously worded and luxuriantly decorated of later times; and from the Un-inscribed slab with a bare Cross or Sword or both, or Shield or Sheers or Key or both, or Horn or Chalice, &c., the mark of Sex or Profession, to the beautiful floriations of the middle age. To these would naturally be added Brasses, Tombs, Reclining figures, and so on. The whole would gradually fall into local or race groups, and would show distinctive styles amid general similarity. Thus of the splendid ornamental Crosses at Carew, Pembrokeshire, and at Nevern, the accomplished Prof. Westwood observes: "these crosses exhibited only two of the principal types characteristic of ancient British and Irish work: the spiral pattern and the interlaced dragon design being never found in Wales, where also all the crosses, unlike those of Iona, the Isle of Man, and Ireland, are almost invariably destitute of figures"⁵.

But, confining ourselves to Written Stones, in spite of the terrible destruction here as elsewhere, we can yet trace the flux of the population and the characters they employed for nearly 2000 years, or about the same period as in Scandinavia.

First and earliest, in my opinion, are the monuments bearing the Ogham Marks. Some 300 of these pillar-stones have been found in Ireland, which country bears the same relation in this respect to the other Keltic lands as Sweden does to the Northern as to Runes. The great mass of the Ogham stones is in Ireland; the great mass of the Runic stones is in Sweden. Only about a dozen Ogham blocks have been found in Scotland, and scarcely so many in England and Wales. These Ogham staves are every way so peculiar, that they at once strike the antiquarian student. The dispute is still hotly carried on, whether they are "Heathen" or "Christian". The same debate once was equally lively as to the Runes. Now, all agree that the latter are undoubtedly of Pagan origin. I cannot conceive how any one can question that the former were equally so, equally the most ancient stave-row of Keltic civilization. In my eyes they seem a faint and distant echo of the Arrow-headed characters used in Babylon &c. As far as I know, they have never even once been found in Scandinavia, and could never have been transplanted thence. Taking the Babylonian as *the one branch* of the oldest stave-writing, the Ogham is apparently its only now known Western representative; of course I speak of the idea and general look. Assuming the Phœnician signs to be kindred to our oldest remains of *the other branch*, we find *its* traditions in a host of alphabets including the various Greek, Italian and Runic. But the Runic constitute a class by themselves. Like as the Phœnician, from the order and names of its letters, is called the ALEPH-BETH-GIMEL, the Greek the ALPHABETA, the Latin the ABCEDARIUM, and the Ogham or Irish-Gaelic the BEITH-LUINNION, — so the Runic has its own peculiar FUTHORC.

But this assumed antiquity and wide spread of the Oghams is contrary to the testimony of Cæsar. He says (De Bello Gallico, 6, 14) that the Druids — the heads of Keltic Civilization out of Ireland — did not commit their sacred lore to writing, but in other things and for other purposes ("in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, GRÆCIS utantur litteris") used GREEK letters. Now nothing is more unlike than *Greek* letters, even the oldest and most "barbarous", and *Oghams*. They have absolutely nothing in common. Either Cæsar therefore must have been misinformed, or he purposely misled others, or the Druids had copied these letters from some Greek colonists at or a little before his time — a thing utterly incredible and of which we have not a shadow of proof. If the

¹ Henry O'Neill. The Sculptured Crosses of Ancient Ireland.

² John Stuart. Sculptured Stones of Scotland, Aberdeen 1856, folio. The second volume is in the press.

³ Rev. J. G. Cumming. Runic and other Monumental Remains of the Isle of Man.

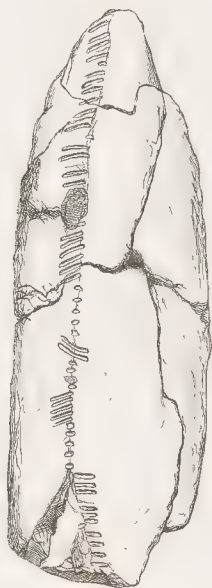
⁴ Manual of Sepulchral Slabs. London 1849, 8vo.

⁵ Archæological Journal, Vol. 3, p. 70.

Druids were in any degree Kelts and had written characters at all, their letters *must* have been the Oghams¹, for the COELBREN Y BEIRZ, or *Stave of the Bardic Signs*, the so-called "Ancient British Characters", must be far later than Cæsar's time. At all events these Oghams are the oldest characters in the British Islands. These Ogham monuments will be satisfactorily explained in the great work on the Ogham Remains, from the pen of the Very Rev. Charles Graves, D. D., President of the Royal Irish Academy, for which the learned world is waiting so anxiously.

Meanwhile, as a specimen, I copy from the Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, Vol. 3, 8vo, Dublin 1856, p. 405, scale 1 inch to a foot, the ancient Ogham block found in a Rath at

DUNBEL, KILKENNY, IRELAND.



The only reading of the inscription which I have seen, is that by Mr. W. Williams, Dungarvan, in the same Journal, New Series, 8vo, Vol. 1, Dublin 1856, p. 334:

SAN LIC H-EOLDCHUD TACDAC.

Sacred stone of Eochaidhe of the excavations.

Next in order come what we may call the Ogham-Roman stones, those which have the same or nearly the same resting in *both* Ogham and Roman characters. They of course show contact with, and the great influence of, the incoming mighty Roman Civilization. They are very rare, and appear to belong to about the 5th century. I will also give one specimen of this class, taken from the same Journal, New Series, Vol. 3, Dublin 1861, p. 233, to which it had been transferred from Archæologia Cambrensis, 3rd Series, Vol. 6, pp. 128-136.

¹ Should Cæsar have meant, that, "in other public and private business" — that is, in things *not* connected with their own lore and traditions and annalistic carvings and funeral inscriptions, in other words for practical purposes in their dealings with men to whom the Oghams were unreadable scratches — they used Greek characters, as a common and well-known alphabet, which they had picked up from the Greek traders and colonists, just as Latin letters were afterwards used in exactly the same way, his observation may pass. Greek as a *Commercial* stave-row among the Kymrians was possible, even likely. But this would not touch their own private and national Oghams.

ST. DOGMAEL'S, CARDIGAN, WALES.



This monolith is about 7 feet high, from about 9 to 12 inches in breadth, and about 7 inches thick. It is of porphyritic greenstone, which resists lichen and preserves its smooth surface. Hence its fresh appearance. As read by Professor Graves, the Oghamic characters, taken as usual from below upwards and from left to right, give:

SAGRANI MAQI CVNOTAMI.

This is again given, in the Roman-British capitals carved on the stone:

SAGRANI FILI CVNOTAMI.

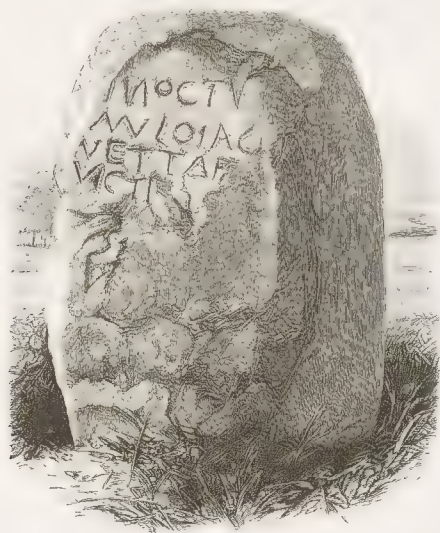
SAGRANI (SAGRANI) MAC (son) of-CVNATAMI (CVNOTAMI).

Similar small variations in the readings of the two alphabets also occur on the Runic bilingual monuments.

The third class is what we may call the Roman-British stones. Found chiefly in Wales, they seem to date from about the 3rd or 4th century, and to run down to about the 6th or 7th, now and then a little later, some few to the early Middle Age. A few evidently Pagan, others are as clearly Christian. On these pieces Roman minuscules often show themselves, but the oldest are in Roman uncial. As an example of this group I have selected the famous Kirkliston stone, Edinburghshire, Scotland, raised apparently about 369-375. I have fixt on this one because, in my opinion, it in a sense belongs to and illustrates this work. I regard it as casting light on Northern monuments and anti-

quities and history in general, and have therefore devoted some pages to its discussion. Should this little episode¹ weary the reader, he can — skip it and pass on!

KIRKLISTON, EDINBURGHSHIRE, SCOTLAND.



In the Parish of Kirkliston, on the north side of the road to Linlithgow, between the 6th and 7th milestone from Edinburgh, stands the famous CAT-STONE (= BATTLE-STONE), within a hundred yards of the south bank of the Almond and about 3 miles above the entrance of the stream into the Firth of Forth, at the old Roman station of Cramond, or *Caer Amond*. It has stood there from time immemorial.

This massive and unhewn block of Greenstone-trap is about 4½ feet high above ground, about 4 feet 5 inches wide, and 3 feet 3 inches in thickness. Many large boulders of the same kind lie in the bed of the neighboring river. When examined by Dr. Simpson, this grave-mark was found to rest on a basis of stones forming the remains of a built stone kist, but this had been opened and harried in previous times, so that nothing was found within. About a century and a half ago, when agriculture had not yet done its work, this pillar, according to Mr. Lhwyd, stood on a regular barrow about 21 feet in diameter, raised above the rest of the ground, and in a ring about it lay large stones, placed lengthwise. These have all disappeared, having doubtless found a "better", more "practical" use, and thus unhappily the centre-block alone remains. The whole district around shows many signs of having been a battle-field; bones, skeletons, stone-kists, bronze and iron weapons, &c., have been found repeatedly².

¹ I published the substance of these remarks (in Danish) as early as 1863, in "*Slesvigske Provindsialetteretninger*". Vol. 4, Part 3, 8vo, Haderslev, p. 190-208.

² "Of late years several attempts have been made with a view to discover if there were in the vicinage of the Cat Stone relics of any description, but these were quite bootless. Recently, however, Mr. Hutchison, of Carlowrie, after vainly trying to the west of the stone, went a little to the east of it, where none had ever thought of excavating before, and here, within 2 ft. or so of the surface, he was fortunate enough to light on a stone kist. In a very short time his men came upon others, and there are now lying exposed to view thirty or forty, and probably many more will yet be found. These kists are of the rudest description, being composed of undressed stones placed together edgeways in coffin form, a large slab forming the bottom of the coffin, into which the corpse appears to have been laid, and then stones were placed above them as a lid. The coffins are all placed so that the faces of the corpses might look to the east, and are ranged in rows, with from a foot to two feet between each, and all on the same level. There are portions of three rows laid bare, and in one row there are upwards of a dozen coffins to be seen. The coffins were not airtight, neither were the lids so closely fitting as to keep out the earth. The consequence is that they have all become filled with mould, but a very perfect skull was discovered, and portions of others." — *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1864, p. 15. — Thus we have here a fresh group of burial-finds, and quite near to the Stone.

The name always borne by the monument, the "CAT-STANE", points to the same fact; for the first part of this compound is the well-known Gaelic word CAT, which, in its various forms, in all the Keltic dialects signifies *fight, battle*.

From the above description it will be evident that this is a *heathen* memorial. The block itself with its absence of any Christian sign or formula, together with the additional features of the cairn on which it stands and the stone ring at its base, are proofs sufficient.

Of this remarkable pillar a very valuable, complete and learned account has lately been published in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and also separately, 4to, under the title: "The Cat-Stane, Edinburghshire, is it not the Tombstone of the Grandfather of Hengist and Horsa? By J. Simpson, M. D., F. R. S. E., &c.; Edinburgh 1862", pp. 51.

As this question has been answered by Dr. Simpson *in the affirmative*, and has excited the liveliest interest and debate, in some quarters a strong opposition; as this North-English stone is thus connected with one of the Heroes of that noble Northern Race *THI FRJA FRISA, the free Frisians*, the great connecting link between the English and the Jutlanders and who shared so largely in colonizing England; as I entirely coincide with Dr. Simpson; and as I think I have added yet others to his arguments; I beg to give a copy of the monument and a sketch of its history, referring for other information to the pages of the excellent book just cited, from which I freely borrow several of the details here laid before the reader.

The oldest notice of this stone is that by Mr. Edward Lhwyd, the great Welsh archæologist, who in 1700 communicated an account of it to the "Mona Antiqua Restaurata", besides which in the "Philosophical Transactions" of the same year was given his drawing of the block, quite rough and simple but exactly agreeing with the monument as it now stands, the inscription in this copy being as follows:

INOC TU
MULOIACIT
VETTAF
VICTI-

This, the first known drawing¹, is re-engraved by Dr. Simpson at page 12, and at p. 8 he gives us a beautiful view of the pillar as seen at some distance, when fully exposed by the diggings made beneath it. Here again we have *the same* carving as was communicated by Mr. Lhwyd 162 years before. But, to be entirely exact, Dr. S. obtained a delicate photograph of the monolith, and this he has engraved at p. 14, again with *the same* result; the letters remain as in the earliest copy. This beautiful woodcut I have given above, excellently copied for me by Messrs. Henneberg and Rosenstand of Cheapinghaven. — Dividing the letters into words, we have:

IN OC TYMVLO	|	IN THIS TOMB (barrow)
IACIT VETTA	|	LIES (-slain) VETTA
Filius] VICTI.	|	SON of-VICTA.

The small o, as well as other letters smaller than the rest, may often be remarkt in the oldest inscriptions both Classical and Runic, which also very frequently omit the aspirate — thus oc for hoc. Such tied staves as mv are also common. Whether the second i in IACIT was ever e, we cannot say, the stone being very much weathered here; nor is it of moment either way, both IACIT and IACET occurring promiscuously in very old writings. The word was originally and properly employed (= *lies struck down*) of those who had died in battle, or otherwise a violent death; this is most probably the sense here. F for FILIUS, is a usual contraction. VETTA retains its original nominative form, but VICTA has victi for its genitive. "Thus, Horsa is sometimes made, like Victa, a noun of the second declension, in conjunction with the use of Hengist, Vortimer, &c., as unaltered nominatives. Thus, Nennius tells us in his "Chronicon ex Chronicis", in the "Monumenta Historica", pp. 523 and 627, "Guortemor cum Hengist et Horso pugnabat". (Cap. xlv.) According to Henry of Huntingdon, "Gortimer ex obliquo aciem Horsi desrupit", &c. (Lib. ii)." (*Simpson l. c. p. 34.*)

The age of this stone is scarcely doubtful. The somewhat debased Roman Capitals, the form of the letters and all the circumstances point to about the 4th or 5th century. This was the opinion

¹ An Anglo-Swedish gentleman, Mr. Alexander Seton, unaware of any older copy, made an independent (nearly correct) drawing. This he communicated to Prof Sjöborg, who engraved it in his "Samlingar", Vol. 3, 1890, Fig. 76. See his text, p. 114.

of Mr. Lhwyd, has been supported by those excellent authorities the Rev. D. H. Haigh and Prof. Westwood, is adopted by Dr. Simpson, and in my opinion cannot be contravened. England offers great facilities for questions of this kind, containing as it does 2 to 300 inscribed stones of the Roman period and nearly as many Roman-British stones, these latter running from about the 4th century down to the 11th or 12th, all of them written in the Latin tongue, the earliest (the Ogham-Roman) bearing an inscription, substantially the same in meaning, in Ogham marks¹.

But before we proceed, let us recapitulate the task before us. We have here:

1. A Heathen stone.
2. Of the 4th or 5th century.
3. Bearing Roman letters and words.
4. To commemorate a fallen chieftain, with a name so excessively rare that Dr. Simpson has only found it 3 times in English literature, and I only once in Old-Northern².
5. It has also his father's name, one rarer still. Dr. Simpson gives no other instance³.
6. And both these names are Frisic, both having apparently past into the modern Frisic mansname WITTE, spelt with slight variations in older writers. This is the "VITTHO, Fresorum pirata", of Saxo Grammaticus, lib. 2.

We are accustomed to view the descent upon Kent by the Jutes and Frisians in 428 — now universally admitted to be the right date — as the first appearance of the Northern, Saxon and German tribes in England. But this is a mere error. Besides the Emperors in Britain Tetricus and Carausius, who were both of them probably of "barbarian" birth, and who would doubtless introduce numbers of their landsmen, Marcomanni were established in England by Marcus Antoninus (between 164 and 180), Vandals and Burgundians by Probus (between 276-282), Alamanni under Crocus by Constantine in 306, Bucinobantes (an Alamannic clan) under Fraomarius by Valentinian about 372, and others. And these were not birds of passage, roving regiments, as in our times; they were limitean soldiers, guards of the march, *legionary colonists*, settled on the Lætic (public) lands, and training their children to defend their homes and the legionary banner. In short, Sir Francis Palgrave tersely remarks (Hist. of England, Vol. 1, p. 20): — "Upwards of forty of those barbarian legions, some of Teutonic origin, and other Moors, Dalmatians, and Thracians, whose forefathers had been transplanted from the remotest parts of the empire, obtained their domicile in various parts of our island, though principally upon the northern and eastern coasts, and in the neighbourhood of the Roman walls."

¹ "There is one class of antiquities found in Wales and Cornwall, but more especially in the latter county [and occasionally elsewhere in England, and in Brittany], which appears to belong to the period following immediately after that of the departure of the Roman legions. These are large, roughly-hewn stones, bearing sepulchral inscriptions, in letters nearly resembling those of the late Roman monuments. They are in Latin, but the names are apparently Celtic, and they give simply the name of the individual commemorated and his father. They differ from the Roman inscriptions in this, that usually the inscription runs the lengthway of the stone, instead of being read across. . . . Sometimes the words *hic jacet* are added to the inscription. . . . These inscriptions are usually assigned, and probably with reason, to the fifth and sixth centuries. Those found in Wales have generally a mixture of cursive letters with the capitals, and belong apparently to a later period, perhaps from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. One stone, however, which was discovered near the Roman road from Nidum (*Neath*) to the southern Bovium (*Froenny*), is of a date as early as those found in Cornwall, and is expressed in the same form. The inscription, in one line, commemorates Cantusus, the father of Pavinus: HIC IACIT CANTVSVS PATER PAVINVS.

It was evidently written by one who spoke Latin corruptly; but its greatest singularity is the circumstance that the inscription is cut on the back of an older inscribed stone, dedicated to the emperor Maximinus; and although the pure Roman inscription is written in lines across the stone, the later inscription is written, like those found in Cornwall, lengthways. It remains to be stated that one or two of these stones have evidently had a cross at the top, so that there can be no doubt of the people to whom these belonged being [SOMETIMES OR USUALLY] Christians." — *T. Wright, The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*. 2nd ed., Lond. 1861. pp. 461, 2.

² These are: in the Old-English lay "The Scóp", line 45,

WITTA weold Swæfūm;

WITTA ruled the Swæfs;

in the genealogies of Hengist and Horsa; and as the name of the 10th Bishop of Lichfield, (WITTA, HWEICCA, HWEITTA). — The Old-Northern instance is on the Golden Bracteate Nr. 32 in my collection, No. 117 in Thomsen's Atlas. It is here WITÆ, in the dative sing. Maybe this vit is also on a Sword found in a Danish Moss, and from about the 4th century, in the mansname -TASVIT, which see in the word-row.

³ An O. Engl. Charter dated 704 (Kemble, Cod. Dipl. 1, p. 58) is signed by a "WITTA abbas"; two others, dated 706 (Id. pp. 65, 67) by a "WITTA abbas"; a fourth, from 742 (Id. p. 106) by a "WITTA episcopus"; a fifth, between 716-743 (Id. p. 109) and a sixth, Jan. 749 (Id. p. 120) by a "WITTA episcopus". If these are merely differences of spelling, we see how little stress we can lay on such small variations; if they are separate persons, we have probably here both the names on the Kirkliston stone. Should they be the same as the WITTA who became bishop of Lichfield in 737, we have then 2 more differences of spelling, to which others might be added! — But we have an. 744 (Id. 1, p. 110) a "WITTA sacerdos". Surely this must be another ecclesiastic. — All these, however, are far later than the Kirkliston monument. But they show the rarity of the name and the uncertainty of its spelling.

But besides all these military "Barbarians" introduced into England by the Emperors themselves, there were from an early period local settlements of Scando-Teutonic origin. Not to dwell on the far older "Belgæ" spoken of by Cæsar, as early as the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century the various barbarian tribes or bands known under the mythic name "Saxons" (as all Europeans are called "Franks" in the East) had become so harassing to the Roman power in England — at least from Branchester in Norfolk to the neighborhood of Portsmouth in Sussex — and in Gaul, where they had effected a strong settlement not far from Bayeux, that a Roman "Count of the Saxon shore" was nominated in each land to control them. The "Saxons" also joined the Picts, Scots and Attacotti in 364 in North-England, and the "Vecturiones" were with the Attacotti, Dicaledonæ, Picts and Scots in 368, in that invasion between the two Roman walls which was driven back with such slaughter by Theodosius, who in 369 recovered the debateable ground and called it Valentia, in honor of Valens his Imperial Master. Again in 375 a body of "Saxons" was received in his service by Vortigern, doubtless in North-England, for Vortigern then governed the Picts. This British minister and leader, who afterwards usurped the crown, was at this time in amity with the Romans, and had married Severa, daughter of the Emperor Maximus¹.

This view is supported by modern archæological research, thus summed up by Mr. T. Wright, p. 392: "It seems certain that in some parts, especially in some of the cities, the transition from Roman to Saxon was gradual, and that the two races mixed together. At Canterbury, Colchester, Rochester, and other places, we find Roman and Saxon interments in the same cemetery; and in the extensive Saxon burial-ground at Osengal, in the isle of Thanet, a Roman interment in a leaden coffin was met with. The result of the discoveries which have been made in the researches among the Saxon cemeteries has been to render it more and more probable that the Saxons were gradually gaining a footing in the island before the period at which the grand invasions are said to have commenced. . . . In these intestine wars [early in the 5th century], the prevalence of Teutonic blood in the population of so many of the towns would naturally lead them to call in Teutonic allies, and we can thus easily understand how Angles and Saxons were gradually establishing themselves".

But there was also, from the earliest times, a strong Frisic element in England. In the Inscriptions they call themselves *Frisingi*, *Frisones*, *Frisavi*. "At Manchester", says Prof. Simpson, p. 38, "a cohort of Frisians seems to have been located during nearly the whole era of the Roman dominion². Another cohort of Frisian auxiliaries seems, according to Horsley, to have been stationed at Bowess in Richmondshire³. Teutonic officers were occasionally attached to other Roman corps than those of their own countrymen. A Frisian citizen, for example, was in the list of officers of the Thracian cavalry at Cirencester"⁴. — Procopius says, Book 4 Ch. 20, that in his time (548 after Christ) three numerous nations, each under their own king, possessed Britain, the Angles (*Angili*), Frisians (*Phrissones*), and those named Britones from the island. Bæda expressly declares⁵, ad annum 689, that Frisians, as well as other tribes among whom he expressly mentions Danes, had taken part in the colonization and conquest of Britain, in addition to the Jutes the Angles and the Saxons previously mentioned by him. Again, the Pseudo-Marcellinus twice speaks of the Frisians and "Saxons" as chief sources of the English people⁶. But a forger would not have asserted anything of a *general* nature likely to excite suspicion.

¹ A Ms. of the History of the Britons by Nennius (— S. Gildas) mentions this fact. The codex is only of the 10th century, but the interpolation is valuable history. See on this point Haigh's "Conquest of Britain", p. 161 and fol.

² "See the inscription, &c., in Whittaker's "Manchester", vol. 1, p. 160."

³ "On these Frisian cohorts, and consequently also Frisian colonists in England, see the learned "Memoir on the Roman Garrison at Manchester", by my friend Dr. Black (Manchester 1849)."

⁴ "Buckman and Newmarch's work on "Ancient Corinium", p. 114."

⁵ "Eo tempore venerabilis, et cum omni honorificentia nominandus famulus Christi et sacerdos Eegberet, quem in Hibernia insula peregrinam ducere vitam pro adipiscenda in cælis patria retulimus, proposuit animo pluribus prodesse; id est, inito opere apostolico, verbum Dei aliquibus earum quas nondum audierant, gentibus evangelizando committere: quarum in Germania plurimas noverat esse nationes, a quibus Angli vel Saxones qui nunc Britanniam incolunt, genus et originem duxisse noscuntur; unde hactenus a vicina gente Britonum corrupte Garmani (v. l. Germani) nuncupantur. Sunt autem Fresones, Rugini, Danai (v. l. Dani), Huni (v. l. Huni), antiqui Saxones, Boructuari (v. l. Boructuarii); sunt alii (v. l. ad. etiam) perplures hisdem in partibus populi pagani adhuc rübus servientes." (Ven. Bæda, Hist. Ec. 5, 9, ed. Monumenta Hist. Britannica, p. 256).

⁶ "Is ergo in vita Suidberti gentilis sui, & laborum socii, primi apud Ultrajectinos Episcopi, quam ad Gregorium III ejusdem oppidi Episcopum scripsit, ita ait: Ipse Suidbertus sitiebat salutem omnium hominum, & præcipue paganorum FRISIORVM, & Saxonum."

— Even down to about 1175 we find a Frisian dialect separately mentioned. Speaking of the Eiderduck, Reginaldus (Monachi Dunelm. Libellus, Ch. 27) says: "Aves illæ Beati Cuthberti specialiter nominantur; ab anglis vero Lomes vocantur; ab Saxonibus autem et qui Frisiam incolunt Eires dicuntur".

We are also popularly accustomed to connect these "barbarian" inroads with the south of England only. But they had early begun in other quarters, especially in the north of our island — the Roman March between the Walls — and on the eastern coasts. The "Saxon" and "Vefturian" attacks of 364 and 368 have been already spoken of, and they must have been preceded as they were followed by others. Notwithstanding their bloody defeat, these and other Scandian and Saxon clans continued their ravages, and eventually laid the foundation of that noble kingdom of Northumberland, which was already strong, in its two provinces of Bernicia and Deira, in the 6th century.

All these details acquire a double value when we remember how little now remains to us of the amalists and chroniclers of this obscure period in British history. We have, literally, only a few shreds and episodes remaining. And yet, even from these, we see clearly that from the earliest times, at least as far back as the Roman invasion, there had been an active intercourse, for war and peace, between the opposite coasts of Britain and West-South Denmark. At that primitive epoch, the first 500 years after Christ, Denmark had scarcely that or any other collective name; if any, it was most likely *Gotland*. No one of the Scandinavian lands was as yet consolidated under one king, and the term Dane was then chiefly tribal, one of the many clan-epithets floating about, and apparently most used in a wide sense of Northman, Hero, Man. But this intercourse also stretcht to *Frisland*, which was then much larger than now, the sea having swallowed up extensive districts, and to *Old-Saxony*, the present Holstein and Dithmarsk &c. And all this was to be expected. As fresh bodies of warlike colonists kept pressing forwards from the Caucasian gates to the Scandian and Teutonic shores, those in front, those most to the south and west, would naturally be driven forward. And, once familiar with the wealth and pleasantness and easy access of the Western lands, the outflow soon became a rush. At this very time, too, the Wends, in hordes and tribes and clans multitudinous, came pouring in to North-eastern Germany, whence in a terrific stream they afterwards made their way far to the west and south. A multitude of tribes and fragments of tribes, Gothic and Keltic and others, were also driven onward north and north-west about this period by the triumphant progress of the Roman arms. All these would impinge upon others, until the shock would reach the shores opposite to Britain. And the sea would be no hindrance to tribes so famous for naval skill and hardihood.

I have before remarkt that the names on the Kirkliston stone are only found elsewhere in connection with HENGIST and Horsa, the founders of the Kentish kingdom, but also engaged in many victorious campaigns against the Picts and Scots in the Northern districts, and gratefully rewarded by Vortigern with public lands in Yorkshire for the military settlement of their followers². It will therefore be necessary to quote the descent of these Frisian brother-kings, which I shall do with the greatest possible brevity. I merely premise that the *cu* of Nennius³ (= Gildas) is the Keltic sound, and the *v* of *Bæda* the Roman spelling, for the usual O. Engl. *w*. Where more than one spelling is given, the others are various readings.

eo quod Angli ex ipsis propagati sint. Et ibidem de Willibrordo, ac Suiberto, reliquisque eorum sociis, è quorum numero ipse fuit, ex Anglia ad docendum missis loquens: Quoniam, inquit, sancti Doctores propagati fuerunt in Anglia de stirpe FRISONICA, & SAXONICA, ideo convenienter poterunt ipsi prædicare Evangelium Christi lingua Germanicâ." Ubbo Emmius, *Rer. Fris. Hist.* Lugd. Bat. fol. 1616, p. 41. — This life of S. Suibert is printed in Surius, March 1. — For its spuriousness see Henschen, *Tom. 1. Act. Sanct. Martii*, p. 70, seq. and *Tom. 3*, p. 688, seq.

¹ (See the edition of the Surtees Soc. London 1835, 8vo, p. 62). As this is the oldest mention I have found of this bird in England, I may as well remark that its usual English name is now not *LOME* but *EIDER*, North-England also the *COLK*, the *DUNTOR* GOOSE, the *ST. CUTHBERT'S DUCK*, &c. So also it has various other names in Scandinavia, besides the usual *EDER*, *ÆDER*, &c. The Swedish *ÅDA*, *ÅDAR*, &c., Norse *ÆD*, are nearer to the common form, German *EIDER*, while the Norse *ÆNA*, *ÆR*, *Æ*, are nearer the above Saxon and Frisian form *EW*, in all these words the *D* (Norse-Icel. *æDr*) having become softened into *n*. The word *LOM* (Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, *LOM*, Norse-Icelandic *LÓMR*, *LUMMA*) is now given in Scandinavia to the *Colymbus Septentrionalis*, the Red-throated Diver of modern English ornithology.

² The historical proofs are well brought together by Haigh, *Conquest of Britain*, p. 208 and fol.

³ Mr. Haigh, *Conq. of Brit.* p. 3 and fol., proves that the History which goes under the name of Nennius was actually written by Saint Gildas of Glastonbury, and was originally composed in 471. It was afterwards altered and enlarged, in several separate editions, down to 976. The two oldest known copies are the Paris and the Vatican, but even these exhibit some historical interpolations. See also on this whole subject the judicious remarks of Mr. Hardy, *Monumenta Britannica*, Vol. 1, pp. 105-114.

It will be observed that the chief difference here is in the change of the vowel, most of the Mss. having *e* where the Stone has *i*, and *i* where it has *e*. But this stone was carved either by Romans or by Roman-Britons or by some "Barbarian" who had learned to write the Roman tongue, for which reason it is not in the Old-Northern Runes then in use among all the Northern tribes. It is a remarkable fact, however, that these Romans had many peculiarities in representing the sounds of the Barbarians, especially in Proper names. Of this we have a thousand examples. We need only refer to the great mass of such Proper names in Orosius, comparing his Latin text with king Alfred's English translation. We shall there see that where the English have *i* the Romans have a tendency to use *e*, and in the same way where the Romans have *e* the Angles incline to write it *i*. This is a sufficient explanation, even supposing, what is very doubtful, that the spelling in the Mss. is *more* correct than that on the stone, which yet is some 500 years older than the *oldest* of the parchments now known of the *oldest* of the above authors. But such variations of vowels are endless everywhere, and are in fact of little moment, are often merely dialectic, and often occur in the *same* word on *one and the same monument* in the oldest Runic stones¹.

Thus, it being undeniable on all hands that the WITTA who was the grandfather of HENGIST and Horsa was also the son of WECTA, the question simply is, shall we believe that there were, at about the *same period*, two men bearing the excessively rare name WITTA, both of them kings or great chieftains (to merit such a striking barrow), and both of them the sons of a WECTA, a name equally scarce, and both of them Frisians and heathens, — or shall we frankly accept the necessary alternative, that the historical hypothesis is far preferable and makes infinitely fewer demands on our faith, that the WETTA on the stone is the well-known Frisian king of the old genealogies, and that we have here a monument before us of a strictly historical personage?

I cannot doubt that the latter is the correct conclusion.

WITTA might well have fallen in command under his father WECTA. This is rendered probable by the following observations of Prof. Simpson, p. 33, note: — "In the Gaelic translation of the 'Historia Britonum', known as the 'Irish Nennius', the name WETTA or GUITTA is spelled in various copies as 'GUIGTE' and 'GUITE'. The last form irresistibly suggests the Urbs Guidi of Bede, situated in the Firth of Forth. Might not he have thus written the Keltic or Pictish form of the name of a city or stronghold founded by WITTA or WECTA; and does this afford any clue to the fact, that the waters of the Forth are spoken of as the Sea of Guidi by Angus the Culdee, and as the Mare Fresicum by Nennius, while its shores are the Frisicum Litus of Joceline?"

To this we must add the ingenious suggestion of the same author, p. 40, that the *Vecturiones* who fought against Theodosius might well have assumed that name after their leader *Vitta* or *Vecta*.

We cannot know whether WITTA fell as the ally of Vortigern in 375, in which case he would of course obtain a Roman inscription, for both Vortigern and all the British Court and all the "educated" Britons throught the country now used the *Latin* language as the European and civilized and general dialect, — or whether he died battling against Maximus and Theodosius in 369, when those commanders, as we are expressly informed, carefully performed the obsequies of the slain, and would certainly give, or would allow to be erected, to the fallen King a noble "barbarian" How with its characteristic stone-ring, as well as a Latin epitaph in the usual *Roman-British* style. For we must remember that tho the *words* are Roman the *formula* is not. We must bear in mind that there is every difference — not only generally in the shape and appearance of the stone-block employed, but also in the form of the letters and the word-formula — between the *Roman* burial-stones which abound in England and the mostly later grave-blocks carved by the *Roman-Britons*, and other half- or whole-taught barbarians, who have honored with these memorials their departed friends whether Heathen or Christian.

In the conclusion to which he has come Dr. Simpson does not stand alone. He is fortified by the authority of those accomplished scholars and archaeologists Prof. Westwood and the Rev. D. H. Haigh. The former has repeatedly announced his adherence to the views of Prof. Simpson, and the latter thus closes his third chapter (pp. 147-8) of his *Conquest of Britain*: — "Throughout this

¹ Striking examples of this *e* for *i* and *i* for *e*, as well as many other peculiar or provincial variations and interchanges of vowels and consonants, in manuscripts of very early date down to the 9th century, are given by the Rev. W. Reeves in his invaluable edition of the Life of St. Columba by Adamnan, 4to, Dublin 1857, pp. xvi-xix.

struggle with the forces of the Empire it is clear that the Teutonic race were actively engaged. It was by their aid that Octavius established his independence. Ammianus enables us to add the name of the *Saxons*, to the Picts and Scots, as the *other allies* of the revolted Britons, whom Fordun mentions but does not name. It was to Scandinavia, (according to the Welsh Brut), that Conan's second flight was directed; the panegyrists say that the Saxons were vanquished by Theodosius; and Fordun and Boece that Norway was the refuge of some of the fugitives from this contest. It is far from improbable that WECTA and WITTA were the leaders of these Saxons, and that WITTA fell in the conflict which restored Valentia to the Empire; and Boece's statement, relative to Maximus' care for the obsequies of the slain, will happily account for the fact, that this epitaph is written in the Latin language and characters; had the monument been erected for WITTA by his own people it would have been written, we may believe, in the same dialect as WODURD'S [on the Tune stone, in Norway], and in runes. With these probabilities, — or even with the alternative which presents itself, that WITTA might be the leader of the Saxons who were received by Vortigern, in A. D. 375, — our chronology, in which we have fixed the date of WECTA'S birth in the last decade of the third century, is perfectly consistent."

I take for granted, then, that most of my readers will agree with me in the views here expressed, and will admit the justice of an opinion based on arguments so many and so strong — and apparently so unanswerable — that the Heathen Hoy and Stone at Kirkliston were raised, about A. D. 369-375, in memory of WITTA WECTING or rather WETTA WICTING, grandfather of HENGIST and Horsa, the first historically known regular and triumphant invaders into North- and South-England, and who eventually succeeded in wresting from the Britons that province out of which, in 429, they made the first Angle folkland in their new home — the Jute-Frisic kingdom of Kent.

It is quite true that some of my readers will be offended with all this, for there is a small but loud-voiced school, both at home and abroad, which denounces all our history from the fifth century downwards to some unknown date as mere fable, and which gravely asserts that HENGIST and Horsa were either fanciful inventions or else the names of a ship or a flag! But because Alexander had a hanging neck, why should we all go with our chin awry? Yet so it is. Half the world are copiers and imitators. Niebuhr showed, or attempted to show, that *all* the oldest Roman traditions, some five or six hundred years before any written documents, were fabulous; therefore, everybody followed in his track, and tried to prove that *everything* is a myth. We are now not allowed to believe in our own grandfather. In fact, I myself have long given him up, and I hope soon to be able to prove that my own father is, or was, or will be, "a fable and a myth". This was the great mistake of Kemble, the English Germanizer, and of Lappenberg, the German expounder of English history. They advanced arguments infinitely silly and futile, in short awaking "roars of laughter", to prove that HENGIST and Horsa never existed, and could not be the names of men, and that three (the three ships in which they and their men came over) was a "mythical number", and so on, tho these same names have subsisted in the same district, West-Scandinavia, to this very day, and altho three ships are as good as thirty or three hundred, or four or forty, for a visit and a tradition of this kind. The people in the "Mayflower" went over to New-England in one ship. But then that is a myth, long since abandoned by all judicious German critics and their echoes. The testimony of Nennius (St. Gildas) to the great features of England's occupation is that of a Christian and a Kymrian, an enemy of the heathen invaders, and yet it agrees with that of our Venerable Bæda, a Christian Angle and the first scholar of his age. The former uses Welsh traditions and documents, the latter appeals to public monuments, (with inscribed runes), written records, and the information furnished by kings and bishops, the very highest authorities in Church and State. The former flourishes (A. D. 471) not fifty years from the date of the invasion of Kent (in 428); the latter, who died in 735, only three or four long lives from the same event. Even supposing that Bæda had no written materials, which is contrary to the fact, it is quite a mistake to test historical accounts by generations of thirty years. Events go down by lives of the longest livers. The statements of the longest liver are handed down and onward by the oldest people, and from eighty to one hundred years is no extreme age for the oldest persons in a large district. As to the immediate descendants of the heroes and mighty captains who had gotten them splendid kingdoms in a new land knowing nothing, even of the names and deeds, of their immediate forefathers, why the thing is absurd. A common soldier or sailor will sometimes tell us about his family for two or three hundred years back. These chieftains had not only home and family statements and monuments, but they had carved remains and the songs

and sagas of their people. The historical Icelandic Sagas were not written for hundreds of years after their composition. And memory, tradition, was something very different in old days, when there was little or no "literature", to what it is now. We now can scarcely remember our own names, because we know that everything is in writing or in print, and the memory becomes wonderfully enfeebled accordingly. Formerly people had prodigious memories, and often have so still under the like circumstances, without referring to the well-known fact that they had officials, chiefly high-born men — Scalds, Bards, Annalists, and what not, — whose *duty* it was to remember, who were *highly paid* for remembering, and who became famous and prided themselves *the more* they could remember.

In spite of the "modern school", therefore, I still believe as firmly in HENGIST and HORS as in KEMBLE and LAPPENBERG. In olden times Proper Names taken from animals, such as the BEAR, WOLF, ARN (Eagle), &c., &c., were very common, and some still subsist to this day. Frequently, also, children in a family were so named as that the first letter should be the same, often the whole first or last syllable. We have scores upon scores of examples on the Runic Stones, in the old Songs and Sagas, and elsewhere. But it does not therefore follow that every particular name or combination of family names has hitherto been found in every province. On the contrary, many names are very scarce, some only found once or twice in all our Northern lands. Among these rare names are HENGIST and HORS, apparently only yet found as Frisic and English. In our Old-English Charters a dozen places are named after HENGIST, and twice as many after HORS(A). One or more of these may possibly have been so called after a Stallion or Horse, but many were certainly not. The most obstinate denier-of-everything must admit that HORSTED in Kent, the well-known historical site of King HORS's grave and funeral Runic stone, was named after the prince whose body it sheltered. It is equally certain that a *person* must be meant in the long Boundary-list in Kemble (Charter No. 570, Vol. 3, p. 80), "of *Ædelstanes graue* on HENGESTES healh; of HENGESTES heale eft in HORS bróc", — *of (from) Ædelstanes grave on (to) HENGEST'S Hall, and-of (from) HENGEST'S Hall eft (back) to HORS-brook*. Kemble identifies the former place as Hinxhall, the latter as Horsebrook, both in Worcestershire. So in Charter No. 648 (Vol. 3, p. 211) we have "on Suttinga lace", "on Leofsiges gemæru", "on HENGESTES geat", "to Brihtwoldes gemæru", all names of persons, and all in the same sentence. I add the following extract as to the names HENGIST and HORS being still in use in the very province from which our Friso-Anglic chieftains went out:

"The names of the two brothers, Hengist and Horsa, who are said to have headed the most eventful incursion of the invaders, are words in one or another form common to all the Scandinavian and the Teutonic dialects. Both are names of the genus *horse*, but in most localities HENGIST is appropriated to the male, while in some, and particularly in Schleswig, HORS or HORS is confined to the female animal. J. G. Kohl informs us that both the proper names are still current in the district from which the ancient conquerors are reported to have emigrated. A Danish colonel told the traveller that in a company of his regiment there were two privates bearing these names; and it happened, oddly, that in this case Hengist and Horsa, like Castor and Pollux, were still inseparably united, the places of the two soldiers being side by side in the ranks. (*Inseln u. Marschen Schlesw.-Holst. I. 290*)."¹

In N. Frisic HORS is both fem. and also neuter (THAT HORS, IT HORS). In O. Engl. HORS is neuter.

But people have also said that the Frisers were "a kind of Saxons"(!), and that the Angles were "one people with the Saxons and a German race"(!).

After all the clashing and rivalries and bloody wars of two thousand years between these said Angles and Saxons, it is certainly rather cool to turn round and inform us that they were one and the same people. But it is still more refreshing to hear, that because the Angles were Saxons they therefore were Germans; for all the world knows that the Saxon tribes were in all things nearer to the Scandinavians than to the Germans, and are so still, so much so that a Saxon-speaking (Platt-deutsch) peasant far easier understands a Dane than a German (High-German). But this desperate paradox is as recklessly supported. "They had the same names and language." This is intelligence indeed. We never before heard of any one who knew what the names and dialects of the manifold and variously-speaking Scandinavian and Saxon peoples were in the third and fourth and fifth and sixth ages after Christ, how far they agreed and how far they differed. At that early period the differences could not be very great; they are not so even now in their great features. So of their laws and graves and

G. P. Marsh. Lectures on the English Language, 2nd ed., 8vo, London 1863, p. 25.

antiquities. Such things agree and differ and undergo change in every province of the same land, from the many tribes and tribal customs and a thousand accidents, and nothing is idler than to fix "nationality" from the accidental finds in half-a-dozen graves, of whose diggers and occupants we know nothing. The *Inventorium Sepulchrale* of Faussett and other works offer very many striking examples of identity of graves and grave-finds in Kent and other parts of England, and in Scandinavia. As well might we say that Denmark was "German" as Kent, if we are merely to follow the many features of greater or less resemblance, in the "graves and antiquities".

And as the Post-Keltic and Post-Roman colonists and incomers were chiefly "Northmen", "Danes", still more so were the later settlers and vikings in the 9th and following centuries. The latter was therefore not an invasion by "Northmen", "Danes", against "Germans". They were swarms of the same Northern peoples, and their attacks were often bound up with family claims to land or rule. That they were chiefly Scandinavians is plain from all the details in our original historical materials. That "Danes" in some places predominated is very true; but the name "Dane", like that of "Saxon", as having become better known, was often indiscriminately used, just as "Northman", "Norman", "Goth", "Frank", and so many others. Instead of a thousand citations we will take one, from an excellent writer, Florence of Worcester. Usually he confines himself to the general expressions "Pagani", "Barbari", "Dani"; but *Ad Chron. Ap.*, an. 867 (Deirorum), he distinctly specifies what he means, and we there have: — "A paganis, videlicet Danis, Norreganis, Suavis, Goutis, et quarundam aliarum nationum populis" — (by the pagans, that is the Danes, Norwegians, Swedes, Goths and Jutlanders [of Scandinavia, for there were no other Goths in England at this period], and several other folk-clans).

And these "Danes" were no way superior to the "demoralized" English. They were cruel, bloody ruffians, and threw England back some centuries, in spite of all their efforts after they had become *Christians*, that is, according to some, *base and demoralized*. They were mercenary to a degree, were little troubled with conscience of any kind, as little as pirates and buccaneers in any age, were guilty of every crime — infanticide, rape, murder, burnings-in, the slaughter of old men and women and children, polygamy, and a thousand more such heroic virtues. True, they were hardy and brave; but so were the English, who were equally of Northern descent with themselves. By necessity they were more used to the sea. Panics often seized the English, but panics also seized the "Danes," often enough in their own lands; and, as we all know, a famous and gallant Scandinavian race was once governed by a dog, set over them by a tyrant. The "Danes" were usually successful, simply because they were the more numerous and the attacking part. Wherever they could land in force against a small commune, in a country broken up into a hundred small kingdoms, and earldoms and folkdoms, isolated and disunited, they gained the victory. Of course they did. So should we, or anybody, tomorrow under the like circumstances. And English victory was of no avail, for the English soldiers had fallen; but fresh troops of savage marauders landed, and hounded the few survivors to death. Wherever there was a chance for the natives they fought as well as the pagans, nay, they often defeated these "invincible Danes" with immense slaughter. Exactly the same thing took place in Scandinavia itself. For several centuries the Scandian states, or parts of them, for they were as little united as England, were continually changing hands. They fell into the power of any adventurer, "royal" or not, from within the same land or from a sister kingdom or province, who could gather a fleet and army, concentrate his efforts, and strike a heavy blow on one spot. And as to "demoralization", the Scandinavian annals give melancholy pictures of this from the old times, all the middle age thro, down to the Reformation and after. Scandinavians and English, we all alike live in glass houses. The simple fact is, that the incessant waves of Northmen which broke and dashed with such fury on the coasts of Gaul and Britain, and elsewhere, in the ninth and tenth centuries were, and ought to be called, the last Folk-wandering, the last swell of that same wonderful shaking of the nations in the North which had cast such endless swarms of adventurers over all the Roman empire, and which had so largely remodeled Europe. The bloody wars for unity in Scandinavia, which ended in melting the whole into three kingdoms — Sweden, Norway, and Denmark — scattered away and drove to other lands whole populations of warlike and reckless heathen pirates and emigrants. They fell like locusts on the South and West, and there was, for the moment, no resisting them. England, broken up into petty and rival clans, had no chance. And — what nation could stand under such leaders as Ethelred the Unready and his miserable crew? But these later Scandinavians, usually in a lump called "Danes", suffered the

same defeats and misfortunes from similar inroads, and were as easily smasht and subdued by the Norman William, while the Normans themselves were continually broken and overthrown on their own soil. For "Danes" then, as far as England and France are concerned, we must usually read "Scandinavians" and others, chiefly Norwegians and Danes. The Swedes were more numerous in the East, that is, in forays against Russia and Finland, and the southern shores of the Baltic. As to William's army, we are expressly told in the old books that it consisted of adventurers from all quarters — free lances, soldiers of fortune, roving bands and recruits levied from all the islands and coasts reacht by his emissaries or attracted by the smell of plunder. The blessing of the Pope cast a dim halo of religion about this army of cut-throats, but it did not alter its character. They were not even Normans, large numbers of them, much less Danes. The settlers in Normandy had no women with them, and in one generation the Scandinavian mother-tongue was nearly forgotten. They spoke French — in that variety named Anglo-Norman — and by intermarriage and intermixture the ruling classes were as much "Danes" as we now are in England. They had become substantially Frenchmen, but with distinctive provincial qualities and peculiarities. But powerful as the invading host was, and marshaled as it was, and under such a leader — like Napoleon talented and selfish and relentless — such an attack could not but succeed, taking place as it did; for the gallant English king had just lost the flower of his troops in a great victory gained against his brother and the Norwegian king. Of course the leaders and pickt men against whom Harold fought were Normans, and of course they had certain advantages, personal, military and political. It was the will of God that a new element should be added to the already largely composite character of the English nation. We may have gained some good blood from it, but we paid a desperately high price for the same, and have no desire to repeat the process.

My argument then is, that the name "Saxons", as commonly used in its modern sense, is a misnomer and a myth. The great mass of our earliest population was *not* "Saxon"¹, and "Saxon" is *not* German. By "Germania" the Latin writers usually meant "Barbaria", the non-Roman outland, and by "Germani" they usually meant "Barbarians", — non-Romans. To call all the non-Roman world "Germans" is simply ridiculous. So the term "Saxon" was but *conventional*, like so many other terms. At this moment every body speaking English, of whatever nation, is still called *Sassanach* by the Keltic inhabitants of Ireland and Scotland, &c. But no sane man therefore judges all nations not Keltic to be "German". So of the Finnish tribes at the other end of Europe, they have no other word for "German" but *Saxalainen*, nor for Germany but *Saxanmaa*, nor for the North-Sea but *Saxanmeri*². But shall we conclude from this that there never have been any Germans at all, and that the historical Germans were merely an obscure clan of the Saxons? But this knife cuts still more sharply, for the Fins have no name for Austria — with all its many non-Germanic populations — save *Saxankeisarikiinda*, literally the Saxon Cæsardom. So because *Roslagen* — the coast and east of Upland — is that part of Sweden with which the old Finlanders came first and easiest in contact, they have no other name for *all* Sweden than *Ruozinmaa*, and their word for Swedish is *Ruozalainen*. Is therefore all the rest of Sweden — with its many tribes and dialects — only a petty province of Roslagen? But we have another Finnish example. Either from all Denmark having been once called Jutland or Gotland, or from their mercantile visits being chiefly to Jutland, the Fins call Denmark *Juttimaa* and Danish is *Juttilainen*. So we might as well say that Constantinople was of *Roman* origin and population, not Grecian, from the fact that the inhabitants of all Mahometan countries in the East — Turkey and its dependencies excepted — call it *Room* or *Rome* instead of Stamboul. But we know that the appellation arose from its old name *Roma Nova*, and its so quickly rivaling Rome itself. In like manner *Romny* (Roman) was first applied by the Arabs to the Greeks of the Lower Empire, who had largely inherited the Roman name, but it was afterwards extended to all Christians, much as "Frank" is now.

This persuasion of the "Saxons" being a mere conventional epithet has been largely adopted by modern historians, together with the view that the Northmen made inroads and settlements in Britain at a period much earlier than is vulgarly believed. For instance:

¹ The "Anglo-Saxon" "Saxons" were from Old-Saxony, *Saxland*, the present *HOLSTEIN* and *DITHMARSH*, and had nothing whatever to do with the merely titular "Saxons" (= *THURINGIANS*) and "Saxony" (= *THURINGIA*) of our days. In like manner "the White Horse of Brunswick", of which we have heard so much, is a modern *heraldic humbug* adopted many centuries after the time of the White Horse of Kent.

² In Finnish *-launen* is the common adjectival termination *-ish*, of origin, *maa* means land and *meri* sea.

"But in the beginning of the fourth century, the Saxons were not alone on the ocean; other states, both to the south and north of their own locality, were moving in concert with them, whose nominal distinctions were lost in the Saxon name."¹

"Of the claims of the Belgæ to be considered a Teutonic people, I have already sufficiently spoken; and to them also, as well as to the other two colonies, the Scoti are alleged to have been akin both in origin and language. . . . It may at present suffice to remark, that traces of intercourse with the nations of the Baltic, as well friendly as hostile, are to be found, not only in the Irish annals for some centuries before St. Patrick, but also in the poems, chronicles, and histories of those northern nations themselves."²

"Hence we find the same patronymics in distant parts of England, which would seem to indicate that different members of the same original family had joined in various separate expeditions to Britain; and it is still more curious that this identity of name is found in districts peopled severally by the different races, Angles, or Saxons, or Jutes. This admits of two explanations: it shows the close relationship between the three races themselves; and it proves, probably, that when a great chieftain of one race, an Angle, for instance, planned an expedition to Britain, subordinate leaders from the other races, Saxons, Jutes, or others, were ready to enlist among his followers. Thus we find the Billingas at Billingham, in Durham; at Billingley, in Yorkshire; at Billingham, in Lincolnshire; at Billington, in the counties of Bedford, Stafford, and Lancaster; as well as at other places, all within the districts occupied by the Angles. We find a settlement of the same family at Billingshurst, in Sussex; and some of them appear to have established themselves in the outskirts of London, and to have given their name to Billingsgate. The Bosingas are found at Bossingham, in Kent, and again at the two Bossingtons, in Hampshire and Somerset. The Scearingas are found at Sharrington, Sheringford, and Sharringham, in Norfolk; at Sheering, in Essex; at Scarrington, in Nottinghamshire; and at Sherrington, in Buckingham, and in Wiltshire. We have the Haningas at three places named Hannington, in Northamptonshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, and also probably at Hammingfield, in Essex. When we examine further we find, among these patronymics, names which belong to the great families whose history is mixed up in the earliest Teutonic mythology."³

"The phrases used by writers at a distance commonly spring from their own view of events, as bearing on themselves; thus Vitalianus addresses Oswy, king of Northumberland, as "Rex Saxonum" (Beda, p. 138, line 27), while it is certain that Northumberland was not said to be inhabited by Saxons at all."⁴

"Tacitus, though he knew the Angles, had never heard of the Saxons. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that they were small in numbers and insignificant in other respects. This ignorance on the part of Rome was shown by its historian, A. D. 98.

"In the second century, *i. e.* A. D. 120, we find the Saxons named for the first time. For this information we are indebted to Ptolemy; that geographer places them "upon the neck of the Kimbrie Chersonese"; and also in three small islands towards the mouth of the Elbe, — in fact, in Holstein. They are then a tribe only, or at best a very small nation. But they are a seafaring tribe or nation; and in a few generations afterwards, though still confined to the same Chersonese⁵, we find them taking a high rank in piracy, grievously annoying the coast dwellers of the empire. . . . But when the Franks had themselves entered into settled possession of the Gallic provinces, leaving the Rhine as it was in the time of the empire, to be guarded only by limitary troops, not by a nation, there appears upon the scene of history a host of confederated tribes calling themselves Saxons. These are an inland army. It is superfluous to say that these are neither the Saxons of Ptolemy nor Stephanus the Byzantine, whose only outlet was the Elbe.

¹ Sharon Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, 6th ed., Vol. 1, p. 87 (Bk. II, Ch. 5), ed. Baudry, Paris.

² Thomas Moore, History of Ireland, Vol. 1, p. 75 (Ch. vi), ed. Baudry, Paris.

³ T. Wright, The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, 2nd ed., London 1861, p. 439.

⁴ Coekagne, Sainte Marherete, p. 77.

⁵ "Late in the 5th century they were still confined to Holstein. Stephanus Byzantinus (A. D. 490) says, "Σάξονες ἔθνος οἰκοῦν ἐν τῇ Κιμβρικῇ χερσονήσῳ."

"How this confederacy was formed and why it assumed the Saxon name is no way our concern. . . . It was this tribe of Saxons, and not the confederation of Saxons of later days, that sent forth its aggressors to this island."¹

There is also a striking passage on this head from the learned pen of Dr. W. Smith, in his edition of Mr. Marsh's Manual: — "The Saxons are not mentioned by Tacitus, nor by any of the earlier Greek or Latin writers. They first occur in the lists of Ptolemy [flourished A. D. 120], who places them upon the narrow neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, between the Elbe and the Chalusus, the modern Trave, a district corresponding to the southern part of the modern Holstein. Ptolemy also mentions three Saxon islands opposite the mouth of the Elbe, which are probably [?] Nordstrand, Föhr, and Silt. But this contracted territory, as Gibbon has remarked, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhaustible swarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the south of Britain with their language, their laws, and their colonies, and who so long defended the liberty of the North against the arms of Charlemagne. It would be foreign to our present object to pursue the fortunes of the Saxons; but it can hardly admit of doubt that their power was gradually extended westward along the northern coast of Germany, and that their name was given to a CONFEDERACY OF VARIOUS WARLIKE TRIBES. Among the most powerful members of this confederation were the Friesians, whose name is now confined to one of the provinces of Holland, but who were formerly spread over a much wider area. The Friesian dialects are still spoken, not only in the province of Friesland, but in parts of Hanover, in the island of Helgoland, and upon a portion of the coast of Sleswick, opposite the North-Sea. Hence it would appear that the Friesians occupied the very sites where the Saxons are placed by other authorities; and it is not only certain that they took part in the Saxon invasion of England, but there are very strong reasons for believing that they must have constituted a very large number of the invading forces, since they have left permanent traces of their dialect in our own language."²

On this comprehensive and inclusive name "Saxons" the cautious and learned Prof. E. C. Werlauff has the following observations ("Om de Gamle Nordboers Bekjendtskab med den Pyrenæiske Halvøe", *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, Kjøb. 1836-7, p. 23: — "Their position and other circumstances render it probable that Frisians, Angles and Jutes early shared, under the name of Saxons, in the sea-expeditions of these latter; certain it is that we find all these races united in the descent upon Britain in the 5th century. In the 6th century, when the increasing power of the Franks began to threaten the Saxons, their energy took another direction than by sea, and an opportunity was now given to the inhabitants of the Danish coast and islands, who perhaps had formerly been comprehended among the Saxons, to become known and feared under their own name. It is in the year 515 that the DANES are first mentioned by a writer of the Middle-Ages in connection with an invasion of the French coasts³. At about the same time the NORWEGIANS began to gain honor and booty in a similar way, but at first perhaps under the name of the Danes, like as these for a long time went under the name of the Saxons."

Since the above was published by Werlauff, has appeared the *Cosmography of Aethicus*, written between the years 250 and 300, in which FRISI, DANI, and other Gothic tribes are distinctly mentioned⁴.

The name DANE is found in England at an earlier date than in Denmark. It occurs in the Charters (Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 1, 130) in the year 761, "Signum manus DAENE abbatis", and this Charter is from Kent. In a Charter of Offa of Mercia, an. 767 (*Id.* 1, 142) is a DENEBERHT (= DANE-BRIGHT) episcopus; and a bishop of Shireburn, about 800, was DENEFRITH (*Flor. Worc. ad Chron. App. Nom. Præs. Scireb. Ec.*). In a Charter of "the enemy of the Danes", king Alfred of Wessex, is a DENEUTLE episcopus, with the characteristic old *u* (= *w*). That *uu* is here = *wu*, is certain; in the *same* Charter

¹ H. C. Coote. A neglected fact in English History. 8vo, London 1864, pp. 16-18.

² G. P. Marsh. Lectures on the English Language. Edited, with additional lectures and notes, by William Smith, LL. D. 2nd Ed., 8vo, London 1868, pp. 11, 12.

³ "Gregor. Turonensis in Bouquet *Rev. Gallie. et Franc. Scr. T. II.* p. 187. Capetgue (*Essai sur les invasions maritimes des Normands dans les Gaules* p. 80) observes that Gregorius mentions this circumstance in such a way, that we are led to conclude that similar expeditions had been undertaken by them of an earlier date."

⁴ See the excellent and learnedly annotated edition: "Cosmographiam Aethici Istrii ab Hieronymo ex Graeco in Latinum Breviarium redactam, secundum Codicem Lipsiensem separato libello expressam primum edidit Henricus Wuttke. Lipsiae 1854", 8vo, p. 16. — See also the Introduction, p. XLVI and fol.

WULFRED signs himself UULFRED and WULFSIGE writes UULFSIGE, while the *same* man signs himself in another Charter (Id. 2, 126) "DENEWULFUS Wentanensis urbis episcopus", and in a Charter of Edward (Id. 2, 139) "DENEWULF episcopus". — The TANGISILUS of the first Charter (Id. 1, p. 4, 6, &c.) anno 605, &c., is not quite sure, these Charters being doubtful; but, even if forged, the names introduced would be traditional and acknowledged, not to excite suspicion.

All this may possibly throw some light on that obscure chapter of Scandinavian Old-lore — the great Weapon-finds in the Danish Mosses, especially those of South-Jutland. These finds of arms and other objects, warlike and domestic, consist of things made of gold, silver, bronze, iron, wood, &c., swords, ring-mail, shields, military ornaments, farming implements, &c., together with some Roman coins. Their chief characteristics are:

1. That they are originally accumulated at distinct narrowly limited spots, and are evidently sunk or hidden in haste, to be afterwards exhumed and made use of.
2. That they bear the brunt of many a fight, being hackt and dinted and battered and broken in a remarkable way, — but that many pieces have also been "hammered up" by the collector: thus in many instances they were treated as so much "old metal" or rough material.
3. That they range in date — as decided by Mr. Herbst, the great Danish archæologist, an authority specially familiar with this subject — chiefly from the 3rd century, not later than the 4th.
4. That, mixt with some pieces evidently of Roman fabric, and others which are imitations of Roman work, most of them are of "Barbarian" make and exhibit only "Barbarian" traditions.
5. That one of the pieces (a Shield-umbo), found in Thorsbjerg Moss, bears the name of a Roman soldier in Roman letters, while Sword-blades are stampt with names in Roman letters. Yet other pieces are found with inscriptions in the letters of the "Barbarians", Old-Northern runes. Thus we are flung back to the very oldest historical times, and to a strange intermingling of Roman and Barbarian soldiery.
6. That these moss-finds are all near the coasts, or at places now or formerly directly or indirectly accessible by sea.

No one will deny that crowds of Barbarians took service in the Roman armies, from the latest Consular and early Imperial times downwards, and that still greater numbers hovered about the Roman frontiers, like birds of prey waiting to seize their spoil, sometimes driven back with terrible carnage but again assembling over the dying carcase.

Now with the great mass of these adventurers we have here nothing to do. But many of them were also from Scandinavia, particularly from West-Denmark and the neighboring lands. Scores of known and unknown tribes and clans, roving hordes of a common Gothic origin, usually called by some one sweeping name, such as "Angles", "Danes", "Jutes", "Frisians", "Saxons", "Germans", the difference in dialect and customs at that early period being in fact very slight — like as afterwards they are called by some one similarly comprehensive phrase "Daci", "Dani", "Northmen", "Eastmen", "Pirates", "Wikings", &c. — had already, at least as early as the 2nd century, commenced their crusade for plunder and power and lands against Roman Britain and its nearest coasts. No Roman army, no Roman soldier, ever set foot in Scandinavia. Hence no Roman or Romanized spoils could ever have been left by them on a Scandinavian battle-field. But *Barbarians sought the Roman*. Sometimes they served under his banner, used or imitated his arms, and learned his discipline and, partly at least, his language. More frequently they banded together in foray against him, stormed his "walls" and castles and towns in Roman Britain and Gaul and Germany; and at last they wrested from him his fair and favorite province, the fruitful island of the far west.

Then, as now, there were campfollowers plenty, reivers and spoilers, gillies and chapmen, who made a trade of stripping corpses or collecting or buying the valuable relics and plunder which lay around or upon the dead, or in the nearest villages, then hastily transporting them elsewhere for market.

Why should not *some* of these spoils have found their way to the Danish tarns and waters? The road was open and short. There was no need or question of toilsome landroutes. They only had to embark on their skiffs and galleys, and in a couple of days they were in Jutland or in Fyn. Sometimes such hoards of weapon-waste may have been gathered in the land itself, but this could seldom be the case in Denmark; partly at least they must be booty from foreign soil, where pitch battles were the rule. Not unfrequently, dissensions at home would also compel hiding. Often enough, the

gatherer or pedlar would die at sea, or in some fresh foray, or suddenly at the hand of a quarrelsome red-handed comrade. And so the secret of the lake or stream would be lost. The hoard was so well concealed that the mystery died with the owner.

I cannot help thinking, then, that the Roman period in England may be one source for the finds in the Danish Mosses, which are all contemporaneous with the Roman period in Britain. It is highly probable that they may sometimes be spoils from British battle-grounds¹. Thus should the stone at Kirkliston be an instance, as it has every appearance of being, of a Northern warrior falling in one of these very fights, — the costly plunder swept together after the conflict in which he sank may at this very moment be resting in one or other of those rich Museums of which Denmark is so proud! — See the articles on the Runic finds at *Thorstbjerg*, *Flemløse*, &c., Denmark.

¹ At p. 57 of his interesting University Program "Om Slesvigs eller Sønderjyllands Oldtidsminder", 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1865, Prof. Worsaae has the ingenious suggestion that these moss-hoards were sunk by the victors, after battles with their inland foes, as offerings to the Gods, and in this way he explains their remaining so long untouched. But these hidingplaces were at that time pools or small lakes or narrow fords; it is the lapse of many centuries which has made them mosses; the hoards could not therefore even be suspected much less easily discovered. In all times and lands things have been hidden in water, for it leaves no traces. And this custom of drowning war-spoil was, as far as we know, Gallic only, not even general Celtic, still less Northern. And many of the pieces (especially the wooden tools, agricultural implements, &c.) are not war-spoil, but merely a pedlar's miscellaneous stock in trade. Some of the articles have evidently been treated as only so much old metal. This would never have been the case with things devoted to the Gods. And what shall we say of similar moss-finds of a far later date, even down to perhaps Christian times? Compare, for instance, the rich hoard of golden and silver rings, jewels, ornaments and coins — all wrapt up in some kind of cloth or covering — which had been sunk in the tarn, now the moss, at Lower Hoen, Buskeruds Amt, Norway, in the 10th or 11th century, found in 1884 and purchased by the Norwegian government for 2080 Specie-dollars. Surely this exactly parallel store of spoil or treasure or merchandise was never "offered to the Gods". Prof. Worsaae's hint can therefore apply very exceptionally, if at all.

But my learned friend also says in this treatise that the Angles and the other clans who occupied Britain were "Germans", because the graves in England from the Early Iron Age (our late Celtic, as it is so happily called by Mr. Franks) "mostly" have *unburnt* skeletons, whilst the Southern Danish from the same period contain *burnt* bones and ashes. (Afterwards, as Prof. W. proceeds, "mostly" falls out of his text, and the bare and harsh contrast remains). But the graves in England from this period with *burnt* bodies are so numerous, that it is hard to tell which of these grave-rites, was most prevalent with our forefathers at that time. Local grave-customs are always changing, quite apart from a total difference of race; Scandinavia itself affords many examples of this. Many separate elements must also be taken into account. Prof. W. himself points out that the frequent use of trunks of trees as coffins in south Denmark, Germany and England, may not have been unconnected with local abundance of oaken timber. Thus, density of population (and England was "densely peopled") will lead to grave-fields, rather than to solitary graves, tho many grave-fields are found in Scandinavia also. Then in certain places wood might be scarce and dear. The Romans often used coal in Britain as elsewhere, doubtless because it was cheaper than charcoal. This would encourage interments without fire. In Britain the Romans usually continued to prefer cremation, but for this very reason their foes the "barbarians" might be led to dislike it. And burial would be helped on by the Christian element in the British population, for the British Christians, like the "barbarians" the enemies of the Roman caste, did not burn their dead. But even before the age of Cæsar there was a large "barbarian" population ("Belgæ" — Scandinavians, Flemings, Germans, or whatever they were) in south-eastern England. Did these "barbarians" burn their dead? As being such early sharers in the Iron culture, probably they usually did not. If so, this would be another reason for their later countrymen so often not using fire. In Scandinavia itself, however, we find very many contemporary graves with *unburned* bodies. Consequently this whole dispute is futile. The great "contrast" never existed. Besides, Prof. W.'s argument proves too much, for he admits that this very custom of burning the dead during this Early Iron Age was in common with the south-west clans in the land now called Denmark, with the neighboring Saxons and with the neighboring Wends. Therefore, if this grave-rite is a proof of race, if it means anything ethnographically, it shows that the Danes — not the Angles — were either Saxons or Wends.

But this old-lore has also another weapon. He says, p. 83, that the Angles were "Germans" because the earliest O. Engl. Coins have not been found in Scandinavia. He might have added — nor in England itself, so scarce and precious are they there altho we have swept the whole Continent for them at fabulous prices. Intended only for petty "kingdoms", never struck in any quantities, doubtless melted down by each succeeding king, and for more than 1000 years destroyed by our old treasure-trove laws whenever accidentally found, they are the rare exceptions in our British Cabinets. Our old golden Mancus has never turned up at all, and therefore many persons now deny its existence. But again this argument proves too much. Still fewer of the oldest Danish Coins have been found in Denmark. Therefore the Danes never lived in Denmark, but in Kamschatka or the "Elbe-lands". It is true that few or none of these oldest O. Engl. Coins have ever been found or heard of in these same "Elbe-lands" — from which Prof. W. says these mythical Angles (who he asserts never lived in Angle) came; — but then that is a detail which few, perhaps not even Prof. W. himself, have thought of investigating. It follows that this whole argument is worthless. The fact is, that there is *nothing* in these "Elbe-lands", not even a folk-name or a tradition, which can connect our historical Angles with that locality. All this talk about the Angles alone as "Germans" is a modern invention, not earlier than the beginning of this century, a part of that infamous and relentless Slesvig-Holstein German propaganda which steals and annexes and "Germanizes" everything, words and tings and lands and provinces and peoples, to the utter disgust of every honorable man, and to the degradation and ruin of Germany itself, for *MEMORIS DIVINA* sleepeth not nor slumbereth. When in the good old times certain writers used the words "Germania" and "Germani" as to non-"Roman" and non-"Celtic" regions and races, they did so, I repeat, — and I believe no real scholar will contradict me — in the sense of "Barbaria" and "Barbari". If "Germania" means the modern South-Germany and "Germani" the modern High-Germans, as to the Angles the Jutes and the Frislanders, then it does so as to all the other Scandinavian clans and lands. If it does not, then it is time that this fiction was laid aside. If the Angles were a mere clan of the "Germans" because they both were Scando-Goths, then the Germans were a mere clan of the Angles for the very same reason. This is a game two can play at.

Perhaps this may be the place to add a word or two on the Minne-stone (Stone of Remembrance, Grave-stone, with or without runes) as often found *inside* the grave-mound, where it *could not* be seen, as well as *outside*, where it *could*. So several of the Old-Northern runic stones in this collection were met with *inside* the *How*. This has occasionally been the case from the earliest times in all lands, played an important part in the ancient East and in the crypts of Egypt, and we ourselves still sink in the earth handsome coffins with plain inscriptions — which there is no one but the worms to read!

But I wish to draw attention to the fact that this was also sometimes the case in Scandinavia during the *Bronze age*. For this purpose I will translate a valuable paper, on a most interesting find in South-Jutland, from the pen of the well-known Danish Archæologist C. Engelhardt¹. It will be found at pp. 336-344 of *Slesvigske Provindsialefterretninger*, Ny Række, 8vo, Vol. 3, Oct. 1862, Haderslev, ("To Gravheie fra Bronzealderen"). I omit the two last pages, describing the Froslev How.

"TWO GRAVE-HOYS FROM THE AGE OF BRONZE."

By Adjunct C. ENGELHARDT.

As is well known, that period of our fore-historic eld which we call the Age of Bronze follows the Stone-age and precedes the Age of Iron. It has its name from the material then chiefly employed for making weapons and edged tools. It was long believed that burning the dead and placing their bones — deposited in urns of burnt clay — in earthen mounds was then a universal custom. But we shall see that there were exceptions. For — probably at a time when the influences and action of the incoming Bronze Civilization were beginning to be vigorously felt by the peoples of the Stone Age — we find stone chambers similar in size to those of the Stone Age, but containing Bronze pieces as well as objects of stone, bone, amber and so on. Afterwards the graves become decidedly "Bronze", tho cremation alone prevailed. In like manner the people of the Iron Age went on for a time burning the bodies of their departed, tho in succeeding times they were committed to the earth unburned.

It would be highly desirable to fix the limits of this epoch, but this we cannot do. If, as seems probable, the use of Iron in the North did not become general till the third century after Christ, we should find the one boundary, its close. And hints as to how the Bronze Age closed will be found in the way in which the Iron Age comes in. At the commencement of the Iron Age in this country we find so much splendor, the forms are so elegant, technical skill is so high — we only need mention the damascened Iron Swords from our Mosses —, and the various articles are so numerous and found under such circumstances, that we must admit the sudden appearance of this civilization, as well as that these pieces were not mere imports. Thus Iron and the Iron Civilization have entered the land with a conquering tribe. And doubtless it took no long time for this higher art, whose chief features were the knowledge of Writing and the general use of Iron and of the Horse, to displace the older school.

The use of Bronze in the manufacture of weapons &c. had doubtless ceased in Denmark in the 3rd century.

But the other limit of Bronze we cannot fix. How long the period subsisted and when it began, we cannot say or guess. Historical accounts respecting the North in this era are nearly or quite absent; and coins, which are such good time-helps, and classical remains, which we can at least approximately date, are never found with objects from this era. Probably at this time the North was in no regular contact with the culture of the South.

The Antiquities and Barrows, and their comparison with the similar objects of other lands, are thus our only source for the history of that period when Iron was unknown, yet enough remains to throw some light on the subject. For, on examining what must belong to this era, as far as we can judge from locality, material, workmanship, shape and ornamentation, we find such differences in the care and freedom with which they have been manipulated, that we shall doubtless at last be led to a subdivision into an Earlier and a Later Bronze Age. Among other helps in this direction will be, the examination of those few pieces exhibiting the forms of living beings; these art-essays point to an organic and peculiar development, independent of influences from without, and they belong to the later period.

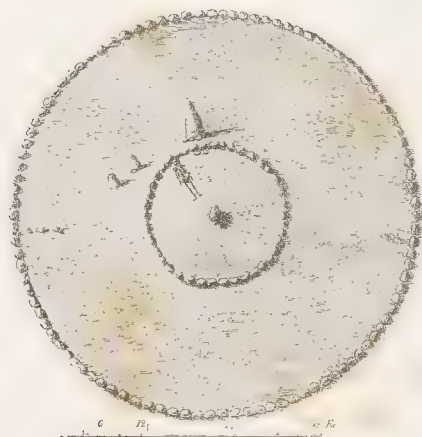
The question of thus dividing this age, particularly as to the several forms of the graves, has been treated by Prof. Worsaae in his pamphlet "On a New division of the Stone and Bronze periods", Kjøbenhavn 1860. It results from what is there laid down, that graves with unburned bodies, in which

¹ One sentence has been slightly altered at the wish of Mr. Engelhardt himself.

not only Bronze but often stone is found, and which in their outward and inward construction approach the graves of the Stone Age, belong to an older portion of the Bronze period, one nearer to the Stone time, some of whose funeral customs still were followed. On the other hand the younger and later Bronze Age would be distinguished by the presence of calcined bones only.

It is to this latter period, to the cremation of the dead, that How belongs which I shall here proceed to describe; for at the bottom, in the centre of the grave proper, it had a simple stone-setting with loosely cast human burnt bones, among which was found a small simple pin of Bronze. But the other contents of the Barrow are so peculiar that I must go more into detail.

This Barrow is situated on a natural rise in a field, on the north-west side, close to the famous Thorsbjerg Moss at South-Brarup in Southern Angel, to the west of the road to North-Brarup. It is quite round, and very large. Its circumference is about 170 feet, its highest central point 9 feet above the level of the ground, and from its top we have an extensive view of the surrounding flat country. It was the last remaining Hoy of three which stood close to each other. The other two have been leveled, and the materials long since carted away.



[The above is a birds-eye view of the round Barrow when uncovered, showing the two stone-rings, the central kist or stone-setting, and the other stones, particularly the large Minne-stone, which is also given separately on a large scale. These engravings are from casts of the blocks used in Prof. Thorsen's "Danske Runemindesmærker", Vol. 1, Kjøbenhavn 1864, p. 254. They were taken from drawings furnished by Mr. Engelhardt].

When this How was sufficiently uncovered, there was found the said small kist or stone-setting in the centre at the bottom, about 2 feet below the level of the surrounding soil. It was surrounded by two stone rings.

This stone-kist, which must have been the actual grave containing the remains of him in whose honor the How was raised, was a square only 18 inches high and 16 broad¹. It was built up of two



larger stones, one as ground-stone and the other as overlier, while the sides were made with 14 smaller stones, which were all flat inside, appearing to have been split, and which had been exposed to such great heat that they could be crushed between the fingers. In the hollow room thus made lay a many strongly burnt human bones, and, low down close to the ground-stone, the only artificial object in the grave, a small thin Bronze Pin, about 2½ inches long¹. This Pin had ringlike prominent orna-



ments below the head, and something was still left of the woolen stuff or cord in which it had been wrapt. It may have been a Hair-pin or a Cloak-pin, according as we suppose the deceased to have been a man or a woman.

Among the bits of bone were also found a few morsels of charcoal, which had followed with the rest when the bones were gathered up.

The space above in the kist was filled with sandy earth, finer and more mouldish than that with which the mound was made. Under the kist was a kind of pavement, two feet across, of very small stones.

Thus there was not the least sign of any urn or other receptacle for the burnt bones, except the kist itself.

Outside this kist or grave were two stone circles. The inner was 9 feet from the center, and was thus 54 feet in circumference. It consisted of 41 cobbles, all nearly the same size, about 1 foot high and from 1½ to 2 broad. They were all unhewn, save perhaps one on which rested the head of a Skeleton, to be spoken of below. The outer ring was 56 feet in diameter, and was thus at the edge of the barrow. Only a few of the stones in the outer ring now remain, but an oldish man informed me that he had carted away numbers of them, as they hindered the plough. We know nothing as to the symbolical meaning of these rings; but the outer one may also have had a practical use — the prevention of the earth slipping down on to the adjacent field.

¹ Copied from the engravings in Mr. Engelhardt's lithograph, Slesvigske Provindsialefterretninger, fig. 3 and 4.

So far there is nothing here so very remarkable. A stone-setting as kist for the burnt bones of the dead, a small Bronze Pin, and two stone rings have been met with before in hews from the Bronze Age. But we now come to features apparently unique.

Inside the inner ring was found a human skeleton, its head resting on the only one of the ring-cobbles which seems to have been cloven, perhaps by a man's hand. The face of the skeleton was turned to the east, the feet to the kist in the middle. The bones were so tender and so dissolved by damp that only bits could be taken up and preserved in the direction of the body. W. N. W. to E. S. E. The traces of the whole corpse, 6 feet in length, were plain in the soil. Near the head were several small stones. The body was in a line with the kist, and was evidently deposited when this was built.

But there was yet another singularity. In a W. N. W. direction, outside the inner circle, stood a massive unhewn granite block 8 feet high. The sharp end was 2 feet in the ground, whose surface was here paved with stones which helped to support the block, and which had been exposed to a strong fire. The side of the monolith facing the kist is 3 feet at broadest, and has some small possibly artificial hollows.

The skeleton and the block were perhaps connected. We have no notices as to our North which go back to the Bronze Age, and its religious ceremonies are unknown to us. Nor have we hitherto found anything in these lands hinting at human sacrifices. But we have here what seems distinctly to point to them. At the foot of the block lay some charcoal, and there or nearby was probably the hearth close to which we must suppose the offering to have been made.

Most likely the unburnt skeleton belonged to another tribe than the man to whom the barrow was raised. Probably a slave of a subjected clan — the stone age not burning its dead — was sacrificed, while the body of his lord was being consumed; his corpse was then placed in the barrow, but outside the grave-chamber of his master or mistress. The upright block must then be considered an offer-stone, near which the thrall was slain. That his body was not burnt was not perhaps so much connected with the funeral customs of his race, as with the denial to him of the same honor as was accorded to his lord. We can scarcely look upon the block as a Minne or Bauta stone, for this must have been visible, and not, as here, hidden by the mound doubtless piled up immediately after the grave was made.

The interior of the mound is so carefully and regularly made, that we cannot expect its parts to be accidental. The two tolerably large stones between the two circles, 6 feet west of the great block, therefore deserve our attention. They are unhewn greystones, 3 to 4 feet high, and flattish above. Their object is unknown, unless they were intended as seats for the priests or other important persons at the sacrifice.

Near the edge of the mound, due east and west, were a couple of stones perhaps indicating a kind of walk towards the centre, and just inside the inner circle are a couple of cobbles. So great was the labor expended on a grave which, on its completion, was hidden by a barrow!

What was found in the earthen sides of the mound is of later date. On the western side, about 2 feet below the surface, was a simple urn or pot of coarse clay, filled with burnt bones and charcoal. But it had been overturned, and the contents had fallen out. There were no traces of rust or metal. Nearby were fragments of clay pots, and near the center, about 2 feet down, were some lines of charcoal, announcing where the fire had been made.

To the south-east, a couple of feet under the surface, were bits of a dark gravelly clay urn and some calcined bones.

On the eastern side, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the top, was a large reddish clay pot full of burnt bones. Its greatest breadth was 13 inches, 6 inches below. Close by was a piece of a small pot of burnt clay. Both were surrounded by large bits of charcoal, one of them a branch 2 inches thick.

These later burials are from an unfixt period, the form of the urns not being decisive, and nothing else made by man was met with. Bodies continued to be burnt after the introduction of Iron, and it is an error to suppose every grave with burnt bones to be from the Bronze Age.

When the Barrow was thus removed, the Stone-kist in the center and the two large regular stone rings, between which rose the lofty block and the two minor granite stones, exhibited a picture so striking and interesting, that the wish was natural to preserve it as it was, open and accessible to all. With its usual kindness, the Royal Slesvig Government, endeavored to carry out this plan.

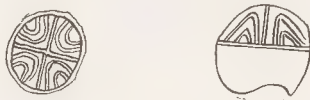
But the owner demanded so extravagant a price for this morsel of land that it could not be purchast, and the earth was heapt on to the grave as before.

So far Mr. Engelhardt. I might add several specimens of uninscribed stones found in graves from the Iron Age. I will only mention two, as being of an uncommon character. They are both decorated, and were communicated to me by Prof. Carl Säve. They were found by Baron Djurklou, of Närke, Sweden, in 1859, and are now in the Museum of that province.

The one was found in a barrow at Åsby, Närke, and weighed 100 pounds. I give the side and the top:



The other from a barrow, in Hardemo, Närke, was found lying near an iron wool-shears and some unburnt bones. It was of about the same weight, and is now in the same Museum. The top and side were thus:



We have thus seen the oldest known native Inscribed Monuments in Britain, for the remarkable and peculiarly carved Scottish stones so beautifully copied by Stuart are nearly all *uninscribed*, and no kind of writing has ever been found on Bronze, Gold, Iron, &c. from the Early Keltic period. The British coins, even those previous to the Roman occupation, bear only *Roman* letters, and are in fact a mere echo and result of the Greek-Roman culture. Consequently, following the stream of time, and beginning say at or before the time of Christ — for so old, at the very least, (in my opinion yet older), the Ogham stones must be — we have come down to the close of the Roman power, but not to the close of the Roman school, for its letters gradually supplant the Keltic in our so largely Romanized Britain.

But suddenly we find an entirely new alphabet, carvings in letters altogether strange and unknown — THE RUNES. They appear at the close of the Roman period, and are employed by the "barbarians" who overturned the Roman and Keltic systems, and who wrested a large part of the country from its Roman-Kymric or Kelto-Roman or Romanized British populations. They did not fall down from heaven, or spring up out of the earth; but, just as the Kelts brought with them their Ogham staves and the Romans their Latin alphabet, so the "barbarians" brought with them these their native characters.

Now it is to these Runes, to these Old-Northern remains, whether found in the "barbarian" homeland or in the "barbarian" colony, that the following pages are devoted.

I have called these new-come letters OLD-NORTHERN. Some name we must give them. Which, of the many proposed, should we prefer?

As we change the names of languages according as we embrace more and more of the allied dialects in a common circle, so may we give more and more enlarged terms to the writing-marks these tribes employ. As to speech, for instance, we may talk of the Kentish language, or we may ascend from the Kentish to the English, from the English to the Northern, so to the Scando-Gothic, thence to the Aryan, and so on. And in like manner with the letters. Merging the provincial into the

common, we may call Runes found in Kent *Kentish*; but, if met with also in other parts of England, then *English*; if still further occurring all over Scandinavia, thus completing the circle of the Northern Lands, then *Old-Northern*.

Various names have hitherto been given to these older Runes. Some have called them *German*, which is very wonderful and very "German", for they have never been found in Germany at all! But even if they had, this would not entitle them to the epithet *German*, if they *also* were common to other lands as well. We have not yet advanced so far, as to call Wheat a "German" cereal, or Potatoes a "German" esculent, or Tobacco a "German" narcotic, because they all three are found in Germany as in the rest of Europe or the world. Older or younger Runes *may*, or *may not*, — for we have no evidence —, have been used by both Saxon and German tribes, as well as Scandinavian and English, in times prehistoric. We have no proof either way. But if so they must have died out very early in Germany, possibly killed by very ancient contact with Roman civilization. Still, if ever there, it is wonderful and suspicious that they should have left in Germany no single trace behind them. For no great faith or culture or custom dies suddenly out. The thing is impossible. There is always a transitional period, when the older passes by degrees into that which follows, exceptional local remains testifying to former wide-spread use. Thus, supposing the Runes to have been once employed in Germany, why have we not Runic pieces there far down into the middle age? They were at first everywhere adopted by the Church. Indeed this could not be otherwise, for they were for centuries the only letters "understonen of the people". They meet us on grave-stones in churches and monasteries, and on fonts and bells and Crosses and Censers and chairs and all sorts of domestic furniture in all parts of Scandinavia down below the Reformation, — and even in Romanized England down at least to the 12th century (see the BRIDEKIRK Font). But in Germany, with its host of rich Minsters and Abbeys and Cloisters, *no single* Heathen or Christian piece *with runes* has ever been discovered. We may grant that the oldest and pagan runics may have disappeared, been long since destroyed; tho that not *one* should be found in *all* the wide German lands is very ominous. But, if ever used there, we should certainly expect later monuments with runic characters, or at least with mixt runes and Latin letters. But no, there is absolutely not one. This, then, seems to show that runic staves have *never* been used by Saxon or German tribes as far back as we can go; certainly to call the older kind "German runes" is evidently and utterly irrelevant, simply absurd, a "lucus a non lucendo". — The inference therefore would seem to be that the German and Saxon septa — in other words, the *earlier* waves of the Scando-Gothic peoples — *did not* bring with them to Europe the art of Writing, as little as the Slavo-Lithuanian races. As far as we can see, it was the *later* Scando-Gothic immigrations, the Old-Northern Clans, that first carried with them the Mighty Runes, and the arrival of these Northern folkships would seem to coincide with what is usually called *The Early Iron Age* of Scandia. This conclusion, if correct, may lead to other important historical and ethnographical deductions and enquiries.

Next, they have been denominated *Marcomannic*. But this simply signifies belonging to the *Marchenon*, the borderers, the inhabitants of the Scandinavian province of South-Jutland, the district between North-Jutland and Saxland (Old-Saxony, Holstein). This also is too local a name. We might as well call them *Kentish* as *Marcomannic*.

Others have preferred the term *Gothic*. This is an epithet difficult to define, but, unless by "Gothic" we mean all England and all Scandinavia, here peculiarly out of place.

Another favorite expression of late has been "Anglo-Saxon" (Old-English), which is equally unfitting and far too provincial. For they were introduced into England by its first Angle and Jute and other Northern settlers from the Scandinavian homeland, where they had been long and widely diffused *before* the "Anglo-Saxon" (= chiefly Northern) occupation of England.

The *Northern* Clans and Tribes who wrested England from the Kelts and Romanized Britons, and among whom the name English and England eventually became predominant, using these runes so long and so largely, and the same thing being the case with the *Northern* Clans and Tribes from whom they went out — the simplest and most natural name for these letters is therefore OLD-NORTHERN.

This general name, excluding the term *German*, is so much the more fitting, as we shall see by the list of Runic Alphabets further on that Germany has not only no Runic Monuments but not even one parchment-written Runic Staverow. We now have evidence that *all* the manuscripts known to exist in German and other continental libraries and containing runic alphabets — can either be certainly

traced to Englishmen, or to their English or German disciples and followers in Germany itself. Germany was Christianized substantially by English or Irish-English Saints and Evangelists. These men took their books with them, and these books contained their own old letters, which long continued in use in spite of the Latin, sometimes also the staves then in vogue among their brother-tribes in Scandinavia. A knowledge of these characters was more or less necessary to them, both as citizens and correspondents, as teachers and readers and artists. But these English missions to Scando-Germans commenced in the 7th century. As early as 603 Offo, an Angle of royal birth, preached among them; and the famous Wilfrid was the apostle of Frisland about 678-9, while Willebrord his successor spent more than 40 years, from 692 to 736, in converting the same and neighboring peoples, of whom he became the first Archbishop. The mere fact therefore of a codex being found out of England does not make it of Frisic or German origin. Nor is even this the case, tho we should find traces of German in the spelling. For we can everywhere see that the names of the Runes are plain English, but here and there (very rarely) a little Germanized or barbarized by an ignorant or German scribe. We cannot point to *one single* skin-book where the vowel-system and the general character of the alphabet does not prove that it came from England, or from some Irish hand familiar with English learning¹. This does not affect the question as to whether runes were ever used in Germany in some "mythical" pre-Roman period. But the runic alphabets in the skin-books now in Germany and Switzerland and Belgium and Italy &c. all sprung — directly or indirectly — from England.

This name OLD-NORTHERN will also suitably distinguish these older and general letters from those later and provincial runes, or rather from that much shorter and poorer modified alphabet, which afterwards was exclusively in use in Scandinavia and its later colonies, for these later colonies were not founded till the close of the "Old-Northern" period. These Scandian (provincial) runes never made much way in England, the runes in England being so early driven out by the Latin letters. — Therefore this later staverow may be conveniently called *Scandinavian*, while anything peculiar and provincial in the runes found in England may be as properly spoken of as *Old-English*.

This later or provincial Scandinavian futhorc would seem to have gradually develope itself about the 8th century, the older characters long lingering among the later which at last entirely superseded them; these last continued till they, in their turn, were supplanted by the Latin abc². First they are used side by side with the Latin, as was the case with the Old runes in England. Then they are mixt with Latin characters. Then the Latin staves expel the runic altogether. In England, Latin Christianity and Latin civilization being so early and so powerful, the Latin alphabet followed nearly

¹ As to Irish intercourse with the continent in very early times, and the spread of their books thither, the Rev. W. Reeves observes (in his edit. of the Life of St. Columba by Adamnan, 4to, Dublin 1857, p. xxix): — "The monastery of Augia Dives, or Reichenau, where the book was found at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was an ancient monastery much frequented by the Irish, and its abbot, from 842 to 849, was the celebrated Walafridus Strabus, who had been previously Dean of St. Gall, another monastery of Irish connexion. At the beginning of the ninth century a strong tide of Irish pilgrims set in towards Germany; possibly caused by the Norse invasions of the west; and it is likely that the breaking up of Hy, at the same time, and by the same influence, caused many members of the Columbian society to fall in with the movement. There undoubtedly was some such communication between Ireland and eastern Germany soon after 825, whereby Walafridus Strabus, who records the martyrdom of St. Blathmac, was made acquainted with the particulars of that tragical event. St. Fintan, the patron saint of Augia Rheni, or Rheinau, had made his way to Germany about twenty-five years before, and his Life, which was written a short time after his decease, though existing in Germany, proves the writer to have been an Irishman, and acquainted with Irish occurrences, for it contains some sentences in the Irish language, and speaks of a monk then living in Fore, to whom the saint had related the visions which he had at Rheinau. And, that it was not unusual to carry books abroad, appears by the many Irish manuscripts which are preserved on the Continent, and, especially, from the donations which Dungal made to St. Columbanus's monastery of Bobio, and Bishop Marcus to that of St. Gall. The discovery of the manuscript of Adamnan at Reichenau by White, and the communication of his copy to Ussher, Colgan, and the Bollandists, have been already mentioned."

² In the Altar of Stokkemarke Church, Lolland, was found a few years ago a small roll or case of lead, about 1½ inch long by less than half an inch deep, containing some tiny relics. On the lead is cut or scratcht the inscription

†BISKOPIS KISIKO.
BISHOP KISIKO.

The altar of this church was therefore consecrated by Bishop Gisico shortly before or after the middle of the 14th century. and so late were runes still sometimes *officially* used in Denmark. Lolland and Falster were then united to the diocese of Fyn. They are now a bishopric by themselves. This leaden reliquary is in the Cheapinghaven Museum, No. 3600. Two or three hundred years later, these Scandian runes were still popularly used on *public* monuments in the island of Gotland. But they have lingered on, more privately, here and there in Scandinavia almost to our own day.

directly on to the Old-Northern, generally speaking and especially in southern England by the end of the 8th or 9th century. There was therefore no room for the Scandinavian-runic period in our island. And just as in the *older* period we find Latin words spelled with *Old-Northern* runes, so also in the *later* we have Scandinavian-runes used for Latin words instead of Roman letters, or intermixt with Latin staves, sometimes also an inscription in the Roman tung whose substance — for the behoof of the unlearned. — is repeated in Scandinavics. The Scandinavian-runic pieces in England, which are very few, doubtless came chiefly from the *later* Scandinavian immigrations thither in the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries.

The chief difference between the Scandinavian and the Old-Northern Futhores — which have many letters *in common*, that is, unchanged from the original alphabet common to both — is this, that the former consisted of 16 (or 15) letters, the latter of more than twice as many. Besides this, there are two or three striking alterations in the symbols. This is particularly the case with the rune Υ . In the older staverow this is always Λ ; in the Scandinavian it is always \mathcal{M} . How this change was brought about, to what movement, ethnographical or political or social or religious or sectarian or historical or literary, it was owing; whether it sprang from some upcoming temple-lore — perhaps some older heathen *name* for the letter being changed, as well as its power, not to perpetuate some older system; or from some mighty priest-ledd "Revolution" of tribe against tribe, or "Reformation", substitution or modification of one Cult or Letter-system for another — is at present quite a mystery.

One reason for so many persons making the Old-Northern runes *later* than the Scandinavian is this very circumstance, that this latter alphabet is *simpler*, consists of fewer letters.

But this whole view is an entire misapprehension. The *oldest* alphabets are the *richest* and most complete. Those numbering from 15 to 20 or 25 staves are mere — comparatively modern — impoverisht skeletons. The progress has been from the manifold to the meagre, not the reverse. We find the same thing in the *languages* spoken by the primitive Indo-European races. The oldest dialects are the most profuse and luxuriant in outward form, the later tungs casting away terminations and prefixés, and becoming more or less monosyllabic.

Accordingly the original Babylonian stave-row could not have had fewer than about 100 sound-tokens, tho the later Arrow-headed alphabets are not so complicated. The oldest Oriental and Classical and other alphabets had several letters which were afterwards disused. Sometimes, the inconvenience being too great, some of these letters were again supplied.

This great truth — apparently almost unknown — should really at last be acknowledged. And it has again and again been distinctly announced. Let us listen, for instance to the great Danish Orientalist, himself one of the first diggers in the mines of the Babylonian Wedge-staves:

"Om disse Skrifarters Historie kan man kun fremsætte tildels usikre Gisninger; men da Perserne sildigst af alle opnaaede en vis Grad af Kultur, og Babylonierne tidligst, og da den persiske Skrift er den simpleste af alle, synes det som om man her har skredet frem fra det mere indviklede til det simple, og at saaledes Babylon var Moderlandet for Kileskriften, hvorfra den udbredte sig i en Afart mod Østen til Susiana, men især mod Norden til Assyrien, og derfra først til Medien, og tilsidst til det egentlige Persien, hvor den især blev uddannet til en egentlig Bogstavskrift, der frembyder os et Alfabet saa skjönt og fuldstændigt, som faa eller ingen Skrift kan opvise Mage til."¹

We cannot venture on more than guesses, more or less uncertain, as to the history of these kinds of [WEDGE-STAVES or ARROW-HEADED] Writing. But as the Persians were the last, and the Babylonians the first, to reach a certain degree of civilization, and as the Persian letter-system is the simplest of all, it would seem that the development here has been from the complicated to the plain, and that the cradle of this Arrow-headed writing was therefore Babylon. It would appear to have spread thence in two varieties, one eastwards to Susiana, the other more particularly northwards to Assyria, thence to Media, and last to Persia proper, where it was improved to a real Stave-writing, and became an Alphabet so beautiful and so complete, that we have no where else its superior, scarcely its equal.

¹ Prof. N. L. Westergaard. "Om Mindesmærkerne fra Persiens Oldtid". — Antiquarisk Tidsskrift, 1843-5. Kjöbenhavn, p. 68.

Again, an English scholar adds his testimony:

"All the modern languages of this family, however cultivated the literature, and however civilised the nation, present only mutilated and fragmentary alphabets compared with what we find in use at the earliest period, and in immediate proximity to the primitive abode from which the different tribes diverged. The Indo-European family, therefore, did not begin with a defective instrument of speech which required to be filled up and polished by subsequent use in order to attain its perfection. The earliest [the Sanskrit] is its most perfect form."¹

I will only cite one other authority, that of a most eminent and accomplished French archæologist, whose essay on the Scandinavian runes is — with all its shortness — the very best which has hitherto appeared:

"De nos jours il n'a fallu qu'une lettre du gouvernement des Etats-Unis pour que des sauvages imaginassent un alphabet, qui n'avait pas d'abord moins de deux cents caractères." "Voilà pourquoi les alphabets sémitiques et le dévanagari lui-même ont encore des traces évidentes du système syllabique. Ce n'est qu'à la longue qu'on a simplifié l'alphabet phonique, comme toutes les autres inventions qui ne sont pas dues au hasard; ainsi, pour citer un fait qui s'est passé sous nos yeux, les deux cents lettres de l'alphabet des Chirokies dont nous parlions tout à l'heure furent bientôt réduites à quatre-vingt. Dans l'alphabet hébreu, qui n'a plus que vingt-deux lettres, on trouve encore des traces évidentes d'une ancienne complexité; il y a trois s, le sajin, le samech et le sin; deux t, le tet et le tav; deux signes d'aspiration, le hé et le cheth, auxquels on pourrait même ajouter l'aleph; le son du caph et celui du koph sont si semblables, que notre oreille n'en sent pas la différence, et le zadé représente un son double."²

As I have said, several alphabets eventually added some fresh letters. This was also the case in Scandinavia. The old runes for D, G, F, &c., had been laid aside; but their absence at last became unbearable, particularly as Latin civilization used these staves so frequently. Therefore the "Stung" or "Dotted" runes were invented, by which the want was supplied. These "Dotted" or "Pointed" characters cannot be older than about the 10th or 11th century. They were largely adopted, but by no means everywhere. A powerful Conservative party would seem to have looked upon them as too "new-fangled".

Meantime there is no reason to suppose that the pronunciation suddenly changed, merely because many of the old runes were disused. Such words as those spelt GULD (GOLD), HAND, in the 6th age, KULT, HANT, in the 10th, and GULD (GOLD), HAND, again in the 13th, were doubtless sounded in the same way — dialectic changes and tendencies excepted — all along. They helped themselves as well as they could with *their* alphabet, just as we do with *ours*, which also only gives *half* the sounds *we* employ; for this our present Alphabet is a scandal, an eyesore, a stupid barbarism, a monstrous hindrance to any decent writing of our own or any other language.

I have considered it of the last importance, in every instance as far as possible to engrave not the Inscription merely but *the whole monument*, whatever it be. This at once brings before us its form, style, decoration, — or its extreme simplicity. And all this I look upon as, so to speak, *a part of the inscription*. Along with the carved words, it helps to fix the date and the land. Following this principle, we can usually at once distinguish what is old from what is later, what is Heathen from what is Christian, what is English-Northern from what is High-Northern. A glance at *all* the rune-stones with Old-Northern runes will at once show how different they are from the mass of stones with Scandian Runes. A certain stern plainness on the former; a certain luxuriance and the worm-style on the latter. Simpler blocks in Scandian-runics will therefore generally be earlier, transitional, like as there is a long period of overgang ere the Old-Northern staves entirely fell away from the Scando-runic monuments. But the appearance of these *old* runes on comparatively modern pieces shows that they *are* transitional, proves that they point back to a time when *only* the Old-Northern alphabet was in use. This is the plainer, as, excepting a letter or two, these Old-Northern characters have no kind of likeness to the Latin staves, and therefore *could* not have been taken thence. Indeed had this been the case — why then the *later* the monument (the influence of Latin civilization increasing every day) the *more frequently* would these olden runes have been employed. But we find the very contrary. When

¹ Rev. T. Clark, M. A. The Student's Handbook of Comparative Grammar. 8vo, London 1862, pp. 69-70.

² Edmélestand du Mériel. Essai sur l'origine des Runes. 8vo, Paris 1844, p. 20.

the Latin alphabet has at last triumphed in the middle age — the Old-Northern runes have *altogether disappeared!*

In these old carvings one stumbling-block meets us at the very outset, that there is no separation between word and word. We therefore do not know how to divide them. This peculiarity is common to the *oldest* monuments of every land and in every dialect. In the Wedge-staves the Persian has no marks of division, while the Median has two. In the Phœnician, Etruscan, "Classical" and other writings, there are *no* separations.

Mr. Marsh observes hereon¹: — "To an unpractised eye, however familiar with the individual characters, an ancient manuscript or inscription is but a confused and indistinct succession of letters, and no little experience is required to enable us readily to group these letters into syllables, the syllables into words, and to combine the words into separate periods. Indeed, the accidental omission of a space in printing between two successive words in our own language sometimes seriously embarrasses us, and if a whole sentence were thus printed, we should find it almost as unintelligible as a complicated cipher. The following sentences from Fuller's *Worthies* will serve to show the difficulty of reading an unbroken succession of words:

"IT WILL POSE THE BEST CLERK TO READ YE ATOSPELL THAT DEED WHERE IN SENTENCES CLAUSES WORDS AND LETTERS ARE WITH-OUT POINTS OR STOPS ALL CONTINUED TOGETHER."

The above specimen is comparatively easy, the many consonants (English having thrown away the vowel terminations) marking the words. But it is very different where we have multitudes of vowels and an old and obscure floating dialect.

This way of writing adds enormously to the labor of the decipherer, and always casts a shadow of doubt over what he does. For, however successful his reading may appear to him, it *might* have been otherwise divided. In a language like Latin, with its rich literature, and in a parchment with its long context, we have plenty of help; but in pieces rare and only bearing a few runes each, in a dialect long since dead, it is no wonder that the boldest should doubt and waver. Even the *very shortest* inscription may admit of *many* meanings, according as it is divided. Later monuments have usually dots or commas or other marks. But there is one example to the contrary to which I will refer, because it is in *Latin*, which we should suppose would be clear enough.

In Odense, Fyn, Denmark, is the fine old St. Cnut's Church, one part of which was built by Bishop Gisico and finished in 1361. Round this section runs, high up, a band of square bricks, on which, white on a dark ground, the letters employed have been burnt in. The whole constitutes about a dozen long Leonine verses in Latin, announcing Gisico's work and praying for continued help to the holy fabric. There is no division between the letters, but a half brick between the *verses*. Yet, notwithstanding this great help, the whole is obscure and in one place not to be understood. The learned have never been able to decide, whether the 3rd line begins with

UTQUE SUMME TU, or with

UTQUE SUM ME TU, or with

UTQUE SUM METU

This same inscription has a second trait found in many runic and other carvings, the evident tendency or wish to use letters of different forms. Thus it has 2 different sorts of E, S, T, &c., 3 sorts of M, and so on — all clearly as a decoration. Such instances occur all over Europe. Not very different is the Golden Locket figured in the *Archæologia*, Vol. 7, plate 30, p. 409-421, and bearing the name ETHELVLFER, in Latin uncials. The R there stands for REX; or, if it be the nominative-mark, it apparently shows that the owner of this ancient jewel was a Scandinavian. The T is here upside-down (quite Runic), the HE a bind-stave or monogram (also quite Runic), and the R is ornamentally written (as often in runes).

¹ Lectures on the English Language, 2nd. ed., p. 297. — In "Notes and Queries", 3rd Ser. vii, Feb. 18, 1865, p. 137, is given the inscription on a Bell at Puncnowle, Dorsetshire, date 1629:

HE THAT WIL PURCHAS (purchase) HONOR'S GAYNE
MYST ANCIENT LATHERS (ringings, bell-peals) STIL MAYNTAYNE.

This is of course a riming couplet:

HE THAT WIL PURCHAS (purchase) HONOR'S GAYNE
MYST ANCIENT LATHERS (ringings, bell-peals) STIL MAYNTAYNE.

Sometimes, but this properly applies to the later inscriptions, we find any winding or straight line which may happen to be introduced used as *the base or fulcrum or staff* on which to carve the side-mark of a rune. Thus we must be careful to examine such side-scorings. On the Gryta stone, Uppland, we have two such instances close together; in the TOTUR SINA, which is crost by DIALFI, the down-stroke of the L and the two uplifted arms of the F are added to the winding lines, which for this purpose stand in lieu of staves. So on the Rök stone, which see.

Another difficulty is the great number of Wend-runes, Twisted runes, Upside-down runes, and such like. Reversst letters; even whole lines retrograde, or redd from right to left, or from right to left and left to right intermixt (furrow-writing), bind-staves and other curious monogrammatic ties, absence of points between the words (while occasionally such points *are* found, at least partially), and so on, — not only occur on older as well as later runics but in other carvings. In Classical inscriptions bind-staves are not usual till after the time of Christ; when we come to the later Emperors they are abundant, and often difficult to decipher. Such monograms are largely used in early Latin and other manuscripts, and in the Charters and Seals of the early European kings. All such things are sufficiently illustrated in the works devoted to this subject.

But such peculiarities are often long kept up locally by the force of tradition. Many of our middle-age pieces exhibit fantastic and intertwisted and curiously intermixt writing, as well as reversst letters. This is especially the case in Scandinavia, which has scarcely any Engraved Brasses, never had very many, but can still show crowds of tomb-memorials, large and fine sculptured grave-stones and slabs from the early middle age down to the 17th century. On many of these the old style is not yet extinct. Often, even to a late period, they exhibit lines variously decorated and intertwined, sometimes in the genuine style of the truelove-knot and the wormtwist. Letters, too, are found monogrammatic and words strongly contracted. So the granite doorway of Hunseby church, Lolland, Denmark, from the middle of the 13th century, has one of its 4 lines (which are carved along the sides) chiefly of bind-staves, and the whole is redd from right to left. The words are:

SALOMON ME FECIT MONASTERIUM.

This Salomon was a Danish monk, a disciple of St. Dominic, and founded the first monasteries of this order in Denmark¹. — In Galtrup church, Morsø, Denmark, is preserved an old gilt Communion-cup, on whose stem is a Latin inscription reading from right to left. So on Bells, &c. As we know, such things lingered on occasionally in Great Britain and Ireland, as elsewhere, till modern times. And those who have been at Stratford will remember the "bind-runes", the Latin "tied letters", on Shakespear's tomb-stone there.

Twig-runes occur on both Old-Northern and Scandinavian-runic monuments. For illustrations of this class see the Rök stone. But many other kinds of fanciful and secret writing are found, particularly on Scandinavics, and these we sometimes — as yet — *cannot translate*. Some of these unreadable carvings may be words strongly contracted. In this case we shall probably never get at their meaning. Or one letter may be, designedly, substituted for another — with the same result! When first carved, they would be plain enough to those skilled in Runics, and who also were acquainted with the men and the circumstances. See some remarks on these Twig and Secret Runes in the Chapter headed RUNE-LORE.

Frequent in Scandinavian-runics, rare in Old-Northern, is short writing, leaving out a letter or two, or abridging a term, taking a letter for a syllable or a syllable for a whole word. With this also we are familiar on Coins and carvings of all sorts, Classical and "Barbarian". Of course this is a difficult and perilous point. We must be familiar with the flow of the sentence, the formula and names employed, ere we can safely write the contraction at length.

As examples of the CONTRACTIONS which abound on Scandinavian-Runic monuments, may be mentioned:

Tuna, Södermanland.	<i>Dybeck. Svo. No. 14.</i>	RU (= RUNAR).
Gripsholm, Södermanland.	" " " 20.	DINSAT (= DINSÄ AT).
Skemby, Södermanland.	" " " 27.	MRKI (= MIRKI).

¹ See the late learned and amiable Rev. J. F. Fenger's paper hereon in "Ny Kirkehistoriske Samlinger", Vol. 1. Kjøbenhavn 1859, pp. 196-202.

Söderby, Södermanland.	<i>Dybl. dyo. No. 85.</i>	SN (— SIN).
Kumla, Upland.	" " " 90.	SN (— SIN).
Bro, Upland.	<i>Dybl. fol. No. 2.</i>	KU (— KUDAN), INKIKHR (— INKIKHR AR).
Hernevi, Upland.	" " " 5.	SN (— SIN), B (— BUNTA).
Finstad, Upland.	" " " 7.	LTU (— LITU), SN (— SIN), KMU (— KUMMUNT), KP (— KUP), HAS (— HANS), KUS (— KUPS), MDR (— MUMR), FR (— FRU), MA (— MARIA).
Tille, Upland.	" " " 10.	STVRIP (— STEINFRU).
Thorsåtra, Upland.	" " " 13.	HNS (— HAN TAS).
Gran, Upland.	" " " 41.	STN (— STAIN).
Jädra, Upland.	" " " 43.	STN (— STAIN).
Enby, Upland.	" " " 52.	KULN (— KULAN).
Gölsmark, Upland.	" " " 54.	STN (— STAIN).
Ågerstad, Upland.	" " " 67.	MN (— MUN).
Hönungsby, Upland.	" " " 75.	UB (— UBTIR).
Varfrukyrka, Upland.	" " " 83.	HRIFNKR (— HRIFENKAR).
Varfrukyrka, Upland.	" " " 84.	BTR (— BATRI).
Klistad, Upland.	" " " 86.	KUNBRN (— KUNBRN).
Fockstad, Upland.	" " " 147.	INKIKRD (— INKIKIRD), UKUPS (— UK KUPS).
Kleggm, N. Jutland.	HRIBNOK (— HRIBNO OK), KRIC (— KIRIC), KUB (— KUBL), PSI (— PAISI), MPU (— MUPUR).	
Vedelsprang, Denmark.	BURLF RISM (— ? BURULFR RISM).	
Glia, Upland.	MANUTAN (— MAN NUTAN).	
Gällstad, Upland.	RUN (— RUNA).	
E. Alling, N. Jutland.	RSM (— RISM).	
Ålsted, Scania.	STNA (— STINA), FTIR (— EFTIR), MIKI (— MORKI).	
Galtrup, N. Jutland.	DORKLS (— DORKILS).	
Hanning, N. Jutland.	SN (— SUN), RSM (— RISM), MOR (— MORUR), H (— HUK).	
Bunnes, Norway.	MISKU (— MISKUNU).	
Gerpui, Norway.	B (— BENEDICTUS), F (— FRUCTUS), U (— UENTRIS).	
Flekkuvík, Iceland.	H H (— HIR HILIR).	
Brattahlíð, Greenland.	M D (— ? MARS DUTIR).	
Kirk Michael, Man.	AF (— AFTIR).	
Sproge, Gotland.	F (— FIRI), HI (— HIAR), HJIS (— HUTILIS).	
Maeshowe, No. 17.	RUN (— RUNAR).	
Korpebro, Södermanl.	RU (— RUNAR).	
Vänderstad, Upland.	FAD (— FADUR).	

¹ Among the few more than usual contracted English inscriptions may be cited the circular brass plate under a fine figure of a priest, in St. Peter's Church at St. Alban's, (Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs*, p. 73):

to al y^t j^t j^t -p't y^t su' tyme had I
al y^t i gaf j^t g'de ic't y^t n'w haf I
y^t I might gaf me ic't y^t now abe I
y^t y^t kepe til I w'et y^t lost y^t.

*To all that I spent that sometime had I;
All that I gave in good intent that now have I;
That I neither gave no (nor) ic't that now aby (abide) I,
That I kep (cept) till I went that lost I.*

And the very much later stone to Richard Weston at Worcester. As he was a Baker, and Bakers often give "short weight", while his weight was now "shortened" by *Death*, we have an explanation of the first line:

SHORT OF WEIGHT
H I L T B O
R W
I H O A J R.
A D 1780. A 63.

In Greene's History of Worcester, where this inscription is given, the contractions are thus explained the author having known all the circumstances:

SHORT OF WEIGHT.
HERE LIETH THE BODY OF
RICHARD WESTON
IN HOPE OF A JOYFUL RESURRECTION.
ANNO DOMINI 1780. AGED 63.

I need not dwell on the variety of words, word-forms and spelling, in connection with local and floating dialects and the happy absence of spelling-books and schoolmasters to reduce all to one artificial standard. But we have an amusing instance on a very late stone, in England itself, of both local speech and spelling by ear. I refer to the tomb-stone at Dymock, Gloucestershire¹:

TOO SWEETUR BABES YOU NARE DID SEE
THAN GOD AMITY GEED TOO WEE
BUT THEY WUR ORTAKEN WEE AGUR FITTS
AND HEAR THEY LYS HAS DEAD AS NITTS.

A pettifogging schoolmaster would have altered this to:

*Two sweeter babes you ne'er did see
Than God Almighty gave to us;
But they were o'ertaken with ague fits;
And here they lie as dead as nits.*

But we have yet another enemy. Letters currently or carelessly written may not only be easily mistaken for each other, as we all know, (as our *t* and *l*, *n* and *u*, *e* and *c*, &c.), but we sometimes find two Runes written *absolutely alike*, *ᚠ* standing for both *ᚠ* (*ᚠ*) and *ᚠ* (*ᚠ*), and either of these easily mistaken from injury or weathering or peculiarity of carving for *ᚠ* (*ᚠ*), *ᚠ* standing for both *ᚠ* (*ᚠ*) and *ᚠ* (*ᚠ*), and so on. It is clear that we cannot read such words unless we know, from the formula or the context, what the word *ought* to be². We must also be able at least to *guess* at the dialect, whether it be North Scandinavian or South, or East or West, or some English or other speech, modified by considerations of *time*, whether we judge it to be from the 3rd or 6th or 9th century. And we must always remember that a Rune *may* dialectically to some extent vary in power, according to age or locality!

It may sometimes appear to those unacquainted with such studies, that the restorations here and there attempted, the fillings-in of letters or whole words no longer clear or even wholly broken away, are hazardous and unjustifiable. Of course it may be so, if thoughtlessly done. But if due care be taken, there is commonly little doubt. The whole depends on the *formula*, as on Classical and other Coins and Pieces. If we are *sure* of the formula, we may depend on the restoration. Thus in English, if we have the known formula *HERE LIETH*, and the 2nd *E* or half the *L* or the whole *ETH* be gone or injured, there is still little risk. So of *SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF*, and so on. If we had the space of 5 letters and then half a *D*, and then an injury so that only *RY* or remained, all would admit that we were right in replacing the whole line, the stone being otherwise English and of a suitable date. So with the Runes. Hence the great importance of collecting and properly using the several Runic standing phrases. And hence the great value of every *new* formula happily discovered. Such a fresh running phrase on a single newly found block may explain a whole group of monuments hitherto unreadable. For the fact that a particular phrase only occurs on one stone is no proof of its being unique. We may have lost *hundreds* on which that particular formula was used. We must perpetually remember that we have only fragments left. Thousands and thousands of Runic Monuments have disappeared during the last 2000 years. The wonder is that we have so many still remaining. But we must of course never make any such restoration without duly marking it, so that it may not be mistaken for what actually stands on the stone. Else we are forgers. And the man that will forge ancient remains would forge a modern Check — if he could! Nothing is more pitiable, nothing more heartless, nothing more contemptible and injurious, than the abuse of talent for base falsification.

¹ Pettigrew, *Chronicles of the Tombs*, London 1864, 8vo, p. 222. — In this work many such examples, in English and French, will be found of an older date.

² I will not talk of bad and illegible writing — now unfortunately so common — but, for the fun as well as the argument, I will refer to a letter I received the other day in a large clear good bold hand. It had the word *stamped* written 4 times across its many postage-stamps. The following is the result, if interpreted with pedantical strictness:

1st time. — *stampid*, with the t-dash over the *amp*.
2nd time. — *shuipid*, with the t-dash over the first *u*.
3rd time. — *stauipul*.
4th time. — *sleuipid*.

In this short word, "*well*" written, the *s* and the *p* are the only letters always plain.

Among the funeral formulæ there are two or three of great interest, because we can follow them back to the very oldest carved monuments elsewhere, but which particularly occur on Classical stones.

The one is: *IFTR SIK SIALFAN* 'or *KUIKUAN*, (*AFTER HIM SELF* or himself-quick [living]), or equivalent words. This has not yet been found on the very few Old-Northern blocks yet remaining, tho it will probably one day turn up. But it is frequent enough on Scandinavian-Runic pillars, and meets us everywhere on Classical monoliths. It is Greek and Latin

ZZZA KATEJAEIZEN.
ZZZA KATEJAEIAZEN.
VIVA FECIT.
VIVA FECIT SIBI.
VIVA SIBI FECIT.
VIVUS FECIT. Or V. F.
VIVI SIBI FECERUNT.
FECIT SIBI ET
. . . . ET SIBI FECIT.
PRO SE ET SVIS.
S. V. F. (SIBI VIVUS FECIT).
V. F. C. (VIVUS FACIENDUM CURAVIT).
V. S. P. (VIVUS SIBI POSUIT).
SIBI ET SVIS FECIT.
SIBI ET SVIS LIB.

And so with others. And how noble is the carving in GRUTER, Inscr. p. 1127, num. 1:

FECT QVOD VOLVI
MONUMENTUM · VBI · OSSA
ET · CINERES · AETERNVM · RE
QVIESCERENT · MIHI.

And Christianity makes no difference. Thus in the Catacombs (Burgon, pp. 179, 180), from the Vatican:

LOCVS HERMETISSE VIVO FECET.
The-place of-Hermes: to-himself-living he-made-it.

FORTVNATV REVIVO ribi FECIT
VT CVM QVIEVERIT IN PACEM
IN (monogr.) LOCVM PARATVM HA

Fortunatus in-his-lifetime for-himself made-this. that, when he-should-rest in peace in (Christ), a-place prepared he-might-have.

DECEMBER SE VIVO FECIT SIBI BISOMVM.
December, he yet-living, made for-himself a-double-grave.

That is, for himself and one of his family.

PETRUS · SEBIBY EMIT BISOMV.
Peter, he-yet-living, bought this-double-grave.

The commonest Greek formula in this case was ζῶν (= *he-living*), or some such word, exprest or understood¹.

¹ "Qui vivi sibi sepulcrum aliisque extruxerunt, eorum simplici nomini appositum est ζῶν, ut c. 1. 360. 787. 1151. 3301. Saepe tamen in titulis inferioris aetatis res verbosius exornatur, ut δ δεινα ζῶν τὸ μνημεῖον κατασκεύασεν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τῇ γυναίκα καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις et similia. c. 1. 3320. 3355. 3100. 5265. 3267. 3314. 3319. 3098. 3294. 1958. 1971. 1977. 1984. 1991. 2026. 2032. 2055^b. 2201. etc. vel addito in fine ζῶν vel ζῶσι ibid. 2825. Alias simpliciter δ δεινα τῷ δαῖνι κατασκεύασε τὸ μνημεῖον ibid. 2314. 2407. 3082. 3041. 3264. 3278. 3279. 3288. 3300. 3303. 3308. 3315. 3387. vel ἐποιήσε ibid. 2209. 2241. φιλοδόμησε 2114^d. ἐξήρτασε 2208. ἔθηκε 2026. cf. 2127. ἔκτισε in lit. Syr. ap. Burekh. l. c. p. 67. vel ἡγόρασε c. 1. 3307. ἡγόρασε καὶ ἐπεσκεύασε 8334 — τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ τὴν ἐπικειμένην σορὸν ibid. 2833. τὸ ἡρώον 1098. 2208. τὸ ἡρώον καὶ τὴν σορὸν 1981. τὴν σορὸν 2050. 3098. τὴν ληρὸν 2209. 2210. 1979. τὸν πλάταν 2825. τὸν βορὸν 2026. τὴν καμάραν 3104. τὸ λατόμιον 2032. 2043. τὸ μνήμα 2015. τὸν τάφον 1958 etc. vel sup-presso verbo ibid. 1988. et voce τὸ μνημεῖον vel sim. 2041. 3304. 3312. 3368. 3349." — Joan. Franzius. Elementa Epigraphicae Graecae. 4to, Berolini 1o40, p. 341.

Of the many stones raised by persons to themselves during their life, I will only give one. And this I select because, among other points of interest, it is by a Lady. I refer to the Täby stone, Upland, (Lilj. No. 643; Bautil No. 129; Dyb., 8vo, 2, p. 38; Bure, Ms. Runahäfd No. 398).

KUPLUK LIT (raisa staina at hulm)A, SUN SIN, AUK AT SIK SIALFA. HAN TO A LANKBARDA L(AN)TI.
KUTHLUK LET RAISE (his-STONE AT (to) HULMI, SON SIN (her), EKE (and) AT (to) HER SELF.
HE DIED ON (in) LANGBARTH LAND (= LOMBARDY).

Sometimes both the phrases, AT SIK SELFAN and AT KUKUAN SIK, which signify each for itself during the lifetime of the person to whom the stone was raised, are found united in one and the same inscription. Thus on the Linsunda stone, Upland, (Dybeck, fol. No. 63, Lilj. No. 681, Bautil No. 597):

UIFASTI RESTI STEN UPTIR SELFAN SIK KUIKAN. LISUAL RISTI.

UIFASTI RAISED this-STONE AFTER SELF HIM QUICK (to himself while yet living). LISUAL RISTED (carved the stone).

And again on the Orby stone, Upland, (Lilj. No. 292, Bure Ms. 7, No. 58, B; Bure Ms. Runahäfd, No. 290):

UIHMUNTR LIT AKUA STAIN AT SIK SELFON, SLUIASTR MONO. KUP IALBI SIAL UIHMUNTAR, STURIMONS.

UIHMUNTR AUK ÆFIRID AKU MERKI AT KUKUAN SIK.

UIHMUNT LET HACK (hew) this-STONE AT (to) HIM SELF, he-the-SELYEST (most handy, art-clever) of-MEN. GOD HELP the-SOUL of-UIHMUNT, STEERMAN (Captain, Admiral). UIHMUNT EKE (and) ÆFIRITH HACKT (hewed) this-MARK (grave-stone) AT (to) QUICK HIM (to him- and herself while living).

Thus the stone was raised by UIHMUNT and his wife ÆFIRITH to themselves in their lifetime.

Several examples on old English monuments could be mentioned, besides that numerous class in Great Britain and Ireland, &c., both Inscribed Brasses and Tombs and Stones, actually raised by the decessat to himself, but without any such express declaration, tho this is evident from the date (sometimes of the day, sometimes of the year) of death never having been filled-in by the executors or representatives of the dead man.

We have a curious example of this carving before death in an Irish stone, thus inscribed:

	Nale quiescens qui fuit Superior Fiderdiae	
et	Idem Robertus obiit anno Dni M. v. lxi.	Johanna Everard
Robertus	mortem ipsorum ano Dni m. cccc. lxi	
hic	uxor eius. qui me fieri fecerunt ante	
jacet		

Here lies Robert Nale at rest, who was Superior of Fiderd, and Johanna Everard, his Wife, who me let make before their death in the year of Our Lord 1552. The same Robert died in the year of Our Lord 1561.

"In clearing the ground at the east end of the church in Fethard, when laying the foundation of the new vault for the late Colonel Palliser, the workmen found this tomb under the surface, and, having raised it, they cleared and cleansed it; the inscription then became legible. We see by the tenor of the inscription that this Robert Nale was married to Johanna Everard, and was Sovereign of Fethard. His being connected with the noble family of the Everards, and having been invested with the high office of sovereign of Fethard, are incontestible proofs of his high rank and respectability. There is likewise an old tomb in the churchyard of Callan containing the remains of James Neale, who was Alderman and Sovereign of that town, though somewhat later than this date. Therefore, though the family of the O'Neills was cradled and had signalized themselves in Ulster, the Neals of this country had been men of high rank and distinguished merit."¹

¹ Proceedings of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society. New Series. January 1864, pp. 16, 17.

But this venerable custom still continues: — "An estimable prelate of the English Church (may his death be far distant), has the inscription he desires incised upon his tomb, wanting only the date of his decease to be filled in!"¹

In one rich and remarkable funeral sculpture, the 2nd Hall stone, Gotland, (Säve, No. 15). a Lady has erected a double canopied slab to her late husband, the Deacon Nicholas, and to herself. His full-length effigy is carved in the right compartment, but her own, in the left, *is wanting*, and the runic inscription seems never to have been finished. Perhaps she thought better of it, and — married! So a living lady in a certain Northern land raised her own monument before her death, but afterwards thought it might prevent her marrying again and so *changing her name*, in which case the stone would be useless. She therefore prudently removed it!

The Runic stone, usually a pious memorial from Father or Mother or Son or Daughter or Friend or Brother-in-arms or Widow or Kinsfolk, is sometimes raised by THE HEIR. So also Classical tombs, when no near relative was left, were often made — generally by direction of the Will, funds being set apart for that purpose — by the HEIRS (HEREDES), or by the sons and heirs (FILII HEREDES).

But particularly interesting is the clause providing against the Desecration of the tomb. In all ages the grave has been violated, out of malice or license or to save expense or by treasure-seekers. The Romans forbade not only unseemly or filthy actions against their tombs — threatening the offender with the anger of the Gods of both Heaven and Hell (HABEAT DEOS SUPEROS ET INFEROS IRATOS) — but also prohibited raising a funeral pile against them. In Greek² and Roman grave-carvings we also often find a clause forbidding to sell or pawn the tomb, or to bury any other person therein, and in some cases heavy fines were added to be paid by those who violated this injunction. These sums were given to the Chief Pontifex or Temple in the neighborhood. But we occasionally find the FORMULA OF EXECRATION. This also I have not yet met with on Old-Northern stones, but it now and then occurs on Scandinavian-Runic in *heathen* times, the formula being that which BANS the offender as an OUTLAW. Well known is the pious Heathen Roman DEPRECATION:

NE TANGITO, O MORTALIS!

REVERE MANES DEOS!

Other such also occur. Such as

PERPETUÆ SECURITATI.

And again, warning off plunderers:

ABITE HINC PESSIMI FURES!

¹ Notes and Queries, April 30, 1864, p. 363. — The very latest British instance of a stone literally made by a man to himself which I have seen, is that mentioned in "Notes and Queries", March 26, 1864, p. 256:

"In the neighbouring burial-ground of St. Braoch [in Scotland], the inscription of a tomb-stone, dated 1802, after the usual record of the period of the death, &c., of a stonemason named Turnbull, concludes by stating that

"This humble memorial of James Turnbull was the work of his own hands during his leisure hours."

Perhaps the noblest of these inscriptions "by himself to himself" is that written by the great Sir William Jones in Bengal:

HERE WAS DEPOSITED
THE MORTAL PART OF A MAN
WHO FEARED GOD BUT NOT DEATH,
AND MAINTAINED INDEPENDENCE
BUT SOUGHT NOT RICHES:
WHO THOUGHT NONE BELOW HIM
BUT THE BASE & UNJUST.
NONE ABOVE HIM BUT THE WISE & VIRTUOUS:
WHO LOVED HIS PARENTS, KINDRED, & FRIENDS
AND COUNTRY,
AND HAVING DEVOTED HIS LIFE TO THEIR SERVICE
AND THE IMPROVEMENT OF HIS MIND.
RESIGNED IT CALMLY,
GIVING GLORY TO HIS CREATOR,
WISHING PEACE ON EARTH.
AND GOOD WILL TO HIS FELLOW CREATURES.
ON THE — DAY OF
IN THE YEAR OF OUR BLESSED REDEEMER —.

He died on the 27th April, 1794, aged 47, and his official funeral stone was raised in St. Paul's Cathedral by the East India Company.

² In Greek inscriptions where a sentence is added guarding the sanctity of the tomb, it is usually a warning of the fine which will be exacted in that case. Sometimes the spoliator is devoted to the Infernal Gods, τοῖς κατ'ἑσθ'οῖς θεοῖς.

There is a grand ANATHEMA in the following:

QUISQUIS HOC SUSTULERIT
AUT JUSSERIT
ULTIMUS SUORUM MORIATUR!

Then Gruter's num. 4, p. 995:

ROGO TE, MI VIATOR, NOLI ME NOCERE.

So the just and withering ban in Spon, Disq. Ant. p. 240:

OLLA EIVS SI QVI
OVVIOLAVIT AD

IFEROS NON RECIPATVR!

I will add one Christian Execration, in the same spirit, Mabillon, Mus. Ital. p. 149:

MALE PEREAT INSEPVLTVS
IACEAT NON RESVRGAT
CVM IVDA PARTEM HABEAT
SI QVIS SEPVLCHRVM HVNC
VIOLAVERIT.

This last is entirely in the style of the so abundantly occurring Execratory formulæ of ancient Charters, &c., with which my learned readers are familiar¹.

On one well-known monument (Monumentum Heriæ Thisbes. Fabrettus et J. Sponius, in Miscel. Erud. Ant. p. 24) we have the very word THE DIGGER solemnly enjoined to refrain:

FODERE NOLI NE
SACRILEGIUM COMMITTAS.

The formula A, O or AH, or AG MUK or ME, OWES or OWNS or POSSESSES ME, (*I am the property of*), would appear to be exclusively Northern. The Classical phrase was I AM NN'S.

As applied to graves, it is very rare in later times.

This formula, once found and fixt, is of great value, and explains numerous pieces otherwise not to be understood. Accordingly I have printed or engraved several monuments where it is clearly employed, and which illustrate those with Old-Northern Runes.

The oldest Classical funeral inscriptions often give merely the name of the deceased, like as the oldest Runes. But this striking shortness is also found on other monuments, Keltic, Asiatic, &c., of the highest antiquity. Stray examples here and there occur far down in the Christian era, almost to our own days. This extreme brevity, a word or two being sometimes added, is often very affecting. Those of this class in Scandinavian-Runes are commonly very old, treading closely on the heels of the retiring Old-Northern Runes.

As to the execution of these monuments. It is generally supposed that they could only have been carved with *iron* tools; if now and then with bronze, then this metal must have been hardened by a peculiar process. But we have no such writings from the Bronze era, and the oldest among them evidently date from the Early Iron Age. Whether or no *Color* or *Gilding* was employed, to fill in the interstices and give relief, is doubtful. I am inclined to think it was, at least in some cases, several of the finest and most elaborate stones being carved in very shallow lines. Traces of Color have been observed on the oldest stones in England² and Wales, and with regard to Ireland Mr. O'Neill observes³: "As the artists have shown that they had a high relish for the charms of colour, as they have used it so skilfully in their illuminations, and as they have used it in their metal work with more artistic skill than any other people, it is but a reasonable idea that they would not be behind others in the application of colour to their buildings and monuments. What strengthens this idea is that some of

¹ See an English parallel on the Silver Boss figured and described in the text to THE THORSBJERG SHIELD-BOSS, and consult the other English examples there given. See also the remarks on the Glavendrup stone, in the Appendix.

² Since writing the above, another decisive piece of evidence has turned up, at least as far as Crosses are concerned. Several curiously carved Crosses, from the oldest English period, have just been found at Chester in North-England. They are thus referred to by the Rev. James Raine, M. A., in his invaluable "The Priory of Hexham", Vol. 1, 8vo. Surtees Society, Durham 1864. p. 45: — "Some traces of the Christian worshippers in Saxon [= Old-English] days have been recently discovered [in Chester] in the shape of several fine crosses which still bear traces of colour".

³ The Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland. Royal 8vo, London & Dublin, 1863, p. 74.

the crosses are carved in very low relief. The Cross of Tuam has the greater part of its excessively intricate carvings cut in very low relief; in fact, they are only in outline on the stone: colour was indispensable for these. Again, there is much carving on the crosses in situations which could not be seen unless aided by colour; and another fact is, that many of the intricate, interlaced patterns on the crosses are found to be composed of several bands, which are so arranged as to form symmetrical patterns; but this arrangement cannot be seen unless displayed by colour." — Much of this reasoning also applies to the Runic monuments, and on the oldest Runic metal-work we often find niello, silvering, gilding, colored stones, &c. Several technical expressions used on the Runic stones would also seem to imply color. Metal at least, particularly Lead, often gilded, was occasionally used on Classical monuments, and many incised grave-stones even yet, or which have been, filled-in with lead are still found in Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, &c.

I have only met with two observations towards deciding this question in Scandinavia, a remark in the Ms. Runic collections of Bureus, Tome 7, No. 40, on the Vaxala stone, Upland, (Lilj. No. 195), where he draws 10 runes in *red ink*, and adds: "The red staves first appeared yellow, but on being washt were red, with the most beautiful lines"¹; — and the statement of the Rev. Peder Harboe in his Ms. account of the Tingvold stone, Norway, a marble slab from the early middle age in the Quire wall of Tingvold Church, that he found and copied "the following incised Runic writing, every stave or dot half a nail deep filled with something like a black shining cement"².

There is another point, connected with the use of these runes, on which one word may be said. Four instances have been brought together, out of the annals and charters of all Europe during many centuries, of highborn people having signed their mark (the Cross, the formal oath of confirmation and authenticity, the name itself being usually written by the Notary) "*pro ignorantia literarum*", from ignorance of letters. It has therefore been assumed that *innumerable* magnates at that time could not write! — The Rev. S. R. Maitland has discuss this question in his own charming way in "The Dark Ages", 1st ed. p. 11 and fol., and grants that 4 instances may be admitted as a correction of the *innumerable*. But it is probable enough that at least the first of these, Wihfred King of Kent in 671-725, could write as well as any modern smatterer. He doubtless only used the alphabet of his fathers, the *Old Runes*. Many of these chiefs had not yet learned the mysteries of the Roman tung, before which so much of native lore and invaluable tradition unhappily fell away with such immense rapidity. — But even others are now beginning to suspect *and to assert* that the English could write before Christian missionaries came with the Latin alphabet:

"It has been assumed by the learned that writing was introduced into England at the epoch of Augustine. If this assumption be correct, we must attribute it solely to his agency and his agents, or, in other words, to the foreign priests who accompanied him. Yet this assumption involves many things which on examination appear insuperable difficulties.

"In the first place, though we recognize in the Anglo-Saxon alphabet in general the familiar cursive letters of Rome, yet we find letters unknown to the Italian — we mean the *theta* [ð] and the *w* [f]. How could these have been introduced by Italians, who neither required the symbols nor could pronounce the sounds?

"If native priests regulated the alphabet, we must push still more forward the introduction of letters. For the choice and application of an alphabet would be as a matter of consideration so a matter of time. And when we compare the dates of the earliest existing vernacular *diplomata*, there is not time enough for Augustine's English clergy to have introduced Anglo-Saxon letters and spelling into England.

"But, after all, it is nowhere said by Beda that Austin and his monks taught the Anglo-Saxon to read and to write. And Austin nowhere says the same of himself or his followers. This silence is conclusive, for if he or they had done so would they not have boasted (and legitimately) of so great a contribution to genuine civilization?

¹ "De röde stavarna syntes utan på först gula, men rifne voro de röde med skönste farger."

² "Efterfølgende skrift udgravet og hver bogstav eller prik en halv nagl dyb fyldt med noget som sortglinsende Sement."

This Ms. is dated Tingvold Parsonage, 12 Nov. 1730. The stone is No. 2023 in Liljegren.

"The Gallic of the continent was a written language¹. There is, therefore, a presumption that the Romano-British of the south and east should be a written language also. There was as much civilization in the southern provinces of Britain as in any of the Gauls, with the exception perhaps of the *provincia*.

"The laws of Æthelberht are evidence that the vernacular was a literary language so early as one century only after the completion of the Jutic conquest.

"All experience is against a language of such power, range and polish as the Anglo-Saxon language was being perfected in so short a period.

"The absence of histories or annals composed in Roman Britain cannot be objected against this view, any more than the same actual absence of histories and annals in Gaul can be said to prove that there was no learning and literature in that country. But it is not true to say that such histories and annals did not exist in Britain, however untraceable they are now.

"There is evidence that there was history, not merely before Beda, but before Christianity. There is at least one event told in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which that writer has not mentioned. It is a plain, prosaic story of the heathen age, which could not have been taken down in later days from the traditional effusions of scopas and wandering minstrels, and yet, though unnoticed by Beda, it is historic, and is confirmed by unexceptionable Kymric authority. This historical notice tells us, under the year of our Lord 577, that Cuthwin and Ceawlin fought with Britons and slew three kings — Commægyl (Commagil, Commail, or Coinmagil), Condidan (or Candidan), and Farinmægyl (Farinmail or Farinmagil), at the place that is named Derham, and took three cities from them — Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath².

"This is a concise account of the West-Saxon campaign for the year 577; and if we turn to Llywarch Hen, we find the same series of events referred to, and two of those Kymric heroes, viz., Kendelann (or Kynddylan) and Keranmail, father and son, eulogised and lamented by that poet in a contemporary effusion"³. — *H. C. Coote*, *A neglected fact in English History*, 8vo, London 1864, pp. 109-112⁴.

The destruction of Inscribed Stones has been universal in all lands and ages. Of late years MACADAMIZING the roads has smasht hundreds which had stood unmolested for many centuries. In older times the heathen monuments were ruthlessly buried down out of sight, or wilfully broken, that they might not offend Christian eyes. When merely buried, they are often exhumed comparatively uninjured. Thus Churchwardens may sometimes have done a service, and future finds may reward future diggers. For instance, in the year 2000 somebody may light upon stone treasure-trove at Hexham: "On the day we visited the church they were forming a large warm-air drain, 6 feet wide and 6 feet deep, and 120 feet long, through the length of the north transept; and to form a cover for this drain the contractors were using up fragments of Norman coffin-lids with zigzag ornaments, and entire gravestones of more

¹ "Lamp. Vita Alex. Sev. 59; see Dig. l. 32, tit. 1, § 11. Here Ulpian lays down that *fidei commissa* may be written in any language, e. g. the *Gallicana*. In addition to this we have Lucian's testimony that the Keltic was a written language. Alexander, the *pseudomartyr* (Tauchnitz's edition, vol. 2. c. 51, p. 256) received letters in this language — "ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους πολλὰς ἔχρηνεν ἐν τῇ πατρίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν Σύγγραμματα ἢ Κέλτιστά". We have also Gallic inscriptions (*vide* Roget de Belloguet, *Ethnogenie Gauloise*, première partie Glossaire Gaulois)."

² "Anglo-Saxon Chron."

³ "Villemarque's *Barde Bretons*, pp. 66-115; Konmael is not mentioned by this or any other bard (p. 66)."

⁴ In answer to several fallacies contained, in my opinion, in this interesting and valuable work I would observe: — 1. That the English ("Anglo-Saxons") were not even, (with some exceptions), "Saxons", still less "Germans"; — 2. That no reasonable man ever talks of the "extermination" of the Britons by the "barbarian" invaders; — 3. That these Northern invaders, so far from being "barbarians", possess a high civilization, tho it was not, happily, exactly "Roman"; — 4. That the system of "Castes", of Landed Property and its Burdens, of Recruiting, &c., is found, in all essentials, in the *Scandinavian* lands, where no Romans ever set foot, as far back as history and tradition run; — 5. That the word *rūx*, *tūxa*, *tūnx*, (enclosure, homestead) is common from the very oldest times in all the *Scandinavian* lands, lands which never saw a Roman invader; — 6. That the English no more learned their Heathen, Asiatic, seven Weekday names from the Romans than did all the other *Scando-Gothic* tribes — among whom they are used as far back as we can go; — 7. That all wise men admit a considerable influence of Roman manners and language on the Old-English, and the natural continuance of many Roman-British customs and establishments, but that — 8. Many of the parallel words adduced are common to both the Roman and the *Scando-Gothic* tungs, and therefore not Roman, others are English, and others such as had wandered also to lands where no Roman ever came; — 9. If Hengest and Horsa are "a myth", so is Mr. Coote himself, as far as I know, for I have never seen that ingenious scholar.

modern date, because *the sexton thought the churchyard too full of them and wanted them put out of his way*¹.

When not destroyed, such monuments have often done duty a second time, become *palimpsests*. This usage also can be traced back to the oldest times. So even in the Roman Catacombs a stone is quoted by Burgon, p. 215, which has "commemorated" twice, first on the one side for one person and then on the other for a second — "just as mediæval brasses and recent tombstones". Mr. Marryat mentions an amusing instance in Skåne: "In Jutland the tombstones are disposed of for secular purposes: here, in Skåne, they are used two or three times over, causing much perplexity to those unacquainted with the fashions of the past. I myself was somewhat taken aback at a fresh blackened stone, bearing date 1848, with inscription to the memory of a village schoolmaster, in which the man was represented in a ruff and farthingale of the 17th century"².

But we have everywhere the wonderful *Instinct of Destruction* — often for its own sake, as well as for plunder, bravado, glory, the mere materials, and without which Instinct the world would be overfilled with past remains and there would be no room for men to move or for fresh creations of art — as well as the *Instinct of Preservation*, without which we should know nothing of the Past. In the High North we have repeated instances, in the Sagas and elsewhere, of men opening and robbing the mounds of the dead even in the earliest periods. Sometimes this was done by the nearest kin of the sleeper, to obtain some precious weapon. But generally the object sought was — the golden and silver ornaments buried in the cairn. However forbidden by law and custom, this system went on; it afterwards became too general, when Christianity regarded all cairn-burial as heathen and hateful³. Still later, the only question was, who was the legal owner of the spoil found. This was foolishly answered by assigning it either to the King or the Landowner, to whom of course the discoverer very seldom gave it. It is now very properly acknowledged to be the property of the finder, and antiquities are therefore now commonly preserved, not melted down or destroyed for secrecy. But, as we have said, we often find old graves to have been already opened and rifled.

The *number* of Runic pieces still extant in originals or transcripts (for hundreds have been smasht and lost) is very considerable, notwithstanding the enormous destruction which has been going on for so many centuries. Those in *Old-Northern* runes — as being so much more ancient — are of course comparatively few, as the following pages will sorrowfully show. Those in *Scandinavian-Runes* may be roughly given as upwards of 2000, (excluding rune-bearing Coins), of which the great mass — say about 3-fourths — are in Sweden. Many have been discovered of late years and others are found from time to time. They are now better taken care of than formerly, seldom at once wantonly destroyed. In the last few years more than 30 runic stones, &c., have turned up in Great Britain alone, most of them in the Orkneyan "Maeshowe" so generously opened and described and so ably rescued and perpetuated (thanks to his facsimiles and casts) by Mr. Farrer. We may reasonably hope that fresh finds will yet be made in all the Northern lands, and the day may come when Scandinavian Iceland, now so feebly represented, will add several to our store, for "diggings" would doubtless meet with a rich harvest in that famous island. May these pages be a slight help to reading them, and may all the noble of whatever rank, poor or rich, "lewd or learned", do their best towards preserving them when fortunately restored to us! Were these monuments Eastern or "Classical", or were they rare "Birds, Beasts and Butterflies", Governments and Individuals would hasten to lavish thousands of pounds upon them. But as they *only* belong to *our own* races, as they are *only* the oldest memorials of *our own* art and language, we "enthusiasts" can scarcely screw out a few miserable shillings for their protection and description. Scandinavia is greatly in advance of us on this head. In Great Britain, for Cooks and Stables shining sovereigns are always forthcoming; for the more than "royal" monuments of our olden age — our Parliaments and Societies commonly grudge as many farthings. We shall one day awake to more selfrespect, and shake off the longborne fetters imposed by our pedantic onesided humdrum "Classical Educational System". The free children of the free "Barbarians" will at last refuse to be any longer the slaves of "the Romans". Voluntary *companionship* is quite enough.

¹ The Builder. Quoted in Archaeologia Eliana, 8vo, Feb. 1861, p. 158.

² Horace Marryat. One Year in Sweden. London 1862. Vol. 1, p. 25.

³ For other remarks on this head see the Glavendrup stone, in the Appendix.

RUNE-LORE.

In order to obtain *certainty*, as far as we can, on all that regards the history and values of Runic letters, I have been anxious to examine and copy not only all the Old-Northern Runic monuments known to me, but also all the Manuscript Alphabets of the same which I have been able to discover. In reading these oldest carved pieces I have gone a double way; I have tried to decipher them pragmatically, practically, giving to the several obscurer letters the powers which they *must* have from the context; and also punditly, theoretically, by a careful comparison of all the Staverows. Both these ways help and explain each other, and eventually coincide.

All the Manuscript Alphabets. This was the only way of avoiding endless accusations. No one can now say I have omitted anything in order to help a theory or suppress a truth. Of course, in this way, I have given many Alphabets of later date and little value. But better too many than too few. And besides, we learn something from all.

All which I have been able to discover either privately, or in the Runic works which have fallen into my hands. Doubtless some others may yet be found, and it is to be hoped that every such may be at once made public. As I everywhere give my authorities, I can only be responsible for fidelity to them.

Among the Old-Northern, I have also copied the old Scandinavian Staverows occurring in codices. The earliest of these are older than most of those carved on stone in Scandinavia itself, and are therefore of great value. We thus see that they everywhere offer variations, and that the Stung (or Dotted) Runes are older than is generally supposed. As specimens, I have also given two Scandinavian-Runic Alphabets carved on stone, one from Scotland and one from Denmark, the Maeshowe Slab and the Barse Font, besides a Scandinavian Bell.

The final result of this whole investigation is, that all the old manuscripts containing Runic Alphabets are *from England*, from that Northern country which was first Christianized, which first learned to use their old letters in skinbooks, as literature in the modern sense; for the mere *carving* of Runes on stone and wood &c. was as old as we can trace these peoples themselves. To be able to read the old letters, which were still kept up by the unconverted tribes, the Clerks copied various alphabets into their codices. Most of the manuscripts are indubitably English, and are chiefly in England to this very day. The rest were carried into heathen lands by English or British missionaries, or were copied from English originals by the disciples of these missionaries, or became the common property of successive scribes. The flow of peoples was from Scandinavia, particularly Denmark, to England, and they took their native letters with them.

A single glance will show that all the Runes are sister staves, descended from a source which also produced the alphabets of the Phœnicians and the Classical peoples. All throw light on each other. Many of the types, such as the B, I, L, R, &c., correspond either with the Old-Greek or the Old-Latin, while others have as plainly continued a tradition answering to that of the Phœnician, even where the Classical had departed therefrom.

This Phœnician-Semitic alphabet was, however, in so far modern as that it was greatly abridged. It contained only 22 letters; 4 of these (the π — for which the Runic prefers the Phœnician mark for χ —, the ζ , the $\sigma\eta$ and the $\sigma\theta$) are more or less wanting in the Runic. But this Phœnician staverow supplies valuable connecting links towards understanding the Runic forms. We thus see that the "Scandinavian Futhork" is not *younger* than the "Old-Northern", but a peculiar modification and compendium of the common Runic traditions. We see at once from the Phœnician varieties of the A-letter, that the Old-Northern Υ (A) (γA), the Old-English Υ (eA), \approx (A), \approx (o), and the Scandinavian \mathfrak{A} (A), \mathfrak{A} (o) all had a common origin; like as this A and o continually interchanged in the dialects of the Northern lands, as they do to this day (AN, ON, HAND, HOND, &c.); while the O. North. \mathfrak{O} (o) is almost a copy of the Phœnician o. But we also see that the Scandinavian Υ (M) is not younger than the O. North. \mathfrak{M} (M), both forms being only varieties of the Phœnician and Palmyrene \mathfrak{M} . In the same way the Runic \mathfrak{S} and \mathfrak{S} (s) are both mere slight changes from the Phœnician s. The O. North. \mathfrak{S} is apparently sprung from the Phœnician 18th letter.

I have therefore judged it proper to add these three connecting alphabets.

Chiefly from FRANZIUS:

THE OLD ITALIAN ALPHABET.

Chiefly from MOMMSEN:

1. A. A, A, A, A, A, A, N, N, A, A, A, A, A
2. B. B, B, B, B, B, B
3. (C) G. C, C, C, C, C, C, G, G, G, G, G, G, G
4. D. D, D, D, D, D, D, A, A, A, A, A, A, A
5. E. E, E, E, E, E, E, E, E, E, E, E, E, E

6. V.	1. 2. F. 3. 4. 7. F. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. F. 3. 4. 7. F. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
7. Z.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
8. H.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
9. TH.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
10. L.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
11. K.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
12. L.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
13. M.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
14. N.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
15. O.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
16. P.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
17. S.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
18. Q.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
19. R.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
20. (SH) S.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
21. T.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
22. X.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
23. U, Y.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
24. PH.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
25. CH.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
26. F.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
27. (s).	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.
28. RS.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.	1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28.

For the sake of completeness, I have drawn up the following Tables of the signs in the Alphabets. All are, as far as may be, proximately in chronological order. In this way we can follow them from the earliest to the latest times.

It will be observed that several of these alphabets approach very nearly, or have been more or less influenced by, quite another class of Abecedaria occurring frequently in manuscripts, and which may be called SECRET, MAGICAL OR FANCIFUL. Some of these are doubtless very old, perhaps older than the time of Christ if we could trace them back; others are later, some comparatively young. In fact we have similar CIPHER alphabets in every century, and may make them ourselves if we like. Bastard Scandinavian-Runic stave-rows of the same sort exist *by scores*, down to the end of the last century, mostly used in Charms and Witchcraft, and other such barbarous characters occur in the famous CYPRIANUS- and FAUST- and other Witchcraft-books of the 16th and 17th centuries. These *older* stave-rows have various names, some of them fanciful enough, such as *Adam's letters*, *Angel staves*, *Noah's signs*, *Solomon's marks*, *the Egyptian alphabet*, &c. &c. Wuttke is right in his idea¹, that the best of these alphabets are barbarized corruptions of a common Asiatic original. They follow the usual

¹ H. Wuttke, *Cosmographia Aethiica Istrii*, Lipsiæ 1854, 8vo. At p. 85 this excellent scholar has engraved yet another alphabet of this kind, taken from the Leipsic Ms. It begins: ALUCMOY, BECACH, CATHY, DELFOY, &c. — See also T. Bang, *Colum Orientis et Prisci Mundi Triade*; Hauniæ 1657, 4to; — Ol. Bang, *De quibusdam Babyloniorum & Chaldeorum Antiquitatibus*; Hafniæ 1733, 4to; — the works mentioned by Wuttke, l. c. p. LXXVI. and others.

Classical ABC order, give the letters wonderful names, differ widely from each other (very seldom agreeing in essentials), and, like the similar Runic alphabets, appear to have been confined to private use, in so far as they never occur on public monuments (with the exception of 2 or 3 modern "tricks on stone"), tho sometimes found on amulets, &c. At all events they do not concern this work. Still, as an additional example, and as it has never been printed, I give yet another stave-row belonging to this fantastic class. It is from the Christina Codex (see No. 20, b), and is there called NORMĀ (= NORMANORUM). For this piece our readers have to thank Prof. Thorsen, by whom it has been kindly communicated to me. I add, for the same reason, the *Littere Gothorum* from the Ms. Cott. Titus D. XVIII. (See No. 54, b).

Not to be confounded with these regular half-Asiatic and half-barbarous alphabets, are what we may call the simpler Crypt-runes. Many of these appear in the stave-rows. Some are very simple, dots for vowels, B for A, C for B, &c. Others are twisted characters or entirely conventional signs, as agreed upon between the two or more persons who might use them. Of course we can seldom decipher them unless we have the key in each separate instance. In Scandinavia were many such, the more regular consisting of various ways of expressing the 1st or 2nd or 3rd Class of the Futhorc, and then by separate strokes the number of the letter in that class. But, for greater secrecy or ingenuity, the first class was sometimes taken last, &c., as in the Maeshowe Twig-runes. See hereon the text to the *Rök* stone. Then the Futhorc might be divided into 4 or more groups, so that we are never sure. We must look well ere we read. Various other such Cryptic Runic alphabets occur, sometimes the single letters being plain enough but making no sense, and either taken the one for the other in a way we cannot comprehend for want of the key, or standing as initials. We all understand that H. M. stands for HER MAJESTY, that K. C. B. is KNIGHT COMMANDER OF THE BATH. But some abbreviations have many meanings. A. M. signifies ANNO MUNDI, but also ARTIUM MAGISTER, and ANTE MERIDIEM. In such cases only the context can help us, and this context was often living tradition. After a thousand years we can make nothing of it. And when we have a string of such letters we are quite lost. Suppose we had a stone inscribed, by some fanciful Lord of the Manor who one day had given a fête to the Duke of Wellington:

FMDOWDITP

— no mortal (unless there were a family tradition) could ever guess that we were to read:

FIELD-MARSHAL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON DINED IN THIS PARK.

Then there were various sorts of Bind-runes and Bind-staves, several letters being joined together or carved on one and the same staff. Hence there are some few Scandinavian-Runic monuments, of one or other of the above kinds, which never have been read and probably never will. The obscurity of many among these Crypt-runes — obscure even in old days, and how much more so now — is well exemplified by an historical instance. When the famous Snorre Sturlason's death was resolved upon, he was warned by a friend, Odd Sveinbjörnson, in a letter written in a kind of runes then called *Stofkarlaetr*. But Snorre, the most learned and accomplished man then living in Scandinavia, could not decipher the staves. So he fell a victim to the death-plot, and was struck down September 22, 1241.

No one can look over the Alphabets and Tabulated Lists thus brought together, without at once recognizing the substantial unity of the Runic Alphabet. In some cases different elements have been variously employed, and have thus branched into separate forms. In others the variations are mere misreadings or misdrawings by rapid or unskilful copyists. In others they have been purposely twisted and altered in order to produce a private cipher. But the main features are everywhere nearly the same, and it is these main features alone which we meet with on the monuments. The exuberance of barbarized marks found in manuscripts is a sign of lateness of date, and, as far as we know, never merged from private into public life. The same thing holds good of the Scandinavian-Runic staverow, as compared with the crowd of later secret or magical characters. Many of these barbarizations spring from the efforts to make "differences", in order to accommodate the Runic to the Roman alphabet.

Everywhere we see the Scandinavian gradually, not suddenly, fashioning itself out of the Old-Northern staverow, and chiefly by casting away many of the letters. We must also remember the local variations ever and anon arising, the multitude of tribes and folk-groups, the great contrasts of dialect and pronunciation, the influences of the civilization of surrounding peoples or of visits, for war or peace, to other lands. This will more than explain all real differences, for most variations, as we have said, are merely in the hand or the graving-tool. Every fresh find brings to light new evidences of common

agreement and yet of multitudinous change. A "rare" form of a Rune is only a conventional phrase. Had we *thousands* of monuments instead of *units*, we should find in many cases our theories pitilessly overturned. All we can say with any certainty is, that there never was an iron uniformity in the use of their Runes in the Northern lands; and that we cannot be sure that the provincial peculiarities which show a certain amount of difference between the Scandinavian and English *olden* Runes, may not have existed while the English tribes were yet settled in their Scandinavian home. Once more, whether as to Runes or Language, let us not generalize too hastily. Let us perpetually remind ourselves that we have only a very few fragments remaining of the Lingual Culture which reigned supreme among our forefathers during the first thousand years of the Christian era, and which was partially in use for centuries later, especially in the Scandinavian lands.

RUNIC ALPHABETS.

It is a singular piece of good fortune, and a wonderful help to the reading of the monuments, that so many Runic Staverows have come down to our time. Most precious of all are the Metallic Alphabets — all of them older than the year 500, all of them genuine (not book-made or fanciful), and all of them clearly of Northern origin. All three, as we might expect, are in the ancient Futhorc order, for not till about the 9th century do we find these runes manufactured and arranged in the order of the Latin ABC.

I have copied with scrupulous exactness *all* the runic alphabets known to me. Others will perhaps turn up from time to time, but this collection is by far the richest which has hitherto appeared. Of course I have not engraved the many Scandinavian Futhores found on stones, bells, wood, &c. &c., in the Scandian lands. This would have been useless, as they are mostly of a comparatively later date and offer nothing new. But I have given every Scandinavian staverow found in any old codex, and some on stone or metal when they offered anything of interest.

The total number thus brought together is 61. Of these no fewer than 40 are from the North itself (35 from England, 5 from Scandinavia); the rest are from manuscripts which have wandered to other countries or have been transcribed there, namely: 8 from Germany, 4 from Switzerland, 2 from France, 2 from Italy, 1 from Belgium, and 4 from Printed Books manuscript authority unknown.

Entirely barbarous and fanciful alphabets for secret writing, such as were fabricated so largely in the middle age, and are so still, I have not been anxious to collect. But a couple of the oldest and most interesting are given among the rest, whenever they have any smell of the runes still lingering about them.

In every case I have given both the names and the powers of the staves, whenever they are found added to the runic characters. All have been engraved most carefully as they appear in the codices or my authorities, but they have been copied after one general scale, for practical use in my work. We gain nothing by having a rune half an inch long, or so small as to be scarcely legible. Those in the ancient or Futhorc order come first, then those arranged as a Latin-ordered alphabet. I have given, distinctly but in few words, *all* the information known to me as to the character and resting-place of every manuscript. There is a break here and there in the numbers, as one or two O. N. Runic Alphabets of which I have been promised facsimiles have not yet reached me.

OLD-NORTHERN (AND SCANDINAVIAN) STAVEROVS.

A. THE FUTHORC.

N^o. 1. ? *Earlier than the 5th century.* The Bracteate Letter-row. East-Gotland, Sweden. —
Bracteate No. 22.

WEND-RUNES (letters retrograde):

8 0 1 M M 8 ↑ : 2 Y 8 J 0 1 + H : 9 X > R 1 9 0 Y

O; NG; L; M; E; B; T; S; A; P; VO; Y; I; N; H; W; G; C; R; Æ; D; U; F

RUNES and NAMES given in alliterative lines, which I read and divide thus:

ƿ	feu	forman	wreat ¹	<i>FEU foremost write,</i>
ᚢ	ur	after		<i>UR after,</i>
ᚦ	thur	is	thritte stabu	<i>THUR is third stave,</i>
ᚱ	os	is	thimo oboro	<i>OS is to-that over (next);</i>
ᚱ	rat	end	os uiritan	<i>RAT and OS written</i>
ᚦ	chaon	thanne	chumet	<i>CHAON then cometh;</i>
*	hagal	ᚦ	naut habet	<i>HAGAL NAUTH hath-next-him,</i>
ᚠ	is	ᚠ	ar ᚠ endi sol	<i>IS, AR and SOL,</i>
ᚱ... ²	ᚠ	brita ³	ᚠ endi man	<i>TIR, BRITA and MAN,</i>
ᚠ	lagu	the	leohto	<i>LAGU the light (bright),</i>
Y	yr	al	bihabendi.	<i>YR all be-having (ending).</i>

The nationality of this Ms. is not ascertained, and Grimm, p. 27, thinks that the above was written first by an "Anglosaxon", and copied with some alterations by a German. But it is all good Old-North-English, and the codex has probably the same origin.

In this "*Abecedarium Nord.*", [Nordmannicum], as it is called in the manuscript, the Old-Northern Runes are added by the same hand, where they differ. Thus, above the *r* is written ƿ, above and below the *h* we have ᚢ and ᚦ, above a *ſ*, and above *γ* ᚠ.

In Hattemer's facsimile of this alphabet (Denkmähe des Mittelalters, 8vo, Vol. 1, St. Gallen 1844, Plate 1, No. 2) the form of the Runes is substantially but not minutely the same, while the text is not so correct. There is, however, one improvement. The Old-Northern Rune *under* the *h* and *above* the *m* is here not *ᚱ* but ᚱ (M), to which it therefore belongs. The name *brita* may also here be redd *birca*.

The above Old-English Runic lines have lately been printed as "German" by K. Müllenhoff and W. Scherer (Denkmäler Deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII Jahrhundert, 8vo, Berlin 1864, p. 10). In the notes, p. 271, they further define them as Low-Saxon copied by an Anglosaxon. They are as incorrectly redd here as elsewhere, and out of the mistakes have been manufactured "Germanisms". But we must not complain. All this is a small matter to the wholesale annexation and appropriation of which many Germans have been guilty of late years. Not only have they printed extracts from our noblest Old-English remains (including Cædmon) in their "Old-German" Reading-books, but they have done the same exploit to the Scandinavian dialects, even the Eddas. They have also begun to speak in their books of our ancient monarchs as the "German Kings" of England. I have not yet seen the olden rulers of Denmark or Sweden or Norway spoken of as the "German Kings" of those countries. But the one is not more immoral and absurd than the other, and we may live to see even that excess of mistaken national vanity. What would the Germans say if English or Scandinavian authors were to plunder all their older authors, and print the extracts as specimens of Old-English or Old-Scandinavian dialects, and talk and write about "the English" or "the Scandinavian" Kings of Germany? They might laugh at the folly, but they would grieve at the despicable moral perversion.

Nº. 6½. ? 9th century. The Stave-row on slab No. 5 in the Picts-house at Maeshowe, which see in the Appendix. The runes there scribbled are the SCANDINAVIAN letters, 16 in number:

ƿ ᚢ ᚦ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ ᚱ
F, U, D, O, R, K, H, N, I, A, S, T, B, M, L, U (E, Y).

The stoopt *m* is ornamental.

7. ? 9th century. Same codex and same hand as No. 6; at p. 137. This alphabet is called by the scribe ("*Abecedarium*") "*Anguliscum*", the Stave-row of the Angles. Neither names nor letters given. Two or three of the staves are imperfect, from the paling of the ink.

From W. Grimm, Ueber Deutsche Runen, Tab. 2, No. 3.

¹ The copies differ. Reagents have been employed, but still some letters are indistinct and doubtful. In this word, *which is written in runes, either the last stave was a *r*, or, as is sometimes the case, *ᚱ* stands for *r*. In Hattemer it is a clear *r*.

² The left arm gone, and only traces of the *tir* left.

³ The copyist has made *BRICA* into *BRITA*.

Nº. 15, B. ? 12th century. The stone font at *Bårse*, Sealand, Denmark.

After two lines of Roman-Gothic letters follows the SCANDINAVIAN Futhorc, 19 Runes, thus:

ƿ ʁ þ ʀ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ
F, U, D, O, R, K, H, N, I, A, S, T, B, L, M, E, D, G, E.

15, c. I add a Futhorc which has lately reached me, and whose date I do not know, perhaps the 13th or 14th century. It is on the small Bell in *Elgarås* Church, West-Gotland, Sweden, No. 1982 in Liljegren, and has been obligingly communicated to me by Prof. Sæve of Upsala. The stave-row is SCANDINAVIAN, but it has the O. Northern X (c) for the usual * (u). All the Runes are reverst, and read from right to left. The barbarous forms, of the u (much like an r) the r, the k (a kind of V reverst) &c. will be at once observed.

ƿ ʁ þ ʀ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ ʁ
M, E, T, S, A, I, N, H, K, R, O, D, U, F.

OLD-NORTHERN (AND SCANDINAVIAN) STAVEROWS.

B. AS A, B, C.

16. ? 9th century. Cotton Ms. Otho, B. 10. (See No. 5.)

From Hicces, Thes. 3, Tab. 2, No. 2.

RUNES and STAVES:

A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.		L.	L.	M.	N.		O.	P.	Q.	R.
ƿ	B	h	M	M	P	X	N	†	I	†	M	†	†	N	h	Y	R
S.	T.	D.	V.	W.	Y.	Z.	eo.	oe.	ae.	io.	gæ.	ing.	ear.	z.			
h	†	†	h	P	Y	h	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†	†

17. ? 9th or 10th century. From Hrabanus Maurus, *De inventione linguarum*. Opera, Cölln 1626, fol., Vol. 6, p. 334.

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

ƿ. a, asc; B. b, birith; P. c, chen; M. d, thorn; M. e, eoh; P. f, fech;
X. g, gibu; H. h, hagale; I. i, his; H. g, gile; P. l, lagu; M. m, man; P. n, not;
K. o, othil; K. p, perc; Y. q, chon; R. r, rehir; P. s, sugil; A. t, tac; D. u, hur;
Y. x, hafach; Y. y, huyri; P. z, ziu.

This staverow is introduced with the words:

litteras quippe, quas utuntur Marcomanni, quos nos Nordmannos vocamus, infra scripta habemus: a quibus originem, qui theodiscam loquuntur linguam, trahunt. Cum quibus carmina sua incantationesque ac divinationes significare procurant, qui adhuc pagani ritibus involvuntur.

Below we have the letters used by the Marchmen, whom we call the Northmen, from whom they are sprung who speak the Theotisc tung. With these letters those men who still practise heathen rites inscribe their songs, incantations and divinations.

Hrabanus, who died in 859, was the pupil of the Englishmen Bæda the venerable and Alcuin. He was a learned man, and died as Archbishop of Maynts. W. Grimm (*Ueb. deutsche Run.* p. 84) inclines to think that the above alphabet is later than his time, and that he could not have written such bad Latin. However this may be, we can all see that we have here only a mangled transcript of a barbarous adaptation of some Old-English runes to the Latin alphabet. Most of the names remain English, others have been altered or miswritten by the German copyist. It must be observed that B for F¹ and final T for D is no sign of "German" in old times. They occur frequently in our oldest

¹ Within a few pages in our Old-English Charters we have alB for alF, hiaBen for hiaFen, hlaB for hlaF, luBa for luFa, oB for oF, oBer for oFer, &c.; and flubius, silBa, &c. in Latin.

English, and the r for d very largely in Early English and even in some of our living dialects. It is also clear that there is not *one single word* in the above extract about either "Germany" or the "Germans" or "German Runes". The "*who speak the Theodisc tung*" is, as W. Grimm himself naturally and justly points out, used in contrast to Kelts and other non-Gothic nations.

The *Marcomanni* are simply the *Marchmen*, the men of the march, the borderers, the inhabitants of South-Jutland in Denmark, who were still pagans; and that they were *Nordmanni*, *Northmen*, every schoolboy knows¹.

The above alphabet could scarcely have been foisted into the book of Hrabanus till a century after his death, say about 950, tho the Ms. itself may possibly be older than that date. All the *oldest* written Runerows are Futhorcs, not ABC's; this one is an ABC. But this date is some 150 years after the death of Charlemagne. Nay, even if we suppose the queer Latin and the corrupt ABC-runes to have been really from the pen of Hrabanus, this will still be about 50 years after the time of the great Christian Kaiser and relentless Crusader. But as for there being any "German" people whatsoever, call them by what name we will — Marchmen or Mountmen, Northmen or Southmen, Eastmen or Westmen — who 50, and still less 100 or 150 years AFTER THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE *practist heathen rites and used Rune-songs and Rune-books, and Rune-carvings in incantations and divinations* — why the thing is ridiculous, unheard of, and can only bring down "inextinguishable laughter".

But all this is literally true of *West-Denmark*, where Willebrord the Englishman paved the way for Ansgar the Dano-Frank (died 865) in preaching the Holy Faith, and with some success. *The great mass of the inhabitants, however, remained heathens till about the year 1000 and more, later still in the rest of Denmark.*

That the Saxons *north of the Elbe*, a people at this early period largely mixt with and nearly allied to the southern portion of the Danish South-Jutlanders, were at this time occasionally and very naturally and properly called NORTLIUDI, NORDLIUDI² (sometimes, but very seldom, NORDMANNI, in a general sense, taken together with their Scandian neighbors, for all were North of the Elbe), and, more strictly, TRANSALBIANI, NORDALBINI, NORTHALBINI — is very true. But this will not mend the argument; for, unfortunately, these NORTH-LEDES (= North-folk), these NORTH-ELBERS, *were already Christians and had long been so.*

But even supposing that these Northern and Christian Saxons at this time used Pagan rites and Pagan Runes, this will not help to make the Runes "German". The Old-Saxons were much more nearly allied to the Scandinavians than to the Germans: At the best, we should only get *Saxon Runes*, which may have existed once upon a time, but of which we never heard. Certain it is, that the genuine Saxon Runes, should they ever turn up, will be found to be nearly identical with the Old-Northern, and will be very different from the bastard-Latin mis-spelt barbarisms attributed in certain manuscripts to Hrabanus Maurus — one of those men on whom so much has been fathered.

We have also other copies of this Marchman alphabet. See particularly Nos. 25, 44, 59. They all differ, and they are all the usual Old-Northern staverow, however disguised by time and by repeated transcribing.

I will not speak of the old school, for instance Olaf Worm (*Danica Literatura*, 4to, Hafniæ 1636, p. 46), who quite simply calls this an "ALPHABETA DANICA". Let us come down to our own age. The learned and impartial Frenchman Edélestand du Ménil gives the weight of his great authority to this same view³, and regards it as self-evident that the above "Marcomanni" and "Nordmanni" were simply SCANDINAVIANS. He says: "Ainsi, dans un traité spécial sur l'origine des différents alphabets, Hrabanus Maurus, qui avait eu des relations avec les savants anglo-saxons que les libéralités de Charlemagne avaient attirés en France, regardait les runes comme l'écriture propre des Northmanns, et l'idée que dans le IX^e siècle on attachait à ce nom est clairement expliquée par un passage d'Einhart: Dani

¹ After having stated that north of the Franks came the Frisians (Frixones), and north of them the Saxons, the Geographer of Ravenna (7th or 8th century), adds (ed. Pinder et Parthey, Berolini 1860, p. 27): "Quarta ut hora noctis Northomanorum est patria, quæ et Dania ab antiquis dicitur", and again, p. 202: "Quæ Dania modo Nordomanorum dicitur patria". Guido, a century later, repeats the same phrase (id. p. 554), with the addition that these Danes were Wariags, Russian and Greek Bodyguards, as we all know they were: "Quæ Dania modo Nordomannorum seu Warangorum dicitur patria".

² "NORD-LIUDI trans Albim sedentes". Pertz, Vol. I, pp. 160, 184.

³ Essai sur l'origine des Runes, p. 16.

No. 26. ? 10th or 11th century. Same Ms. — From Hickes, l. c.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z.
 Æ. B. h. M. F. * N. I. Y. A. M. f. N. H. X. R. y. t. D. k. Y. D
 "supersunt istæ: 3 X þ f", doubtless EO, NG, D and Æ.

27. ? 10th or 11th century. Same Ms. — From Hickes, l. c.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z.
 Æ. B. h. f. M. F. G. f. J. X. A. M. f. X. B. h. R. y. t. A. X. Y. 3

Appended to these 3 last staverows are the words PAX VOBISCUM ET SALUS PAX, in Latin and in Runic letters. We might suppose that these last would all agree with one or other of the above 3 alphabets. Yet we find Y for x in the word PAX, twice repeated; by the alphabets it is y. Again we have h for the first v in VOBISCUM, altho it is c in the alphabets. In fact we have here another instance that these staverows were often mere fanciful and capricious learned trifles, where they were not used for secret writing or for magical signs.

28. ? 10th or 11th century. From the bookfell Vitellius A, 12, in the Cottonian Library, as engraved by Hickes in his Thesaurus, Vol. I, p. 148.

In his Catalogue, p. 239, Wanley says of this Ms.: "Cod. Memb. in Quarto in quo invenire licet plurima Latina scripta, quæ memorantur in D. Tho. Smithi Catalogo: ad nostram vero rem propius accedunt I, fol. 62. Alphabeta Runica tria, cum his verbis Runicis litteris PAX VOBISCUM ET SALUS PAX. Eadem Alphabeta occurrunt in libro veteri Exoniensis Ecclesiæ, ex quo ea descripsi haud ita pridem, in usum D. Georgii Hickesii".

This is not quite correct. This and the following ABC are substantially the same as the first and third staverow in the Exeter "De Computo" codex (here No. 25) referred to by Wanley. But the third alphabet in this Vitellius skinbook does not agree with the second in No. 25. On the contrary, i is the Scandinavian Futhorc arranged in the Latin order. This last is therefore derived from an independent source.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z.
 Æ B h M V X N I Y T N t N n R y t n h Y n
 Z X þ f

The four last runes are of course EO, NG, D and Æ.

29. ? 10th or 11th century. From the same Ms. — Hickes l. c.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z.
 Æ B h f M Y G f I X T N t S B h R y t A X Y 3

30. ? 10th or 11th century. Same skinbook. — Hickes, l. c.

The SCANDINAVIAN RUNES, 23 in number, arranged as the Latin alphabet.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z.
 X B y i f Y Y * I Y T Y h f B Y R y t n * A y

31. ? 10th or 11th century. Ms. St. John's College, Oxford, c. 27. Not in Wanley.

The SCANDINAVIAN RUNES, 16 in number, as far as they go as a Latin alphabet.

From Hickes, Thesaurus, Vol. 3, Tab. 2. No. 6.

N^o. 43. ? 11th century. Cotton Ms. Galba A, 3. — Not in Wanley. — Hickes, Thes. 3, Tab. 6, No. 12.

The SCANDINAVIAN RUNES, 27 in number, arranged as the Latin alphabet.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q,
 1 · B · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20 · 21 · 22 · 23 · 24 · 25 · 26 · 27 ·
 r, s, t, v, x, y.
 R · 1 · 2 · 3 · 4 · 5 · 6 · 7 · 8 · 9 · 10 · 11 · 12 · 13 · 14 · 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 · 19 · 20 · 21 · 22 · 23 · 24 · 25 · 26 · 27 ·

44. 11th century. Paris Codex No. 5239.

From W. Grimm, Wiener Jahrbücher, Vol. 43, p. 23.

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

P, a, asc; C, b, bira; V, c, ché; D, d, dhron; M, e, eth; F, f, fec; G, g, gibu;
 X, h, agalc; I, i, his; K, k, kile; L, l, lac; N, m, mam; O, n, not; U, o, otil; P, p, perc;
 Q, q, chon; R, r, rehit; S, s, sigil; T, t, tac; U, u, hur; V, x, helac; W, y, hyr;
 Z, z, ziu.

This skinbook, now in the Bibliothèque Imperiale, is of the 11th century, and was probably written at Limoges. It is the one referred to by M. du Ménil. See Nos. 17, 52.

45. 11th century. Vienna Codex No. 64.

W. Grimm, Ueber deutsche Runen, Tab. 1, No. 2.

RUNES and LETTERS (no names):

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, d, r, s, t, v, x, y, z.
 K B h d M P X N I P T X N K D 2 3 4 W Y V

46. 11th century. Same Codex.

From W. Grimm, Ueber deutsche Runen, Tab. 1, No. 1.

RUNES, LETTERS and NAMES:

A, a, asch; B, b, birth; C, c, chen; D, d, thorn; M, e, cho; F, f, feh; G, g, gibu;
 H, h, hagale; I, i, his; K, k, gilch; L, l, lagv; M, m, man; N, n, not; O, o, othil;
 P, p, perch; Q, q, chon; R, r, rehit; S, s, suhil; T, t, tac; U, u, hur; V, x, helahe;
 W, y, huyri; Z, z, ziu.

47. 12th century. Sir Thomas Phillipps' Skinbook entitled: Mappæ Clavicula; a Latin Ms. treatise on Painting, Architecture, and other arts, by an unknown English author.

From Archæologia, 4to, London, Vol. 32, 1847, p. 241.

RUNES, STAVES and NAMES:

K, a, ag; B, b, berch; C, c, cen; D, d, derhu; M, e, eg; F, f, feu; G, g, genu; H, h, he; I, i, (no name); K, k, cer; L, l, la...¹; M, m, man; N, n, net; O, o, os; P, p, perd; Q, q, cui; R, r, rat; S, s, sigil; T, t, tir; U, u, ur; V, x, xen; W, y, uir.
 super su(nt) S S P

The last are, of course, z, ng, th.

48. 12th century. Same skinbook. — From Archæologia, Vol. 32, p. 243.

RUNES and STAVES (no names):

a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, x, y, z.
 B B h b M P K 1 X T D T S B C R 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

49. See No. 15, B.

¹ The margin of the Ms. is cut away here, so that the rest of the word is gone.

Nº. 50. ? 1200-1250. The bookfell containing the Ormulum, in the Bodleian, Oxford. From Dr. R. M. White, The Ormulum, Oxford, 8vo, Vol. 1, Plate 4. This is the SCANDINAVIAN STAVEROW, arranged as a Latin Alphabet. It is called in the Manuscript *Alphabetum Anglicum*.

RUNES, STAVES, &c.:

g, h, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, x.
 1 B A P t V A * I Y T Y T B A R L I A Y ÷
 he, ho, hethe¹, has, ge, che, and.
 ‡ † ‡ ‡ ‡ ‡ ‡

51. ? 1200-1250. Same codex. — From Dr. White, Vol. 1, Plate 1. The SCANDINAVIAN STAVEROW, arranged as a Latin Alphabet. It is called in the Manuscript *Alphabetum Anglicum*.

RUNES, (no staves, &c.):

1 B A P t V A * I Y T Y T B A R L I A Y ÷
 [A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, X.]
 henc, he, ho, hethe¹, has, ge, ge, che, and.
 ‡ ‡ ‡ ‡ ‡ ‡ ‡

52. ? 1350-1400. Cottonian Ms. Titus D. XVIII, now in the British Museum. Noticed by Wanley in his Catalogus, p. 247. For splendid and most exact facsimiles of the alphabets engraved from this skinbook, which were executed by Mr. F. G. Netherclift of London, I have to thank the kindness of Sir Frederick Madden, the distinguished Keeper of the Manuscripts in our National Book-board. He remarks, in a note to me dated British Museum, March 22, 1863: "The Ms. containing these Alphabets is of 12mo or very small 4to size, consisting only of 12 leaves, written on vellum about the latter half of the 14th century, and besides those you have had copied contains the Alphabets of the Hebrews, Greeks, Latins, Chaldee, Syriac, and English; also the Lord's Prayer (Latin in Greek characters) and the Versus Sibille de Adventu Domini, &c."

At folio 7, then, in this bookfell, we have:

De litteris Nortmannorum quarum forme sequuntur;

Hec etenim litterarum figure in gente Nortmannorum feruntur primitus inuente . quibus ob carminum eorum memoriam et incantacionum vt adhuc dicuntur; Quibus et runstafas [may also be redd runstafas] nomen imposuerunt . ob id vt reor. quod hijs res absconditas vicissim scriptitando aperiebant;²

R, a, asc; B, b, bira; P, c, cen; A, d, drom; M, e, ech; V, f, fech; X, g, gibus; H, h, hegl; I, i, is; K, k, kale; L, l, lagu; N, m, man; X, n, not; V, o, otil; d, pert; G, q, qhon; P, r, rehit; S, s, sigil; V, t, tac; U, u, ur; M, x, xelach; Y, y, yri; W, z, ziu.

The above interesting annotation, as to the use of these Runes by the heathen Northmen, is, as we see, almost letter for letter the same as that in No. 44 (copied by M. du Ménil in No. 17). And the appended Staverow is essentially the same. This codex of the 14th century is therefore a copy's copy of No. 44 from the 11th century, at least as regards this part of its contents.

53. ? 1350-1400. Same bookfell, folio 7 b:

Item aliter:

K, a, alar; B, b, braut; H, c, cusil; A, d, dexu; X, e, egui; V, f, fch; H, g, guichr; H, h, huil; I, i, iechua; ‡, k, kain; J, l, loubër; X, m, muin; X, n, nihn; X, ò, or; P, parth; L, q, quith; X, r, rat; G, s, surg; M, t, traug; A, uir; X, x, xeil; H, y, oyr; L, z, zeirc; X, z.

¹ May also be redd *heche*.

² Of the letters of the Northmen, whose figures follow: — For these figures of letters are said to have been first invented in the folkship of the Northmen, by whom, as it is affirmed, they are still employed to preserve their songs and charms. They call them *runes-staves* [or, *vine-staves*]; as I suppose, because they much used them to discover hidden things.

The author's words are: "In antiquissimis annalibus Francorum historiam & Caroli Magni genealogiam continentibus, membrana longè omnium antiquissima scriptis, hæc nominatim verba excerptissimus: — "Literas quippe quibus sunt usi Marcomanni, quos nos Normannos vocamus infra scriptas addidi, a quibus originem qui Theodiscam loquuntur linguam, trahunt, cum quibus carmina sua, incantationesque ac divinationes significare procurant, qui adhuc pagano ritui involvuntur". — See No. 17.

Nº. 60. See No. 15, c.

I had hoped to have added at least one other Old-Northern staverow, that in the Lauderdale Orosius-manuscript at Helmingham Hall in Suffolk, England. Prof. Bosworth fixes the date of this codex at the close of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century¹. It was in the book-board of the vigilant collector Dr. Dee down to about the year 1583, whence it past to the Hatton library, from which it came to that of the Duke of Lauderdale who died in 1682. This nobleman married into the family of Tollemache, one of the oldest in Suffolk, which came in with the Angles. Their early arrival is commemorated by an inscription on the Manorhouse at Bentley, Suffolk:

"Before the Normans into England came,

Bentley was my seat, and Tollemache my name."²

The Tollemaches have since flourisht, in unbroken male succession, for more than 13 centuries. This skinbook is one of the treasures in the Tollemache book-board. Its present owner is John Tollemache, Esquire, M. P., son of the late Admiral Tollemache and nephew of the fifth Earl of Dysart. This gentleman kindly placed the codex in the hands of Prof. Bosworth in 1850, for use in his new edition of the Old-English version of Orosius by King Alfred. In reading the learned Professor's description of this venerable bookfell I was struck by the following paragraph:

"The first leaf is of the same parchment as the rest of the MS., but both of its pages are occupied with irrelevant devices. In the first page, there are emblematical representations of the four Evangelists, drawn with the pen in the same brown-black ink as the MS. Towards the left upper corner, within a circle, formed by a rough outline of a coiled serpent, over whose head is a small square with the letter τ in red, there is a neat outline of an eagle with a rough stroke of red under the eye, extending to the end of the beak. Above its head is written *aquila, iohā*, that is, *Iohannes*. Within a smaller circle, a little to the right of the last, a lamb is represented having the horns, and a square between the fore-feet, painted red, and *Marcus* written over its back, and *Agnus Dei* over its head. A little below, and to the right of the circle of *Marcus*, is an ox, without any circle, but with *Lucas* inscribed on its side. In a single line, below *Aquila* and *Agnus Dei*, a curious Runic alphabet extends nearly the width of the page, each Rune being accompanied with the small common letter, that represents the Rune. A little lower, and to the left of the middle of the page, there is a parallelogram filled with a rough, flourishing and fanciful drawing, some of the most prominent parts of which are painted red. Over the parallelogram is written, — *Vinea Domini*. In the right-hand lower corner, is a human figure with a glory surrounding the head, and with hands extended holding a globe. The face, the shoulder, and the globe are touched with red. *Mattheus* is written on the neck and over the head. The second page contains only an enlarged, rude and more recent outline of the figure last described, with *Fulgens* written over its head."³

I at once applied to Prof. Bosworth for his help in getting a Photograph or Facsimile of this first page, that I might add the Runic alphabet here preserved to the others in this chapter. But, up to this moment, (July 1865), various reasons have prevented Prof. Bosworth from obtaining what we both were so anxious to give. And, unfortunately, a Photograph previously taken by Prof. B. has been mislaid. So I must content myself with pointing out the whereabouts of this additional staverow. It will doubtless one day be made public. Should it reach me before my last pages are printed, I will add it at the end of this work.

¹ The Rev. Joseph Bosworth. *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Compendious History of the World by Orosius*. 8vo. London 1859. p. xviii. ² *Ibid.* p. xvi. ³ *Ibid.* p. xxiv.

RUNIC TABLES.

FROM THE ANCIENT AND MANUSCRIPT ALPHABETS.

The following columns will show at a glance the Old-Northern and the Scandinavian stave-rows in their own primitive order, the Futhorc, and also as afterwards accommodated to the order of the Latin ABC; together with the chief Types and the appended Names (when given), arranged in one body chronologically. We can thus easily follow the stream of these alphabets, and see how they become more and more fanciful or barbarized, until at last they altogether disappear from the skinbooks. The Runic Types employed on the monuments will be detailed and discusst in the chapter which follows. The curious reader will continually and carefully compare these two sources of runic knowledge, — the fact and the theory, the *carvings themselves* and the usually far later and more or less corrupt and artificial *staverows found in codices*.

OLD-NORTHERN FUTHORC.

Imp. signifies that the letter is partly cut away, or otherwise *imperfect*.

	F	U	TH	a. O, b. æ.	R	a. C, b. K	G	W	H	N	I	Y	YO	P
[Scand.]	ƿ	u	þ	a. ƿ	R, (A)	b. ƿ	"	"	þ	þ	|	(A)	"	"
[Later Scand.] ..	"	"	"	"	"	"	ƿ	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
Nº 1	ƿ	u	q	b. 1	ƿ	a. >	X	q	H	+	|	þ	1	8
" 2	ƿ	h, u	p, þ	b. ƿ, þ, f	R	a. <, b. ƿ, l	X	p	H	+	|	þ	1	W
" 3	ƿ	u	b, þ	a. ƿ	R	a. h	X, X	p	H	+	|	þ	1	ƿ
" 4	ƿ	Λ	l	a. ƿ, b. h	R	a. h, b. h	X, ɔ	p	H	+	|	þ	1	E
" 5	ƿ	u	þ	a. ƿ	R	a. h, b. h	X, ɔ	p, p	H, þ, H	+	|	þ	1	H
" 6	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	N, N	+	"	"	"	"
" 7	ƿ	u	(þ, imp.)	h	R	h	X	p	(h, imp.)	+	|	þ	1	N
" 8	ƿ	Λ	l	h	R	h	X	p	H	+	|	þ	1	W
" 9	ƿ	u	þ	a. h, ƿ, b. h	R, R	a. h, ƿ, b. h	X, ɔ	p	H, #	+	|	þ	1	N
" 10	ƿ	u	þ	h	R	h	H	þ	N	+	|	þ	1	N
" 13	ƿ	u	þ	a. h, b. h	R	a. h, b. h	X, ɔ	p	H	+	|	þ	1	W
" 15	ƿ	Λ	þ	a. h, b. h	R	a. h, b. h	X, ɔ	p	N	+	|	þ	1	W

	A	S	T	B	E	M	L	NG	D	GE	A	(J.)	U	IO	EA	(O)	Q	ST	Z	V	ET. AND
[Scand.]	Y	N	↑	β	..	ψ	β	..	..	(A)	..	(4)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
[Later Scand.] ..	Y	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
N° 1	Y	2	↑	β	M	M	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 2	Y	<	↑	β	M	(M)	..	(.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 3	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 4	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 5	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 6	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 7	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 8	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 9	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 10	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 13	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
" 15	Y	Y	↑	β	M	M	↑	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

SCANDINAVIAN FUTHORC.

	F	U	TH	O	R	K	H	N	I	A	S	T	B	M	L	(1) X, (2) D, (3) OE, (4) R	W	K, ?KA	G	E	AE	D
N ^o 6	ƿ fen.	u ur.	þ rthur.	f os.	ʀ rat.	ʁ chaon.	* hagal.	ʁ nant.	l is.	ʁ ar.	h sol.	(ʁ. imp.) ʁ. tir.	ʁ brita.	ʁ man.	ʁ laga.	(1) ʁ yr.	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. 6½	ƿ	u	þ	ʁ	ʀ	ʁ	* ʁ	ʁ	l	ʁ	l	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	(2) ʁ	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. 12	ƿ	u	þ	ʁ	ʀ	ʁ	* ʁ	ʁ	l	ʁ	l	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	(3) ʁ	..	..	ʁ	ʁ	..	..
.. 14	ƿ	u	þ	ʁ	ʀ	ʁ	* ʁ	ʁ	l	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	(1) ʁ yr.	u w.	ʁ K.	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ
.. 15, B	ƿ	u	þ	ʁ	ʀ	ʁ	* ʁ	ʁ	l	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	(1) ʁ	..	..	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ
.. 15, C	ƿ	u	þ	ʁ	ʀ	ʁ	* ʁ	ʁ	l	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	(1) ʁ	..	..	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ	ʁ

(OLD)-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED)

[illegible]

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES (CONTINUED.)

[illegible]

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES

[illegible]

N° 27.	28.	29.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	52.	53.	57.	58.	59.
B, 1	B	B	B	B	B	A, B	B, berg	B, berih	B, ben	B	B	"	B	B, birih	B, berih	B	"	"	"	"	B, byrich
- 2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
E, 1	E	E	E	E	M	"	"	"	"	E	"	E, eth	E	E, cho	E, eg	"	B, braut	E, evh	2B	2B	"
- 2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	3E	"	2E, ech
M, 1	M	M	M	M	"	"	M, man	M, men	L, ethim	"	"	M, man	M	M, man	M, man	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 4	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
L, 1	L	L	L	L	L	"	L, lago	L, lin	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 4	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
N6, 1	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 4	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
N6, 1	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 4	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
D, 1	D	"	D	D, E	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
OE, 1	O	Q	O	OE	"	OE	"	"	O	I	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 4	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
A, 1	A	A	A	A	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 2	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 3	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 4	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
- 5	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

Nº	27.	28.	29.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	52.	53.	57.	58.	59.
Á.	6																					
Æ.	1																					
-	2																					
-	3																					
-	4																					
Ð.	1																					
-	2																					
-	3																					
-	4																					
-	5																					
-	6																					
Ð.	1																					
-	2																					
EA.	1																					
-	2																					
Q.	1																					
-	2																					
-	3																					
-	4																					
-	5																					
-	6																					
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-	8																					
-	9																					
-	10																					
-	11																					
-	12																					
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-	14																					

OLD-NORTHERN HEAD-TYPES

[illegible]

N° 27.	28.	29.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	52.	53.	57.	58.	59.
ST, 1				SVNT					P												
- 2			S	S						S											
FICE						ECE					ECE										
FI						FI					FI										
X											FT-NC										
HINC, HUNC						HUNC						X, helac									
LGO, 1																					
- 2																					
Z, 1											EGO										
- 2										Z											
- 3																					
- 4																					
VVLT																					
? MERHDS																					
ET, 1																					
- 2																					
- 3																					
- 4																					
- 5																					
- 6																					
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Æ																					
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I																					
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ON THE RUNIC LETTERS.

It is not my intention in the following lines to write a History of Runic Literature, which would require a large book for itself if done as it ought, nor of Runes in general, for which I have neither time, talent nor money. I only wish to bring together the various Old-Northern types for each letter as actually found on the monuments — for here as elsewhere the comparative method is the only sure one —, and to show the chief corresponding forms on the Scandinavian-runic pieces. These latter might have been indefinitely multiplied, but I wish to be short, to give what was sufficient to assist the beginner, and to use only those stones and other monuments copies of which exist in a trustworthy shape, and these are only a small minority. But their number is rapidly increasing, and in a few years another and abler hand will have the materials from which to fill in or correct what may here be only meagre or defective. The only condition is, to *follow* the monuments, not to *doctor* them. These materials are so much the more interesting, as they fill such a sweep of centuries; for they partially remained in more or less public use (in the outlying and less “educated” districts) in Scandinavia down to within 2 or 3 hundred years, in Sweden and Norway even to the close of the 18th century. Their great store-house is Sweden, which can show nearly three times as many Runic Monuments as all the other Northern lands put together. Sweden numbers not far from 2000 runic pieces. And what Sweden is to the rest of the North, Upland is to the rest of Sweden, that province boasting about 800 carved runic remains.

A.

This being such an important vowel, and occurring so frequently, we cannot be too careful in defining the staves by which it has been represented.

My greatest discovery in this branch of science, and without which I should not have been able to read these Old-Northern monuments, is, that in the Old-Northern Alphabet the characteristic rune for A is Υ .

But in the later or Scandinavian stave-row Υ is the sign for M. — See that letter.

How Υ could *provincially*, in Scandinavia and its *later* colonies, pass over from A to M, while *originally* both at home and in the *earlier* Scandinavian settlements it was always A, I cannot explain. This change may have been connected with some literary or political Reformation or Revolution of which we now know nothing, but which perhaps future discoveries may tend to elucidate.

In the *oldest* (*metallic*) alphabets, which date say not later than the year 500, this Υ is *always* in its usual place (between P and S) as what the carved stones &c. clearly show was A.

But in the *later* and *parchment* alphabets, the *oldest* of them from about the year 800 to 1000, for we need not trouble ourselves here with those of a later date, the power of Υ is strangely mystified or troubled or modified, and is given as I or IL or Y or X, &c., while at the same time these same parchments give a separate rune, frequent on English monuments but as yet occurring only on one Scandinavian piece (a Bracteate), the stave Υ , as EA (= YA or YA, the A with the half-vowel prefix so common everywhere but especially in English dialects). Thus 2 runes have arisen out of one, Υ for A and Υ for YA, and *both* these letters are found on the Thames Knife. So early is the YA.

The difficulty of understanding what sound was intended for Υ by the parchment alphabet-makers is so much the greater, as this rune so very seldom occurs (as yet) on purely English monuments, while the parchment alphabets themselves are all directly or indirectly English!

I have as yet only found Υ on *three* pieces of English workmanship, the St. Andrews Ring, the Thames Knife and a Runic Coin (Wyk), and on them all it is apparently A, as in Scandinavia.

Now as the parchment staverows, which are all comparatively modern, regularly give F as the rune for A, and as this F was evidently a letter of later and provincial English growth which became almost everywhere employed on English monuments, the Υ as A was evidently become obsolete, a duplicate and useless. Therefore the alphabet-writers, unwilling to omit it altogether, seem to have given it a fanciful value, perhaps chiefly for secret and private writing. What that value was, as we have said, we cannot tell; for it was, so to speak, never used, so far as the monuments yet discovered go. If it

ever had a real practical value in *later* times, it was perhaps γ , one of the many variations of that letter. At least among the Coins of Eanred, King of Northumbria 810-832 (Archæol. Brit., Vol. 25, p. 295), we have, besides pieces with the mintmaster $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{R}$ (BRODER), also one with the mintmaster $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{V}\mathfrak{Y}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{F}$ (CYNVULF). But the second rune is on others of these latter pieces found as Ψ and as Ψ , thus showing that all three were γ , as indeed the name requires. And, accordingly, γ is the sound given to Ψ in many of the Old-English ABC-arranged skinbook alphabets, as well as in the "Coelbren y Beirz" (Stave of the Bardic Signs, Old Welsh Alphabet).

We need not stop to consider the Ψ in the alphabet of Ulfilas, for this letter with him is ρ ($\rho\mathfrak{H}$), and is merely an arbitrary use in his artificial alphabet of the Greek $\rho\varsigma$ -mark (Ψ).

The regular Old-Northern rune, then, on these monuments, for Λ is Ψ . We have it on Bracteates Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 49, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 59, and on the monuments from Årstad, Belland, Björketorp, Bratsberg, Gallehus, Istaby, Konghell, Krogstad, Lindholm, Möjebro, Nydam, Osthofen, Reidstad, Runic Coin (Wyk), St. Andrews, Sigdal, Stenstad, Tanem, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thisted, Thorsbjerg (Shield-boss and Sword-sheath), Tjängvide, Tomstad, Tune, Væblungsnes, (? Vånga), Varnum, Veile, Vi Plane and Vordingborg.

Here and there are small accidental variations, as usual. Thus on the Krogstad and Möjebro pieces the one arm is a little shorter than the other; on the Thorsbjerg Shield-boss the one arm is a little higher than the other. On Bracteate No. 37 the shank or foot is absent, so that it becomes Ψ . A greater variety is shown on the Charnay Brooch, where the arms are doubled, thus \mathfrak{X} , while on the Stentoften and Voldtofte stones the whole letter is upside down, and we thus get \mathfrak{A} , which reminds us that as we have seen Ψ used for γ in England, so \mathfrak{A} is usually found for γ in the Scandinavian futhork.

The regular Scandinavian rune for Λ is \mathfrak{t} or \mathfrak{d} . But it goes back in Scandinavia to Old-Northern times. We have it on Bracteate No. 1, and on the Björketorp, Charnay, Lindholm and Stentoft pieces, clearly as a broad \mathfrak{d} ; the \mathfrak{d} last have both signs, Ψ (or one of its modifications) for Λ and \mathfrak{t} for Λ . The \mathfrak{d} occurs on the Holmen and Mörbylånga pieces, and on the Bridekirk Font, in the modified form \mathfrak{A} , all which three monuments are from the middle age. Besides these standing forms \mathfrak{t} and \mathfrak{d} , there are manifold variations on Scandinavian-runic stones, often *several* forms on the *same* stone; thus Saleby, West-Gotland, it is \mathfrak{d} ; Hammel, N. Jutland, Vederslev, N. Jutl., Gjerde, Norway, Grindem, Norway, Skeberg, Norway, &c., it is \mathfrak{A} ; Mälby and Norby and Vänderstad, Upland, and Sylling, Norway, it is \mathfrak{t} ; Ed, Upland, has \mathfrak{t} ; and quite or nearly so on some other stones, perhaps intentionally or else from the difficulty of always bending the stroke more downwards. Properly this last stands for \mathfrak{E} . In one place, from there being so very little room at that particular spot, the rune-carver has \mathfrak{u} for Λ , otherwise always \mathfrak{d} ; this is the Skilstad stone, Upland. Another and later shape is \mathfrak{k} , as on the Skönabäck Horn, Lund. There are other occasional modifications, as on the Fockstad stone, Upland, where the pillar-stave has a twist; the Danmark stone, Upland, where the cross-stroke is in two pieces, the one a little below the other, and so on. Such small variations were partly fanciful, and partly caused by some peculiarity in the stone at that place. They are common in all alphabets, and in all lands and times, and neither surprise nor puzzle any one. Entirely fanciful and capricious, a mere ingenious trick to try the skill of the reader, is such a rune as \mathfrak{t} (otherwise \mathfrak{r}) for Λ on the Flatdal stone, Norway, which in other places has the regular \mathfrak{d} . This stone has several other such mystifications, and they also occur on other monuments.

But the slant of the \mathfrak{d} may be variously placed. Thus on the Charnay Brooch we have \mathfrak{v} for Λ , and this form is not uncommon on Scandinavian-runic pieces, some of them excessively old. We have it at Horning, North-Jutland; at Tång and Varpsund and Gran and Viggby and Ulstamma and Örsunda in Upland; Saleby and Flo in West-Gotland; Rösk in East-Gotland; Forsa in Helsingland; Maeshowe (Nos. 3 and 19). This \mathfrak{v} vowel may also be weakened, and may stand for \mathfrak{E} , as on the Thisted stone, N. Jutland. — But the side-stroke may be reversed, and we thus get \mathfrak{v} as Λ , sometimes on the same stone interchanged with \mathfrak{v} . This form perhaps occurs once on the Glavendrup stone, but it is sure at Nyby, Upland, at Öresund, Folsberga, Friberg and Vaxala in the same province, and elsewhere. — We may even have the side-stroke alone, the stave being absent; thus \mathfrak{v} is Λ in the *staveless* Helsing-runes, and now and then elsewhere, as on the second wooden wand at Vinje in Norway.

In the Tree-runes and other such artificial and secret staves the Λ may of course have many forms, of which we shall find examples in the two stones here engraved from Maeshowe.

When a distinction is made between \dagger and \mathfrak{A} , as often happens, then that futhork which has \mathfrak{A} as \mathfrak{A} has \dagger as \mathfrak{A} .

One peculiarity is here deserving of especial notice. It is that, by an elegance or caprice or fashion of writing widely prevalent at certain times and in certain districts, there has sometimes been the custom to use this \dagger (\mathfrak{A}) *revers* (\mathfrak{A}). But this is properly the rune for \mathfrak{N} . Accordingly on all those pieces where \mathfrak{A} stands for \mathfrak{A} , \dagger of course stands for \mathfrak{N} . I do not remember to have yet met with this \mathfrak{A} on any English monument, but we have it in Scandinavia from very early times, even on an Old-Northern piece, the Upsala Axe. — In Scandinavian-runes it is found all thro, 8 times, on the Great Ångeby stone, Upland, which has \dagger for \mathfrak{N} . It occurs again on the South Kirkeby stone, Falster; the Tång stone, Upland; the Glia stone, Upland; the Lundby stone, East-Gotland; the Abrahamstorp stone, West-Gotland, and the Sanda and Lagnö stones, Södermanland, &c., &c., interchanging with the more usual forms for \mathfrak{A} .

So when \dagger is \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{N} , we may have \dagger for \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{A} for \mathfrak{N} . We even find \dagger for \mathfrak{N} on Old-Northern monuments, including the Golden Horn (Gallehus), which have quite other letters for \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{A} . Thus the position of the stroke has often been regarded as immaterial.

I have said that \mathfrak{F} for \mathfrak{A} is apparently later, and provincial English. As the \mathfrak{Y} died out in Scandinavia, it was replaced by \dagger or \mathfrak{A} ; as it died out in England, it was replaced by \mathfrak{F} . At least this is the conclusion of the monumental evidence. We have \mathfrak{F} as \mathfrak{A} only on one Bracteate, No. 58. Either therefore this Bracteate was made in England, or the letter was taken from an English futhorc. Other finds may prove that \mathfrak{F} was also Scandinavian; but otherwise, with the exception of Bracteate No. 58, it has only been found in England, namely: Æðred's Ring, Alnmouth, Bewcastle, Collingham, Falstone, the Franks Casket, ? Hackness, Lancaster, Leeds, Ruthwell and the Thames Knife. It constantly appears on English Runic Coins and in English parchment Alphabets, &c. On the Wyk Coin \mathfrak{F} would seem to have been \mathfrak{O} , rather than \mathfrak{A} .

When we find a skinbook giving in its futhorc *points* for the vowels — for \mathfrak{A} , : for \mathfrak{E} , : for \mathfrak{I} , :: for \mathfrak{O} and :: for \mathfrak{U} , we must remember that this is chiefly for fanciful and secret writing, just as these manuscripts sometimes inform us how we may substitute one letter for another for the same purpose, or leave the vowels out, and so on. Such things are seldom or never found on any carved monument. Only one such, the Franks Casket, has *mayhap* for \mathfrak{A} , but I do not believe it. I look upon it as a stop.

For various forms of modified Roman letters for \mathfrak{A} , see Æðred's Ring, Alnmouth, the Franks Casket and Ruthwell.

There are few Bind-runes beginning with \mathfrak{A} on the pieces in the text, only \mathfrak{AL} on the Holmen piece, \mathfrak{AO} on Bracteate No. 56, and the usual English mark for \mathfrak{AND} on the Bridekirk Font.

But as specimens of the frequency of these monograms on Scandinavian-runes I would mention the Runic Ties for \mathfrak{AB} , Söby, N. Jutland; \mathfrak{AE} , Skönabäck Horn, Lund; \mathfrak{AL} , on an unnamed Danish Censer; \mathfrak{AN} , Skönabäck Horn, Lund; \mathfrak{AF} , several varieties, Hesselager, N. Jutland, Lye stones, Gotland, and Tinn, Norway; \mathfrak{AO} , varieties, unnamed Danish Censers, and the 2nd wooden wand, Vinje, Norway; \mathfrak{AK} , many varieties, Sästad, Upland; Hösmo, Småland; Flatdal, Norway; Lye, Gotland; Lunde, N. Jutland; unnamed Danish Censer; Bergemoen, Norway; Maeshowe, No. 1; \mathfrak{AL} , Flatdal, Norway; another form, Gerum, Gotland; Tingvold, Norway; Flatdal, Norway; Lye, Gotland; Uglum, W. Gotland; ? \mathfrak{ALANT} , Maeshowe, No. 22; \mathfrak{AN} , various forms, Barnspike, England; Skeberg and Flatdal, Norway; Sästad, Upland; Brynderslev, N. Jutland; 2nd wand, Vinje, Norway; unnamed Danish Censer; Lye and other stones, Gotland; Nyble, East-Gotland; Tandberg, Norway; Vrickstad, Småland; Haide, Gotland; Årsunda, Gestrikland; Björnum, Upland; Ingle, Upland; Honungsby, Upland; \mathfrak{ANH} , Ingle, Upland; \mathfrak{ANN} , Tinn, Norway; \mathfrak{AO} , Vesterby, Upland; \mathfrak{AP} , Tinn, Norway; \mathfrak{AR} , many varieties, Barnspike, England; Gerum, Gotland; Brynderslev, N. Jutland; Randers, N. Jutland; Söborg, Sealand; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Holme, Ringsager, Tandberg, Tossoug, 2nd wand from Vinje, Norway; Maeshowe, Nos. 2, 11, 19, 20; Bergemoen, Norway; Tingvold and Flatdal, Norway; Långthora, Upland; Haide and Lye, Gotland; Hafsloe and Skeberg, Norway; Sästad, Upland; \mathfrak{AS} , Barnspike, England; Marma, Upland; ? \mathfrak{ASTUL} , Sästad, Upland; $\mathfrak{ASTÆ}$, Barnspike, England; ? \mathfrak{ASUO} , Maeshowe, No. 22; \mathfrak{AT} , different shapes, Barnspike, England; Sästad, Upland; Mälby, Upland; Maeshowe, No. 22; \mathfrak{AP} , Sielle, N. Jutland; Carlisle, England; Haide and Lye, Gotland; \mathfrak{AU} , various, Barnspike, England; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Vrickstad, Småland;

Haide and Lye, Gotland; Tinn, Norway; Aska and Gripsholm, Södermanland; Tuna, Södermanland; AU, Sanda, Upland; AUE, Herljunga, West-Gotland; AUE, unlike, Söborg, Sealand; Malma, West-Gotland; AUF, Kirk Onchan, Man.

(EA) yA.

As I have said, this sound, tho found everywhere, is peculiarly Old-English. And so is the rune, Υ , which expresses it, which would seem to have been of provincial English origin. Besides in English skinbook Alphabets and on English Runic Coins, we have it on the monuments at Dover, Nethi's Casket, Ruthwell, and the Thames Knife. It has only been found on one other piece, the Golden Bracteate No. 56. This also, therefore, like No. 58, I suspect to have been made in England or by an English artist, or to have copied this letter from the English futhorc. That it was not universally used even in England itself, is proved by such facts as that the Bewcastle Cross uses E and A separately, instead of this one rune for both, which the Carver would seem not to have approved. The Old-English spelling continually prefixt E before a vowel with the power of our Y, but of course in some dialects this E would be pronounced more or less separately. In fact the sound was probably often a very rapid EA, rather than a mere hard and mechanical ya.

This continual change and interchange of A, EA, eA (= YA), and other such combinations by which Y may be prefixt in some dialects and periods, omitted in others, — a process we meet with all the Northern lands over —, is well exemplified as to Southern England by the following extract:

"Traces of the modern Western provincial pronunciation of BEAM, CART, GATE, LEAP — i. e., BE-AM, KY-ART, GA-UT, LE-AP — are found in the Kentish works of Dan Michel and William of Shoreham. In these works BEAM, BREAD, CHEEK, CLEPE (call), CHESTE (strife), DEAF, DEW, HEAP, LEAF, &c., are written BYEAM, BRYEAD, CHEAK, CHYEASTE, CLEAP, DYEAF, DYEAU, HYAP, LYEAF, &c. No trace of this is found in any other Southern writer. Sometimes the initial EA is represented by YA, YE, — as YALD, EALD, old; YEAF, ear; YERTH, earth; YESTRE, Easter — just as in the Western counties we find YARM, arm; YEAT, eat, &c."¹

E.

As this stave is common; in its regular shape, F, to the whole North, we have of course a wide range of examples. Besides occurring in its *revers* form, \mathfrak{F} , on Bracteates Nos. 6, 17, 18, the Thorsbjerg Shield-boss and the Varnum stone, — we have it in its simple shape on Bracteates Nos. 7, 8, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 49, 51, 52, 55, 57, 61, 63, 67, and on the remains found at or called Æbød's Ring, Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-3, Årstad, Belland, Berga, Bewcastle, Bratsberg, Buzen, Charnay, Collingham, Etelhem, Falstone, Gallehus, Gjevedal, Hackness, Helnæs, Himlingöie, Istaby, Kragehul, Krogstad, Lancaster, Lindholm, Möjebro, Nethi's Casket, Nydam, Osthofen, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Seude, Sigdal, Sölvesborg, Stenstad, Sten-toften, Tanem, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg (Sword-sheath), Tjängvide, Tune, Væblungsnæs, Varnum, Veile, Vi Comb and Plane. Some of the oldest Scandinavian-runic stones have also F as E, for instance the famous block to King Gorm, Jellinge, N. Jutland, and the grand Glavendrup, Tirsted, Tryggevælde and Källbyäs stones; probably also the Nærå block.

Of course I need not remark that there will be slight differences. The pillar-stave will be longer or shorter, more or less straight, the side-strokes nearer or farther apart, the top-stroke at the very tip or lower down, sometimes even nearly in the middle, and so on. But the type is always a clear F, sometimes on the same stone also carved \mathfrak{F} .

The figure with 3 side-strokes on Bracteate No. 19 would seem to be a kind of compound, = yE.

I have said that F is E. And so it is. But we all know how the vowels fluctuate. We all know how for instance A and Á and E and O interchange from time to time and from county to county. At this very moment in any part of the North we may have local dialects pronouncing HAND or HÆND or HOND, &c., and we write HALT, MALT, SALT, but pronounce the vowel nearly as AU or O, and so on in

¹ Mr. R. Morris, "On the Characteristics of the Southern Dialect in Early English", read before the Philological Society, May 6, 1864, reported in "The Reader", May 28, 1864, p. 689.

hundreds of other words. To this day the South-English prefers its narrow æ to the noble manly North-English A. Hence the value of this F is continually exposed to modification. Most of the vellum alphabets, and of the few manuscript Rune-words make it æ, but some A or O. And so on the monuments. It is convenient, as far as we can, to preserve the value, æ, once given to this rune, but we are never quite sure that in some particular locality, it may not have had a slightly differing sound. Certain it is that in Scandinavia F, in its various shapes, had a tendency to be = o, and at last became the acknowledged representative of that sound. In other words, as the Old-Northern rune for o, ʀ, died out in Scandinavia, it was replaced by F, which gradually became ʁ and other forms; as it died out in England, or was modified into æ, it was there replaced by ʀ.

In this case, ʁ having now become o, the sound æ was express in Scandinavia by the rune †, — a clear distinction being thus made between † and †, for † was now æ, but † was A —, or by the rune *. Instances of this † as an undoubted æ on Scandinavian-runic pieces are very common, for instance: Vordingborg, Sealand; Lunde, Hesselager, Soby, Thisted, N. Jutland; Stokkemarke, Lolland; unnamed Danish Censer; Hvam, Iceland; Bergemoen, Grindem. Tingvold, Norway; 2 stones at Långthora, Upland; Ölstad, Upland; Dial. of the Virgin, Ms. Stockholm; Skoné Law, Ms. Denmark.

Sometimes this æ-mark assumes nearly the form of an X, the figure leaning to the right, as at Maeshowe, No. 19; or of †, which otherwise stands for E, as at Folsberga, Upland; and apparently on the ancient Rök stone (where it is also nearly †) this mark is most likely = E; or of †, æ, as on the Skönabeck Horn, Lund, or of †, as on the Kallehauge Seal¹.

By the principle of ornamental or careless reversal, of which we have spoken, † can be used for N; the N-mark † will then signify æ, as for instance at Bergemoen, Norway. 3 times; Sylling and Raudland and Flatdal, Norway; Dial. of the Virgin, Ms. Stockholm; Kyrketorp, West-Gotland. And † often stands for æ where † is used for N.

But there is also another Scandinavian, or rather there is an Old-Scandinavian, sign for æ in the shape of the Scandinavian Aspirate or Guttural (for it is often used not only for H but also for GH or G) — *. This is so old in Scandinavia, as æ, that it is found on numbers of the monuments called Old-Northern, on which, where * is æ, F is o. As yet I have not met with this * as æ on any English piece. To mark the distinction between this mark and the usual old æ-runes F or †, I have everywhere given this Aspirate-æ by $\frac{\pi}{n}$. This *, then, this æ or $\frac{\pi}{n}$, is found on the Old-Northern and overgang stones at Björketorp, Gommor, Kallerup, Sæding, Snoldelev, Sölvesborg, Stentofte, Thisted, Tomstad, Upsala, Veile and West-Torp. As might be expected, it runs down into later stones called Scandinavian, as at Carlisle, England; Flemlöse and Frederiksgave and Hesselager, Fyn; at Maeshowe No. 22; Hällestad, Skoné; Bjälbo, East-Gotland; and at Skjern, N. Jutland, the large stone. Sometimes, as at Thisted, N. Jutland, * stands for both æ and H in the same inscription; sometimes, as at Carlisle, England, and at Hesselager, Fyn, and Thisted, we have both * and † for æ.

But on the older stones, those which are either wholly Old-Northern or Transitional, where both H and æ happen to occur in the same carving, we have always H (or H, &c.) as H, and * as æ. This * as $\frac{\pi}{n}$ may therefore be a mark of high antiquity. Where a stone has $\frac{\pi}{n}$ (*) but no H, the H, if it had occurred, would probably have been H, and thus the stone would either have been Old-Northern or Transitional. Thus for instance the Flemlöse block is doubtless *overgang*. Of course on stones with * as æ, † will be A.

This overgang of H into æ reminds us of the same tendency in other alphabets. Thus in Greece the old Guttural (B or H), Heta (from Chet), was early softened down, and at last was often omitted altogether; but usually it became a fixt mark for the long E (= æ, η). From that period all the Greeks save the Athenians used the one half of the old guttural sign to express the *spiritus asper*, thus †, while the other half markt the *non aspirate*, thus †; as we all know, this † afterwards became †, and † became †.

In some Greek inscriptions we have what we might call a transition-period. The B on *one and the same stone*² has the powers of both H and æ. This exactly corresponds to the same use of the

¹ Seal of the Guild of S. Eric of Kallehauge, Sealand, now in the Cheapinghaven Museum. The inscription, in Roman-Gothic uncials &c. runs: S' CONVIVAR SCI ERICI REGIS IN KALWEHAYÆ. But the last letter is the above rune. — This piece was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Herbst.

² Franzius, *Elementa Epigraphices Græcae*, 4to, Berlin 1840, p. 24.

Scandinavian *, and we might equally express this power of the Scandinavian olden * and of the old Greek Η by the sign $\frac{\pi}{\eta}$ where the value was Æ.

So in Latin carvings there are several examples of the Greek Η having been used for Æ.

But this Greek Η was sometimes used even for A, and this down to a very late period. Thus on Frankish Golden Bullas struck at Byzantium, that of Balduin I is spelt BADOVINOS, with a clear A, while that of Balduin II is inscribed BALDOINOS, with a clear Η for A.

There is a Roman Æ on the Chertsey dish.

The Old-Northern Bind-runes beginning with Æ are only: ÆÆ, Bewcastle; ÆH, Varnum; ÆN, Bracteate No. 48; and ÆS, Bracteate No. 30. On the Varnum stone we have the sam-stave $\frac{\pi}{\omega}$ (or $\frac{\pi}{\gamma}$).

The Carlisle stone has the tie ÆN.

B.

The rune B, b, is a common letter, running thro the Old-Northern and Scandinavian alphabets. It, as usual, may have many variations. The curves may be angular or round, large or small, slim or bulging; they may stand close together, the one meeting the other, or they may have a small or wide space between them; and these bows may end at top and bottom of the stave, or they may have a large or small portion of this stave jutting out above or below or both. But in spite of this and other differences, and whether carved carelessly or carefully, elegantly or barbarously, there is no doubt of the type. We have it at Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bridekirk, Charnay, Falstone, Franks Casket, ? Hackness, Kallerup, Kragehul, Lancaster, Lindholm, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Stentofen, Thames Knife, Tune, Varnum, Veile, Vi Plane and West-Torp; as well as on the Bracteates Nos. 22, 57, 63.

Among varieties on Scandinavian-runic stones may be mentioned, taking for instance B as normal, that we may fancy the pillar-stave altogether absent and only the lowermost or 4th half-angle remaining. This \nearrow will then be the b of the so-called Helsing-runes. — But if we let half the stave remain and the first or uppermost of the 4 half-curves, we shall then have a B found on the Varpsund stone, Upland. — Or we may have the whole stave, and one of the two bows, for instance the lower one. This is b (B) as found at Söby, N. Jutland, and Maeshowe No. 22. Another elegant variety, nearly identical with a form on some Old-English Coins, is B, as on the Folsberga stone, Upland. — Occasionally the curves may stand apart from the stave, B, as at Friberg, Upland. — Or only 2 half-angles may be employed, as K at Ryda, Upland, or K, at Ryda and Bålsunda, Upland. Ornamentally and to save space on the right side, it is V on the Blackstad stone, Upland.

But, in addition to this B, there is a second and quite independent type for b, both on Old-Northern and Scandinavian pieces. This may be described as an application of the o-type A. Whether it has arisen from a thickness in the sound of o by which it became more or less like b in utterance, we cannot positively say. But the fact is there. We have A as b on Bracteate No. 24, and it enters into the Bind-rune for BÆ on Bracteate No. 30, (as A on Bracteate No. 28); and the Bind-rune for BL on Bracteate No. 30. — Singularly enough, as our ancestors thus used this o-type also for b, so the Lycian alphabet expresses the vowel o by the letter B.

Scandinavian-runic pieces, as we have said, follow up the same custom. Thus we have A for b on stones at Kirk Ballaugh, Kirk Braddan, Kirk Michael, Kirk Andreas and Kirk Onchan, Ile of Man; Alvstad and Nærheim, Norway; Kålfvesten, East-Gotland.

This b may also be carved reverse, F, as at Forsa, Helsingland; Rök, East-Gotland. — Or it may go right thro the stave, A, as on the Kleppe stone, Norway, and 3 times on the stone at Igelstad, Upland. The Gilberga stone, Upland, has both A and B for b, each once, using F for o.

The Sästad stone, Upland, has a Bind-rune for BT. As it is peculiar, I copy it — A. So at Barnspike, England, we have A for BU.

In the Old-English skinbook futhorcs, to which the reader will of course perpetually refer, will be found some other *entirely fanciful* characters for b, sometimes to some degree founded on the acknowledged type. There are yet others in a comparatively modern codex now at Freisingen (? 10th or 11th century)¹, which contains a few Latin words written in Old-English Runic characters. b is here B and B.

For the use of B for F, see under F.

¹ Kemble, *The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 40, and fig. 20.

C.

As we know, c and k singularly interchange, for the sound of the ancient c was often soft or sibilant, as in modern English and Italian, as well as hard, which it always was in the Old-English alphabet and elsewhere. So the primitive c, the runic or mark <, may have had different powers in different dialects or times or places. Of this we know nothing, and shall confine ourselves to the sign strictly interpreted by c, whatever that c may have signified. The characters for this letter are modified even in Classical alphabets. While < is ċ in Constantinopolitan, Ψ is c in Lycian, and yet this latter has K for k.

In the Old-Northern staverow the favorite type for c is <, as in Old-Welsh. This may be larger or smaller, and sometimes more or less rounded and then in addition squared, but the prevailing mark for this — doubtless here always hard — consonant remains the same. We have this < on Bracteates Nos. 5, 17, 22, 25, 35, 36, 38, 41, 56, and at Belland, Charnay, ? Collingham, Etelhem, Gallehus, Reidstad, Tomstad, Tune (? and Vånga). — More rounded, it occurs, Bracteates Nos. 2, 10, 11, and Stentoft. — Still more rounded and curved nearly together, at Chertsey. — As an early Latin letter, C, on Bracteates Nos. 2, 3, 58, and Ædred's Ring, the Franks Casket, and Ruthwell where it is also c.

Besides the usual C, such old forms as L, Γ, V, &c., are found on Old-English Coins, and other Northern pieces.

But this < may also be reverst, >, and it occurs thus accordingly on Bracteate No. 39.

Still further varied, we have it as ʌ on the Wyk Coin, a form which is e on the Holmen Bell. In the above-named Freisingen Ms. this mark is upside down, ʀ, but it also has H for c, "fancifully".

Sometimes this < is placed downwards and bears a handle, so to speak, becoming λ. In this shape it meets us at Lindholm and Sigdal.

Yet more varied, a kind of modification of the Roman c, is the # at Lindisfarne.

A second type for c in the Old-Northern Alphabet is k or h, sometimes the one passing into the other, as might be expected. This is the usual type given in the Old-English skinbook alphabets, where we also sometimes have the sidestroke doubled, producing A or K, variously modified; and this again may have its legs uppermost, thus becoming Y. Now and then the singlelimbed k is thus turned, giving ʀ, — and we then have the common K of the Scandinavian staverow. Compare the remarks on k.

k or h, then, as c, occurs on Bracteate No. 6, and at Bewcastle, Franks Casket, Lancaster, Leeds, Osthofen, Thames Knife, Ruthwell and Veile. On the Osthofen Brooch the second instance of this letter gives it as ʀ, because there was no room there to carve the side-mark on the right side.

As a third Old-Northern, or more properly Old-English, type — for it has not yet been found in Scandinavia — must be mentioned the # of the Falstone Cross, and its variation the # of the Ruthwell Cross. But these are mere adaptations of the Old-Northern-rune for g, and remind us of the way in which these gutturals continually pass over into each other, c, ch; k, kh; g, gh; as well as h. And all these may be weakened or strengthened in the different dialects, sometimes becoming deep and harsh, and at other times disappearing from the word altogether. It may be, therefore, that this third c in some localities has had a kind of ch or gh sound. — Ruthwell has also the variation #.

But c early fell away in Scandinavia, which only kept k, and this had thereafter to do duty for both c and k. But c and k are only variations of one and the same letter in the Old-Northern futhorc, and therefore this change in the Scandinavian futhorc was but the gradual preference of one form before another.

We have, however, traces of this c low down thro the middle age on various Scandinavian monuments.

The type ʌ continues to subsist for the hard c (K), but is also sometimes used for the soft c (s) or its equivalent z, or ss, &c. It is found in Slesvig Cathedral, South-Jutland; Lunde, North-Jutland; three unplaced Danish Censers; the Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; the 2nd part of the Seoné Law, Ms., Denmark; Ekerö, Upland; Svinninge, Fyn; Mogens Gyllenstjerne's Journal, anno 1543; &c. So it lingers long in England. This type, with slight variations, is occasionally continued on Old-English Coins, &c.

We have seen that one of the types for *c* in the Old-Northern pieces was c . A variation of this is found in Scandinavian-runic as c or c , also both as *c* (*s*) and *c* (*k*). Thus, Flekkevik, Iceland; Saleby, West-Gotland, anno 1228; Runic lines in a Danish Album, anno 1644; Kolding, Denmark, anno 1683; and several printed books containing Runic pieces.

At Alrum, Sconé, and other places, we have c (properly *k*) used for the Latin hard *c*.

As *c*, properly *k*, is sometimes used in Scandinavian-runic for *c* as *s*, so the rune for *s* (c) is occasionally employed not only for *c* as *s* but also for *c* as *k*. So on the Icelandic Stool, the Gerpin Bell, Norway, &c. In like manner the Greek Σ is sometimes found for *c* (*k*) on Old-English Coins.

On some pieces containing a few Latin words written in Runes, we find the other Scandinavian type for *s* used for the soft *c*, thus then evidently pronounced like *s*, as now. So at Vrickstad, Smoland, c in the word GRACIA; and at Hardeberga, Lund, c in the word KRUCIS, c being used for the hard *c*.

In alphabets which artificially make up the 16 letters of the Scandinavian futhorc to the full number of the Latin staverow, c and other arbitrary marks are given as *c*, in contradistinction to c for *k*.

See the observations on *k*.

D.

The only letter for *d* in the Old-Northern futhorc is d , which is also the regular type in the Old-English bookfells. But of course it may be slightly modified, as usual, according to material and taste. As d we have it Bewcastle, Dover, Falstone, Hartlepool, d , Lancaster, Rök and Ruthwell. — In a shape more easy to cut, without the projecting points, as d , it appears on Bracteates Nos. 25, 27, 28, 32, 49, 59, and Charnay, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Hartlepool, d , Mjöebro, Monk Wearmouth, Nydal, Sigdal and Tune. — But it may also have the bows rounded, d , as at Björketorp and Sten-toften. — We may even have a still simpler form, as d on the Thames Knife, or as d on Bracteate No. 17. — A Ms. of Aldhelm de Virginitate in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge¹, which contains the name of the lady who transcribed the book ($\text{ÆDILFLED DESCRIPIT}$), has d for *d*.

This rune, there usually penned d , is often written for *dæg* (day) in Old-English codices, that being its oldest name, as preserved to us in the English futhorcs &c. It is as if we should write — to save time and room — A FINE *d*, instead of A FINE DAY; but we cannot if we would, because *d* is now pronounced and called *de*.

As we have seen, a rapid or careless or current way of carving or writing may give us both d and d for *d*. But so of *m*, whose rune is m ; rapidly or carelessly or currently carved or written, it becomes also m . Accordingly both the monuments and the Old-English skinbooks give us m for both *d* and *m*. In reading any inscription, therefore, only the context can tell us whether this m is *d* or *m*, d or m . It is just the same as when we do not carefully dot *i* or cross *t*, the *i* or *t* or *l* will often be almost or quite identical. Such things must always be remembered by the student. If duly considered, the difficulty will not be so great as might appear at first sight. — See *m*.

Roman *d*'s are found — Ædred 's Ring and Alnmouth.

The rune for *d* was gradually or suddenly laid aside in Scandinavia, in the same strange and rapid tendency towards a "short and simple" alphabet which spoiled the stave-rows of half the East and of all the West. But when the mischief was done, people found out how stupid they had been, and, as elsewhere, begun to invent substitutes for at least some of the lost signs. So of *d*. Various methods were resorted to by which the loss of the old *D*-mark could be repaired. Sometimes we have the one-armed *r*-mark with a dot between the arm and the shank (d), as at Bergemoen and Gerpin, and an unnamed Danish Censer. Sometimes the arm is crost (d), as at Thisted, North-Jutland, and Brattahlid, Greenland. Or the arm may be doubled (d), as at Skeberg, Norway. But we may also cross the stem, not the arm; horizontally (d), as Gerum, Gotland; Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; Haide, Gotland; Skoné Law, Ms., Denmark; or obliquely (d), as Söby, N. Jutland; Hvam, Iceland; Dial. of Virgin, Ms., Sweden; or the thwart may sink into a mere dot (d), as Brattahlid and Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; an unnamed Danish Censer; a stone at Lye, Gotland; or expanded into a ring (d), as at Hallbiarnar-eyri, Iceland. Or the double-armed *r* may have a side-mark (d), as at Bårse, Sealand; Skivum, N. Jutland. Sometimes the dotted *d* stands for *d*, reverst, (d), as at Buns-

¹ Kemble, The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 40, fig. 23.

næs, Norway; or in its common form, (þ), as Skeberg, Norway. We have also the þ itself for ɒ, as at Alrum, Sconé; Skönabeck Horn, Lund; Runic lines in Danish Album, anno 1644. In this last case the ɒ may really in certain positions have been occasionally sounded th, as is the ɒ in several living Scandinavian dialects.

But the common ↑ (T) was also used for ɒ in Scandinavian-runes.

The Old-Northern Bind-runes hitherto found are, ɒÆ, Tune; ɒAL, Charnay, and ɒE, Falstone.

As examples of the Scandinavian, I would mention the ɒR, Lye, Gotland, and the ɒU on the same stone.

E.

The E of the Old-Northern futhorc is M, with the usual slight variations. We have it on Bracteates Nos. 6, 8, 9, 22, 23, 25, 30, 43, 44, 45, 51, 56, 59, 63, and Amulet-Ring No. 4, Bake-well, Bolland, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Charnay, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Hackness, Istaby, Kragehul, Lancaster, Lindholm, Nethi's Casket, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Sölvesborg, Stentofte, Thames Knife, Tune, Varnum, ? Vi Plane. — On the Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath the bend between the pillars has become nearly a straight line, (M). — Bracteate No. 53 has the character cut in half, († 1). — On the Mörbylånga stone the figure is still more ornamental, (M).

But there is also another antique type for this letter, †. We have it on Bracteates Nos. 17, 56, 57, the comparatively modern Bridekirk Font having the cross-line slanting, (†). — On the also comparatively modern Holmen and Mörbylånga pieces the line has sunk into a dot, (†), its usual form in the Scandinavian futhorc. — But the cross-stroke may only be on one side, (†), as on Bracteate No. 28; or it may become a footpiece, (v, otherwise a form of c), as at Holmen. — Or we may have 3 side-strokes, thus nearly resembling the Roman E, from which indeed it may possibly have been taken, thus E, as on Bracteate No. 28; and this again may be reverst, (‡), as on the same Bracteate. So we have H for E on Old-English Coins. — The rune †, properly æ when not a, may also be used as E, as in Valdemar II's futhorc.

Forms of the Roman E appear on Bracteates No. 5, 30, and on Æðred's Ring, Alnmouth, Franks Casket. — The two dots, Lindholm, I take to be a mark of division (:), not E.

The vulgar Scandinavian alphabet has no E, the M having been laid aside when the futhorc was "reformed", or gradually reduced to 16 letters. The E afterwards introduced, †, when a mark for this sound was indispensable, is therefore called a stung or dotted rune.

But it may be doubted whether this † is not in fact merely a short form of ‡, which, as we have seen, undoubtedly occurs many times on Old-Northern monuments in Scandinavia. The † will therefore have been a restoration or revival or continuation, tho in a slightly modified form, rather than a new invention. Certain it is that †, ‡, is found on many Scandinavian monuments, some of them dating very far back, thus a Danish unnamed Censer; Söby, North-Jutland; Skoné Law, Ms., Denmark; Amodtsdal, Bergemoen, Grindem, Tandberg, Urdal, Norway; Tynvald, Ile of Man; Rök, East-Gotland. This last stone must be from the 9th century at the latest, and yet it has this † = E (? or æ) many times. Suhm¹, ad annum 1017, refers to a Diploma of Archbishop Wulfstan of York, signed by Duke Eadric, in which the rune † = E occurs frequently. This is not the only instance of a rune called "modern" being far older than has been supposed, and shows how careful we should be. We must study the monuments, before we can theorize and assert².

Among the variations of this † I would mention the † = E in the staverow called the Danish king Valdemar's (about 1238-1240); at Hardeberga, Lund; Alrum, Sconé, &c.; this is reverst, († = E), on the Icelandic stool. — We have the stroke on the left only, (†), Gjerde, Norway; on the right, (†), Lund Cathedral, and Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden. It slants to the left, (†), at Hardeberga, Lund; to the right, (v, otherwise a, as we have seen), at Saleby, West-Gotland; Thisted, North-Jutland. In the form v (otherwise k) it is either E or ye on the Dref Bell, Småland, in the word ESUS or YESUS (JESUS); on this bell v stands for g in the word GRASIA = GRACIA, and v for k in the word

¹ Danmarks Historie, Vol. 3, 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1787, p. 494.

² Perhaps as the O. N. runes fell away, when † was used for Y (a), it first was divided into † (a) and † (æ), and then this † gave birth to the thinner vowel † (e), which eventually was shortened to †.

KRISTAS = CHRISTUS. On the Holmen Bell the up-stroke is at the foot of the stave. (L), which is otherwise C.

Then we have the point as a ring. Thus $\dot{\phi}$ = E on some Gotland stones; $\dot{\phi}$ or ϕ or ϕ = E, Bårse, Sealand; Bergemoen, Bunsuæs, Hafsloe, Ringsager, Tingvold, Norway; Halbiarnar-eyri, Iceland; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland. On the last monument it is also found pointed, ϕ . In the Runic Lines in the Danish Album, anno 1644, ϕ is used for the number 10.

But this ϕ is one of the many signs given in the Old-English manuscript alphabets for G, both in the Old-Northern and Scandinavian staverows. And, as we have \mathfrak{r} for a vowel, E or YE or Y, so also ϕ has occasionally the same value, a guttural and unguttural sound continually passing into each other. Another instance of the difficulty of always deciding the particular power, *in that place*, of every alphabet character. Similar cases occur in the engraved monuments of all times and peoples.

Another mark for E in the skinbook futhorcs is *, which we have already identified as Old-Scandinavian for Æ. But neither does this surprise us, for E and Æ are very near each other, and may even sometimes have had quite or nearly the same sound, as in modern English. Thus another instance of a guttural (here H) passing into E.

Old-Northern Bind-runes beginning with E are: ? EAT, Bracteate No. 48; EL, two varieties, Bracteates No. 17 and 47; EN, Bracteate No. 61; and ER, two varieties, Falstone and Varnum.

As examples of Scandinavian-runic similar Ties may be mentioned the Bind-runes for EF, Fläräng, Gestrikland; ENT, Tystberga, Södermanland; ER, several varieties, Barnspike, England; Maeshowe No. 11; Tandberg, Norway; Tossoug, Norway; Vinje, Norway; Thisted, N. Jutland; ES, Barnspike, England; and ED (= ET), Gerpín, Norway; Barnspike, England.

F.

\mathfrak{F} , with the variation \mathfrak{f} , &c., for F, is common to both the Old-Northern and Scandinavian alphabets. It appears on Bracteates Nos. 22, 26, 56, 57, and Bergå, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Charnay, Coquet Island, Collingham, Falstone, Franks Casket, Istaby, Gommor, Konghell, Lancaster, Leeds, Monk Wearmouth, Osthofen, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Stentofen. Thames Knife, Tjängvide and Tune. It is modified as \mathfrak{F} on Æðred's Ring and the Amulet-Ring No. 3. — On Amulet-Ring No. 2 it is \mathfrak{F} . — We have it reverst, (\mathfrak{f}), on Bracteate No. 14. — It appears as V on the Gommor stone, a form which it has on some Old-English Coins, and also in some of the parchment futhorcs. — The Roman F is found at Alnmouth and on the Franks Casket.

Of course this figure will be sometimes nearly or quite \mathfrak{V} , a form which it also has in Scandinavian-runes, as at Haning and Lunde, North-Jutland; a Danish unplaced Censer; East-Skam, East-Gotland, &c. — On these later pieces it may also be upside-down, \mathfrak{N} , as at Funbo, Upland.

On other of these Scandinavian-runes, probably by a thickening of the sound, B may be used for F. So HUSBROULA = HUSFROULA, Hainhem, Gotland; BOTOLBAR = BOTOLFAR, Guldstrup, Gotland; ELEBA = ELEFA, Spröge, Gotland; UBIAST = UFIAST (= UFAST), Stenstad, Upland.

Again, by a thinning of the sound, U may stand as equal to F. Thus SIHÆSTR = SIHFÆSTR, Norby, Medelpad; SIHUASTR = SIHFASTR, Tensta, Upland; KAITLUASTR = KAITFÆSTR, Löfstad, Upland; TIRUA = TIRFA, Årlanda, Upland.

So the Greek υ was sometimes used or pronounced as F. "Scilicet Υ in his crassiore habuisse sonum videtur, ut fere hodierni Graeci faciunt *afftos* ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$) pronuntiantes"¹.

This \mathfrak{F} is used by itself in Old-English, and in the oldest Icelandic manuscripts for the word FE (*fee, goods, property*), that being the name of this rune both in England and Scandinavia. In Scandinavia this use of a single rune for the whole word by which that rune was known is comparatively rare, in Old-English codices comparatively common, particularly in the poems thus acrostically containing the name CYNEWULF.

Among the many Bind-runes on Old-English Coins, &c., may be pointed out HE (FE) and FI (FI), both which show the F as \mathfrak{f} .

¹ Franzius, *Elementa*, p. 42.

The sign for *r* in the scarce and singular Helsing runes — that ingenious but not practical Scandinavian-runic Shorthand — namely the flatheaded half-stave, *r*, must also be remembered. Other variations exist, but of minor moment. — *r* is also used for *u* (*w*), which see.

Bearing in mind that *h* is often added where it does not belong, and wanting where it should stand, there is an interesting substitute of *hu*, = *u*, for *r* on the Ed stone, Upland, Liljegren No. 396. This is now in Oxford, whither it was sent by Mr. Robinson, the English Minister at Stockholm, with the consent of Carl XI. It bears: *ÞIA *HVRH*, *DIR HUARU*, that is = *FARU*, they *FOOR*, went.

G.

This letter, which early died out in Scandinavia, has for its type in the Old-Northern stave-row *X*, or, slightly rounded, *κ*. It meets us on Bracteates Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 10, 11, 22, 29, 30, 31, 40, 49, 51, 57, 61, and on the monuments at or called Æðred's Ring, the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-3, Arstad, Bakewell, Berga, Björketorp, Buzen, Charnay, Chertsey, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Hartlepool, B, Lancaster, Lindholmen, Osthofen, Reidstad, Rök, Ruthwell, Stenstad, Stentoften, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Shield-boss, Tjängvide, Tune and Vi Plane.

On Bracteates Nos. 51 and 52 this rune has the form of the Flanged Thwarts, commonly called the Filfot or Hammer-mark, *κ*. — The Möjebro stone gives it as *κ*. — But it is *κ* at Gjevedal. — The variation *κ* occurs at Bewcastle, Falstone and Ruthwell. — Dover and Nethi's Casket give *κ*, otherwise *h*, *h* and *g* continually running in to each other, in sound as in form. — On Bracteate No. 52 we have only the lower half, *h*, properly *c*, either for want of room or because *c* (*κ*) is only a sharper *c*. So also on some Old-English Coins we have *ċ*, *l*, and *C*, (properly *c* = *κ*) for their usual *ċ* (*c*).

Other forms of this rune, more or less allied, will be found in the Old-English bookfell alphabets.

But we have traces of this old stave also on Scandinavian-runic. Thus *X* (*g*) occurs in the Paradise-caves, Iceland. *κ* as *g* is at Hardeberga, Lund, and often elsewhere. The Bårse Font has *κ* for *g*.

Otherwise the later or Scandinavian "invented letter" for *g* is the stung or dotted *ŷ* (*κ*), thus *ŷ*. Besides other minor variations we have also *ŷ*, on an unplaced Danish Censer. — On two stones at Häggeslätt, West-Gotland, beginning LAGDI STIN, we have on the one *ŷ* *ŷ* *ŷ* *ŷ*, and on the other *ŷ* *ŷ* *ŷ*, thus showing that *ŷ* is here not *r* but *g*. — Bengt Bille's endorsement, anno 1547, gives both *ŷ* and *ŷ* for *g*. — The Colding piece, anno 1683, and some early printed books with runes, give us *ŷ* for *g*. As we see, there is no limit to such variations of a given type, exactly as in our own common European (Latin) hand at present, which differs everywhere, almost in the writing of every individual, except those who have the fear of a given writing-master before their eyes.

Variations of the Roman letter will be found, Alnmouth, Franks Casket, Ruthwell. — It is doubtful whether the sound of the well-known character *3*, on the Bridekirk Font is *g* or *ŷ* or something between the two, for this *g*-sound in many later dialects melted into *ŷ*, and at last it often fell away altogether. — See the remarks on the rune for *ŷ*, and on the Hartlepool stone, B.

There is one Old-Northern Bind-rune commencing with *g*, the *gæ* on Bracteate No. 19.

H.

The common Roman *H* is also the type of the common Old-Northern *h*. Only this latter variously modifies the connecting bar. Thus it may slant down to the left, becoming *h* or *h*, &c. Thus we have it on Bracteate No. 1, 22, 24, 25, 28, 38, 49, 55, 56, 57, 61, and Bewcastle, Charnay, Gallehus, Kallerup, Möjebro, Rök, Stentoften, Tune, Væblungsnæs, Varnum. — Or the bar may be more or less horizontal, *h*, as on Bracteates Nos. 4, 12, 13, 57, 62, Æðred's Ring, Alnmouth, Årstad, Buzen, Chertsey, Stentoften, Vordingborg. — Or it may slant upward, *h*, *h*, &c. So Bracteates Nos. 1, 6, 17, 30, 40, 55, and Bakewell, Björketorp, Gallehus, Helnæs, Himlingöie, Hörning, Istaby, Lindholm, Rök, Snoldelev, Stenstad, Stentoften, Tanum, Thorsbjerg Shield-boss, Tune, and Vi Comb and Plane.

But we may also have two bars, for instance slanting down, *h*, *h*, &c., as Bracteate No. 58, Bakewell, Bewcastle, Charnay, Dover, Falstone, Franks Casket, Hartlepool, A and B, Konghell,

Neth's Casket, Thames Knife, Upsala, (? Vänga), Vi Plane, West-Thorp. — Or they may be horizontal, H, as Bracteate No. 4 and Ruthwell. — Or they may rise upward from left to right, H, &c., as Osthofen and St. Andrews Ring.

Another variation has no bar at all, H, as Bracteate No. 2.

The skinbook staverows show us several other varieties, chiefly fanciful; and there are two other such in the Meisingen manuscript mentioned under B, namely H and H, both for H.

A Latin H of an early minuscule form will be found on the Franks Casket and the Ruthwell Cross.

On some Scandinavian-runic we have H-marks which are either the same as, or variations of, one of the old types in the parchment alphabets. Thus we have * at Borg, Iceland; Haide, Gotland; some early printed books, &c. — On the Hallahult stone, Bleking, +; on the Skönabäck Horn, Lund, and at Hallbjarnar-eyri, Iceland, we have *. — In Lund Cathedral, date 1447, is *. — In the same, date 1424, we have *.

But otherwise the usual Scandinavian Rune for H is *; at Maeshowe, No. 18, *, on the Kyrstad stone, Upland, *.

All gutturals being elastic, this * is sometimes used for GH or G.

On those old stones which have H for H, * is H, which see. Where no H occurs, we cannot always say whether * is H or H. And again, as a vowel is often omitted, for shortness, on old stones, we cannot always know whether such a word as *H is H(A)HVA or HHVA. There are sometimes very curious accidental or dialectic absences of letters. Thus it so happens that on all the many Manx stones there is no single H. And again, on the enormous Rök stone — a whole granite book with its 760 runes — there is no H! We should expect * on the former, H on the latter.

Now and then † stands for H, and there is also the still further shortened Helsing-mark †, &c.

Old-Northern Bind-runes beginning with H are: HA, three varieties, Hörning, North-Jutland; Bracteates No. 56 and 10; HE, Tune; and HU, Bewcastle.

I.

In the Old-Northern and Scandinavian stave-rows, as in such a sweep of others, the mark for i is I. I need not recapitulate the many examples. Nor need I dwell upon the many small variations. But I may mention the \ of Bracteate No. 38, and the / of the same.

I do not take the : of the Lindholm piece for i, but rather as a stop. The Cambridge Ms. mentioned under D has . for i, in the two Latin words written in runes.

In Scandinavian-runic, among other small differences, may be mentioned the † of Bro, Upland, and the two stones at Hernevi, Upland. Possibly a part of these staves has weathered away.

For i in Tree-runes see the Maeshowe stones, and other such.

Perhaps a Bind-rune for iro is on Bracteate No. 42. — Scandinavian Monograms beginning with i are also few, and some of them doubtful. One of the most curious is † for ii († and the limb of †), Tibble, Upland.

J.

This modern letter is of course here unknown. See i and x. When we alter the spelling and sound, and write JULIUS (instead of IULIUS) pronouncing DEULIUS (instead of YULIUS), that is no body's fault but our own. We must always remember that as a vowel i was I, as a consonant x. — There is only one J on all these monuments; and that is (on the late Bracteate No. 61), not J, but †, G with the power of J, as on other middle-age pieces and in manuscripts of the same period.

K.

Strictly speaking, like as the provincial Scandinavian futhorc properly has no c, the mark for K having gradually driven it out, so the Old-Northern may be said to have had no K, its various c-marks being used also for K. But by degrees Classical influences brought in a K as separate

from c. For that purpose the c-type \mathfrak{A} was used almost exclusively, or at least figured in the vellum alphabets, for κ .

But this \mathfrak{A} is properly only a still stronger c, if we may so speak; it is cc (\mathfrak{A} k) united on a common stock (\mathfrak{A} k, \mathfrak{A}). In fact it is a Bind-rune. Whether this cc may at one time have been still harder or more guttural than c, we cannot say, but it is neither impossible nor unlikely.

Now just as the single c (\mathfrak{A}) may be also lifted up, becoming the κ (\mathfrak{V}) of the Scandinavian futhork, so this double c (\mathfrak{A}) may be lifted up (\mathfrak{Y}), and therefore this also was originally a cc, and must not be mistaken for the old A-rune \mathfrak{Y} , tho this gives another example of a guttural-mark and a vowel-mark coalescing.

From what has been said, we shall not expect many Old-Northern examples of κ . There are only two, \mathfrak{A} , Ruthwell, and \mathfrak{H} , Bewcastle.

The Scandinavian \mathfrak{V} is therefore very old on Scandinavian monuments as κ . We have it at Bridekirk, Holmen, Kallerup, Konghell, Mörbylånga, Sæding, Tjängvide, Upsala, Væblungsnæs, (? Vånga) and West-Thorp, as well as on Bracteates Nos. 41, 54, 56 and 60. — * (\mathfrak{H}) is often used for κ ; but the sound intended may in most cases really have been \mathfrak{H} , not κ .

The variation \mathfrak{V} occurs on Bracteate No. 50, and interchanges with \mathfrak{V} on the Rök stone, &c. — Another slight change is \mathfrak{Y} , Varnum. — Revers, it is \mathfrak{Y} on Bracteate No. 10, as sometimes on Scandinavian-runic (once on the Rök stone). — The Mörbylånga stone has \mathfrak{Y} . — Bracteate No. 1 shows it as \mathfrak{J} . — The \mathfrak{V} of the Holmen Bell is \mathfrak{K} , or possibly \mathfrak{G} , (if \mathfrak{V} is equivalent to \mathfrak{V}).

The Chertsey piece has a Latin κ , as have some runic and other old Coins, &c.

On Scandinavian-runic we have traces of the old k for κ , as at Tuna, Upland, which has always k for \mathfrak{V} , and k for \mathfrak{V} . We may indeed say that these marks are upside down, but that is only saying the same thing in other words. — Besides other small differences, we may mention the variation \mathfrak{Y} , Hallahult, Bleking; Furby, Upland; Grensten, N. Jutland; Bustrup, S. Jutland. — Bendt Bille's endorsement, anno 1547, has \mathfrak{H} for κ . — Of course this \mathfrak{V} may be revers, (\mathfrak{Y}), as at Sjustad and Friberg and Valby, Upland; Transjö, Varend; Rysby, Småland; Hainhem, Gotland; especially when this side-mark was carved on a winding worm-line, there being no room for it on the right. — For the variation \mathfrak{V} see Säffa and Tång, Upland; an unplaced Danish Censer; Rök, E. Gotland, &c. — And, as the c, κ , mark may be used for c, — s, so the s-mark, \mathfrak{H} , may be used for κ , as on the Icelandic stool. — Now and then we have a character similar to the Roman \mathfrak{K} , as on the Lefvene stone, West-Gotland, Sweden, and on the golden finger-ring in the Cheapinghaven Museum¹; on the Brynderslev stone, North-Jutland, it has the form \mathfrak{K} .

For a Twig-rune κ see Maeshowe, No. 8. — The rare staveless Helsing-rune is \mathfrak{H} .

Among the scarce Scandinavian-runic Bind-runes beginning with κ , may be mentioned \mathfrak{K} , Maeshowe, No. 22; \mathfrak{K} , Barnspike, England; Uplunda, Upland; \mathfrak{K} , S. Kirkeby, Falster.

See \mathfrak{Y} .

L.

The wide-spread L-type \mathfrak{L} is also that for L in the Old-Northern and Scandinavian alphabets. A little more evenly or unevenly cut, standing more or less straight or leaning, a little more or less angular or rounded, &c., we have it on Bracteates Nos. 2, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 30, 31, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57, 61, 67, on the Amulet-Rings 1, 2, 4, and at Årstad, Bakewell, Berga, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bratsberg, Buzeu, Charnay, Coquet Island, Dalby, Dover, Etelhem, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Hartlepool, A. Holmen, Istaby, Lancaster, Leeds, Lindholm, Nethi's Casket, Nydam, Rök, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Stenstad, Tanem, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tune, Upsala, Varnum, (? Vånga), Vi Plane, Wyk Coin. — On the Amulet-Ring No. 3 it is \mathfrak{L} . — The arm is quite horizontal, \mathfrak{L} , on Bracteate No. 13, as on some Old-English Coins, &c. — This is upside-down, \mathfrak{L} , on Bracteate No. 2, thus resembling the commonest Roman form. — The figure leans nearly to the ground, \mathfrak{L} , on Bracteate No. 57, — or the whole is thrown

¹ No. 440 in Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager*, 2nd ed.

up, *l*, as at Stentofen. — On Bracteate No. 46 the two pieces do not join, *l*. — On Bracteates Nos. 23, 67, and at Gommor, the arm is low down, *l*, resembling an *n*. This figure, reverst, (*l*, *r*), is not unfrequent on Old-English Coins, &c. — Or the arm may be cloven, *Y*, as on Bracteate No. 17, and at Björketorp and Stentofen. — We have this same figure upside down, *λ*, on Bracteates 12 and 61, which reminds us of a still more 3-figured form (*λ*) on Old-English Coins, &c. — A Roman *l* is found, Ahnmouth and Franks Casket.

Scandinavian-runes, besides the regular *l*, in various minor modifications and sometimes with the arm low down, occasionally even *l* (like *n*), also exhibit some uncommon varieties. Thus *l*, the rune reverst (thus becoming similar to *τ*), Flatdal, Norway; Transjö. Varend; and Mogens Gyldenstjerne's Journal, anno 1543. — This is upside down (*λ*), Hosmö, Småland, and so we have both *λ* and *l* for *l* on some Old-English Coins. — At Kumla, Upland, the arm has fallen away altogether, and we have only *l* for *l*. — A Twig-rune for *l* may be seen on the 8th Maeshowe stone. — The staveless Helsing-rune is *λ*.

There is one Old-Northern Bind-rune beginning with *l*, the word *LIT* on Bracteate No. 23.

As Scandinavian-runic Bind-runes may be mentioned *LA*, Skälvum, W. Gotland; two forms for *LANT*, Maeshowe No. 22, and S. Kirkeby, Falster; *LB*, Tång, Upland; *LE*, Thisted, N. Jutland; *LF*, Urlunda, Upland; *LK*, Ramby, Upland, and Söndervissing, N. Jutland; two forms for *LL*, the one *ℒ*, in Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; the other, *ℒ*, as at Barnspike, England; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Tingvold, Norway; *LB*, Hvalstad, Södermanland; *Sästad*, Upland; and *LY*, Sanda, Södermanland.

M.

The oldest and the common type for *m* in all the Northern lands is *ℳ*. It may be carved narrow or wide or dowdy, and the cross-bars may start at the very top or a trifle lower and lower down, but the shape remains substantially the same. It occurs on Bracteates Nos. 8, 22, 25, 49, 58, and at Bewcastle, Charnay (nearly obliterated), Etelhem, Falstone, Franks Casket, Hackness, Helnæs, Kragehul, Krogstad, Lindholm, Nethi's Casket, Osthofen, Rök, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Tanem, Thames Knife and Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath. — An elegant variation is *ℳ*, as at Björketorp, Sölvesborg, Stentofen. — I have already said (under *o*) that when the cross-bars come low down (*ℳ*), or when they are given without the tops and bottoms (*ℳ*), the figure then becomes either *m* or *n* (as at Nydam), which can only be decided by the context. — So we have *ℳ*, properly *n*, for *m*, at Etelhem and Sigdal, and *ℳ* for *m* on Bracteate 67, at Osthofen and Seude, and on the Amulet-Ring No. 4.

But there are some characters for *m* which we might call half Roman and half Runic. Thus *Ɑ*, on Bracteate No. 5. — So *Ɑ*, on Bracteate No. 55. — Again, there is *ℳ*, on Bracteate No. 2. So on Old-English Coins (not in Runes), and on some things carved or written in the middle age, we have such figures for *m* as (besides *ℳ*), *ℳ*, *ℳ*, *ℳ*, &c. — Among the varieties of *ℳ* not in the vellum staverows, to which my reader will of course constantly refer, is *ℳ*. This is in the Harleian Ms. 1772, a very early copy of the Latin Bible, written in Germany by a scribe who has inserted some *Latin* lines in chiefly *Runic* characters¹. — Remark also the interesting and antique half Roman *ℳ* and *ℳ* for *m* in the Latin lines on the Ruthwell Cross, the latter form also at Ahnmouth. More usual and quite Roman are the *m*'s on Æðred's Ring and the Franks Casket.

But one of the Bracteates has quite a different character for *m*, namely — the usual *Scandinavian* *m*, *Y*. This would at first seem to *disprove* my assertion that the Old-Northern rune *Y* is *always* *λ*. But in fact it *proves* it without a doubt. For the Bracteate in question, No. 61, is not Old-Northern at all! It is of *silver*, not of *gold*; its type is *middle-age*, not *runic*; and it is evidently copied from a middle or rather late *Greek* coin and must have been struck so late as the 11th or 12th age! — But in the 11th or 12th year-hundred the *ℳ* for *m* had been dead for *centuries* in Scandinavia, and had long been supplanted by the rune *Y*. This last is also *m* on the Bridekirk Font, which is as late in date as the above Bracteate.

The provincial Scandinavian rune for *m*, then, is *Y*, with the usual minor differences. — Among the more striking variations are: *Y*, Maeshowe, No. 11; *Y*, Maeshowe, No. 18; *Y*, Transjö,

¹ Kemble, The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 40, fig. 21.

Värend; Hällestad, Sconé; Sandby, Sealand; Rök, Bornholm; Y, Vedelsprang, S. Jutland; Y, on some Gotland stones; T and t, Rök, E. Gotland; on the Maeshowe No. 5 (B in the Appendix), it is *upside-down* (A). Sometimes, as on the Holm stone, Norway, it approaches the rune for F.

Others are closed at the top; thus Q, Haning and Söndervissing, N. Jutland; Q, on a crowd of stones in Sweden and Denmark, chiefly the latter; Q (as well as Y), Sjöring, N. Jutland; Q, Sweden, Denmark, Maeshowe No. 2. An abridged and Helsing-rune for M is ^, being only the left arm of the whole rune Y, or also two dots high up, ^.

In Old-English manuscripts the rune M (usually there written H), and in the oldest Swedish and Icelandic manuscripts the rune Y, are used instead of the whole word MAN or MÄDER, this being the name of the M-consonant thro all the Northern lands. Thus the *name* remained unaltered in Scandinavia, tho the *character* was exchanged for another.

Old-Northern Bind-runes: — MA, Bewcastle; MÆ, Ruthwell; Falstone; MU: Sölvesborg.

So we have, as Scandinavian-runics: MA, Sanda, Upland; ME, Bridekirk; MU, Maeshowe, No. 20; MUL, a Danish unidentified Censer.

N.

Common to all the North in both older and later Futhorcs is † or t, N. — We have the † on Bracteates, Nos. 22, 25, 48, 59, 67, and Ædred's Ring, the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Buzeu, Charnay, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gjevedal, Hackness, Kallerup, Krogstad, Lancaster, Leeds, Möjebro, Nethi's Casket, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Stentoft, Tanem, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, ? Væblungsnæs, Varnum, Veile, Vi Plane, Wyk Coin. — The slight variation t, Bracteates Nos. 9, 24, 27, 28, 50, 55, 56, 59, and Bewcastle, Bridekirk, Collingham, Coquet Island, Lindholm, Mörbylånga, Osthofen, Reidstad, Rök, Tjängvide, West-Thorp.

We have k on Bracteates 6 and 20, as on some Old-English Coins, and t on Bracteates Nos. 1 and 11.

Under A I have spoken of the curious system of reversal, by which † (properly A or Æ) is carved for N, and t (properly N) for A or Æ. Accordingly we have † as N on Bracteate No. 25, and at Belland, Berga, Gallehus, Istaby and Tune.

The half Roman N (H, N, N) is on Bracteate 3, the Franks Casket and Ruthwell; this is *reverst*, (N), on Bracteate 53.

On Scandinavian-runics, besides the universal † and t, we have k, h, &c., as Vänderstad, Upland; Gjerde and Grindem, Norway; Hammel, N. Jutland; Maeshowe No. 19; N, Colding, N. Jutland, anno 1683, and on some Old-English Coins. The Bröta stone, Södermanland, which has usually † for N, has also once, as an elegant variation, h. — We have the form t at Klistad and Mälby, Upland, &c., and the Hornungsby stone, Upland, has t for N. — Sometimes, as Tossoug, Norway; Dial. of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; Alrum, Sconé, the bar is doubled, t = N, while on the Bårse stone, Sealand, the bars fly apart, K. — There is also, as at Bro, Upland, only the half bar to the left, q, and this is particularly the case where the stave is a part of a winding line, and there is no room on the right, as at Kärnbo, Södermanland. — This bar may even fall away altogether (l), as at Kärnbo, Södermanland. — A Tree-rune for N is on the Maeshowe stone No. 18. The staveless Helsing-rune is ^ only.

The *reverst* N (†) is found at Skjern, N. Jutland; Odensåker, E. Gotland; Great Ångeby, Upland; S. Kirkeby, Falster, &c. The Fleisborg stone, N. Jutland, has both † and t for N. — On the Icelandic Stool † stands for E.

As specimens of Scandinavian-runic Monograms: NK, Maeshowe No. 1; NN, — t, Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Gjerde and Tingvold, Norway; — s, Norum, Bohuslän; — q, Greby, West-Gotland; — t, Björkestad, Vestmanland; NT, Varpsund, Upland; Årsunda, Gestrikland; Skånum, West-Gotland; — nu, Barnspike, England.

NG.

Harder than H is G; harder than G is K (C). Now on referring to C we shall perceive that the oldest and standing type for C (K) is a Knee or Angle, C, however it may be modified.

It is also well known that a continual interchange is going on between KK and NK, or, softer, GG and NG. Hence the Greek AGGELOS, which was largely or usually pronounced by them ANGELOS, is the Latin ANGELUS, and so with hundreds of other words.

Thus has arisen a rune peculiar to the Old-Northern futhorc, by which was exprest this (CC = KK = GG) NG, called in the Old-English bookfell staverows ING, INC or HINC.

This stave is therefore in fact a double-rune.

Remembering then that the ground-type is a Knee or Angle carved twice, and that this second fork may be placed variously with regard to the first, while the figure will be more or less rounded according to the taste of the artist the material and the room, we have at once the key to this curious and interesting NASAL GUTTURAL.

We shall now see how variously this rune, or double-rune, is given on the monuments. It is:

◇, Tanum.

◁, Gallehus, and perhaps Veile.

Σ, perhaps Seude.

∧, Nethi's Casket.

2, Tune.

X, Bakewell.

h, Krogstad.

↳, Stenstad.

§, Bracteate No. 67.

◇, Bracteate No. 22.

∴, Charnay.

§, Rök.

✕, Thames Knife, Bewcastle and Ruthwell. This became the common English provincial form.

§, Vi Plane.

0. Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath. Vi Comb. On this last the sign has apparently the power of its name, ING, rather than of NG.

For other variations and characters the reader will consult the manuscript alphabets. I have not found any example of this figure on the Old-English Coins. Nor does it ever appear on Scandinavian-runic monuments; it had long died out in the Scandinavian provinces of the common Northland. But it was probably a recollection of this double-rune which gave rise to a bind-stave found in very old Icelandic codices, where NG often occurs in the forms 9, 3, 7, &c. These are not runes, but Roman letters tied together. They are all *n* plus *g*; as φ is not a rune but Roman *q* plus *p*, thus φ is *q(u)ap*, and so on with many others. Somewhat resembling the old Runic is the Old-Welsh & for NGH and 8 for NG.

O.

As with regard to A the original rune, (Υ), died away in all the Northland, and was succeeded in England by F, in Scandinavia by t, or their several modifications, — so 2, the primitive Old-Northern type for o, died out in the whole North, and was followed in Scandinavia by some variety of the F or t-type, in England by some variety of the F-type. The oldest name in the Mss. for this F and F is OS. The original name for A (Υ) may perhaps have been ANS; the oldest name in the Mss. for the Scandinavian A (t) is AR.

This 2, o, is nearly the only real rune distinctly preserved by Ulfilas in his Mæso-Gothic alphabet. Hitherto found on only *one* monument in England (Hackness), it is yet continued in 3 or 4 of the Old-English parchment futhores, as equivalent to and interchanging with F.

In its usual type, then, 2, we have this o on Bracteates Nos. 6, 8, 10, 14, 22, 24, 25, 27, 30, 48, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 59, and at Berga, Björketorp, Charnay, Dalby, Gallehus, Hackness, Himlingöie, Holmen, Maeshowe No. 9, Osthofen, Rök, Sigdal, Stenstad, Stentofen, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tune, (? Vänge), and Vi Plane.

Open at the top. 2, whether so carved or from the weathering of the stone, at Gommor and Reidstad.

With one foot not quite so perfect as the other, at Buzeu.

An ornamental circle on the top. 2, on Bracteates 33 and 34.

Should the 4 dots on Bracteate No. 2 be a letter, which is most likely, they are probably here o, as in some of the vellum alphabets.

Half Roman, a nearly round o, Bracteate No. 2; an o with a dot in the centre, Bracteate No. 3; an o with a short perpendicular stroke in the centre, Bracteate No. 28.

Quite Roman, a lozenge or round o (sometimes both on the same piece as at Ruthwell), Bracteate No. 62, Chertsey and Ruthwell.

To come now to the later or provincial types. These are, generally speaking, ƿ for England and þ for Scandinavia, and these are clearly only modifications of each other.

The former, which is also almost universal in the Old-English bookfells, appears as ƿ at Bakewell; — as ƿ or ƿ on the Amulet-Rings Nos. 2-4, at Bewcastle, Collingham, Falstone, Franks Casket, Lancaster, Leeds, Ruthwell, Thames Knife; — as ƿ on Bracteate No. 19 and the Amulet-Ring No. 1. — On the Wyk Coin ƿ would seem to be o.

The latter is þ at Bridekirk, Rök, West-Thorp; — ƿ on the Bårse Font; — ƿ at Holmen; ƿ at Holmen, Maeshowe, Mörbylånge, Upsala; — ƿ, ƿ, apparently on Bracteate No. 23 which uses ƿ for æ.

On the usual mass of Scandinavian-runes o is ƿ or ƿ, variously modified according to taste or accident, or the material on which they are carved, sometimes *various* forms on the *same* stone. — As the bars progress upward, we have them quite horizontal, ƿ, as at Bålsunda and Hollberga, Upland, — or lifted, so as to be identical with one form of ƿ, (ƿ), as at Ejellerad and Vederstev, North-Jutland; Flemlöse, Fyn; Hjellstad, Björklänge, Örsunda and Öslunda, Myrby, Upland; Spröge, Gotland; Läckö and Särstad, and Källbyås, West-Gotland. — Sometimes both ƿ and ƿ are found on the same stone, as at Ärentuna, Upland. But on a host of stones this o is found *reverst*, in the usual way, and we then have ƿ, ƿ, &c., sometimes the bars touching the ground, ƿ, as at Maeshowe, Nos. 13, 19, Söby and Colding, N. Jutland; — or horizontal, ƿ, as on the monolith at Valby, Upland; — or lifted up, ƿ, as at Holm, Mälby and Täby, Upland, &c., sometimes with *other* forms on the same stone, as at Äxlunda, Upland; — or split open, ƿ; or this type *reverst*, ƿ, as at Björklänge, Upland.

Then again we have the bars passing right thro, ƿ, ƿ, ƿ, on stones too many to mention; — or only the one line carried thro, thus ƿ, as at Hjellstad, Upland, ƿ, Maeshowe No. 20; — ƿ, Maeshowe No. 19; Hafsloe, Norway; — or opposed, ƿ, as at Tidan, West-Gotland; and so with other varieties.

There may also be three bars, ƿ, ƿ, ƿ, &c. But this reminds us that, with regard to these forms with 2 or 3 bars, we are not always sure whether they express the o or the oe, ø, ö. — See oe.

The Old-Northern and Half-Northern Binds are: ok, Holmen; on, three varieties, Bewcastle and Holmen; or, Holmen; ou, Holmen.

Among the Scandinavian Binds may be pointed out: or, several kinds, Hesselager and Lunde, N. Jutland; a Danish unfixt Censer; Hösmo, Småland; od, Skeberg, Norway; of, Maeshowe No. 11; ok, several kinds, Flatdal, Norway; Vinje, Norway; Haide and Lye, Gotland; Tinn and Skeberg, Norway; Gerum, Gotland; ol, two varieties, Thisted, N. Jutland; Maeshowe No. 2; Lye, Gotland; OLAFSSON, Borg, Iceland; on, many kinds; Folsberga, Upland; Gästebäck, Finnheden; Kirgiktórsoak, Greenland; Maeshowe No. 2; Lye, Gotland; Tinn, Norway; Maeshowe No. 21; Bergemoen, Norway; Maeshowe No. 19; or, two kinds, Stokkemärke, Lolland; Lye, Gotland; or, many kinds; Söby, N. Jutland; Bergemoen and Tandberg, Norway; Hösmo, Småland; Flatdal, Norway; opu, Vinje wand No. 2, Norway; ou, same wand; ou, Lye, Gotland.

For ƿ as æ, see the letter æ.

(EO) yO.

The Rune EOH (EH, HIC, &c.), to which the Old-English skinbook futhorcs give the power EO, that is yo (yo), for E was used very largely as a way of expressing the half-vowel y before another vowel (our y, the present Scandinavian and German j, which we also have in the word *Hallehjah*), occurs but sparingly on the monuments, and, as usual, both simple and *reverst*, and with slight variations of height &c.

Type 1, Bracteates Nos. 22, 28, Krogstad, Thames Knife.

Type 2, Bracteates Nos. 7, 8, 10, 17, and Charnay, Krogstad, Nethi's Casket, Rök.

This mark early past away both in Scandinavia and England, and left no successor.

OE.

Æ was, as we have said, originally the sign for the full deep o. But in England, perhaps accommodating itself to dialectic talk, it gradually came to mark a broken or weakened half-o. This is given in the Old-English skin-book staverows by the letters oe, doubtless answering pretty much to the o and ð of Scandinavia. But the sound exprest by this letter must, in certain districts or periods, have approacht very near to oe or e. On the Lancaster Cross it is substantially equal to e, and e is its Latin double on the Falstone Cross. Of the grave Disc-stone found at Hartlepool (figured by Haigh in his Notes, p. 18, and elsewhere) we have only the fragments left which bear the words (E)QVIESC.T CE, doubtless REQVIESCAT IN PACE. This last letter is in the form ƿ, which seems to be a variation of the stave before us, and here with the power of e. However, the alphabets show that the generally understood value of æ was oe, altho one or two of them give as side and equivalent forms * = $\frac{a}{u}$ = æ, and † = y. As to this last letter († y) we know that oe and y easily pass into each other, so much so that the Scandinavian ƿ stands both for oe and y.

With the usual slight modifications of shape, we have æ = oe on (? Bracteate No. 1), and Falstone, Franks Casket, Lancaster, Ruthwell. — The Thames Knife has the variety ƿ = oe. — At Chertsey it is ƿ = oe.

The bare rune æ often stands for ODIL (or EDEL, as it was spelt later), in Old-English skin-books, in the sense of *fatherland*, *birthplace*, for so this stave was called. Thus the first letter stood for the whole word.

The old Scandinavian mark for oe (and also for y) was ʀ. Its age is very great, for we have it on Old-Northern stones in Scandinavia; thus at Holmen, Sigdal, Stentoften, Varnum, as well as on later pieces in Scandinavian-runic, for instance: Bårse, Sealand; Hobro and Söndervissing, North-Jutland; Maeshowe Nos. 16, 18, 19, 20, 23; Löfsund and Sanda, Södermanland; Engeby, Mälby, Nyby, Sästad, Solna, Tjursåker, Tibble, Upland; and many more.

But Scandinavian stones also represent oe (o, ð) by ʀ, as Håmø, Upland; †, as Flatdal, Norway; Tingvold, Norway; a Danish unnamed Censer; Kyrkefalla and Saleby, W. Gotland; Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; Skåné-Law, Ms., Denmark; — †, as Rolland, Norway; Dial. of the Virgin, Ms.; Højentorp, W. Gotland; — †, as Skönabäck Horn, Lund; — †, Tingvold, Norway; &c. Also † and †, &c. — See o. — Rare is the staveless Helsing form, ʀ, which is only the left foot of ʀ.

P.

This Old-Northern rune, which occurs sparingly, has many forms.

On Bracteate No. 22 it is ʀ.

On the Thames Knife it is ʀ.

On the Charnay Brooch it is ʀ.

On Nethi's Casket it is ʀ.

On the Holmen Bell (transition) it is ʀ.

There are also many varieties in the Old-English skinbook stave-rows, which see; but the commonest is ʀ, as on the Thames Knife, ʀ on the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4. — There is another, fanciful sign in the Freisingen bookfell mentioned under b, namely ʀ, which is half the figure for b invented by the same "ingenious hand". — Yet another has the Cambridge codex spoken of under d, in its two Latin words written in runes, namely ʀ, (otherwise sounding o or oe).

Scandinavian-runic, which have no p, early replaced it by k, with slight variations, as at Klinte, Gotland; several times in Norway; in the Paradise-caves, Iceland; the Iceland Stool; the Dial. of the Virgin, Ms., Sweden; the Skåné Law, Ms., Denmark; Valdemar II's Alphabet; — but also by ʀ¹.

¹ Especially on Gotland stones. But some may say that the sound was really b, in some cases.

— More common, and later, is the stung or dotted **k**, as **B**, Lye, Gotland; — **k**, Stenstrup, N. Jutland; Stokkemark. Lolland; an unfixed Danish Censer; **B**, as Gerpin, Norway; Saleby, W. Gotland; Skåné Law, Ms., Denmark.

As a specimen of Scandinavian-runic Binds, we may take **PR**, Lye, Gotland.

Q.

As the Old-Northern futhorc has no **q**, the alphabet-makers in the skinbooks, when they drew up the letters in the order of the Roman **ABC** and came to **q**, at once set about making one. Some took the rune for **c** or **k**, otherwise some change of the same; others invented a fanciful mark. There is yet another variety, **ſ**, in the Old-English Ms. Poem (Corpus Christi, Cambridge) of Salomon and Saturn; — yet another, **ſ**, in the Freisingen codex; — and the Harleian Ms. spoken of under **m** has another, **ſ**. We ourselves can invent as many more as we like.

The Icelandic stool has **q**; the Runic Lines in the Danish Album, annó 1644, have **q**.

See the Roman **q** on the Ruthwell Cross.

R.

The mark for **r**, so widely spread among the sister alphabets, is also common to the Old-Northern and the Scandinavian. It may be variously fashioned, **R**, **R**, **R**, and fifty other ways, often assuming different shapes on the same monument, may be thin or thick, close or open; but its type remains the same. We have it on Bracteates Nos. (? 17), 18, 22, 25, 30; and Æðred's Ring, Alnmouth, Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bridekirk, Charnay, Collingham, Coquet Island, Dalby, Dover, Etelhem, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Hartlepool, **A**, Himlingöie, Holmen, Istaby, Kallerup, Kragehul, Lancaster, Lindholm, Møjebo, Monk Wearmouth, Mörbylånga, Nethi's Casket, Osthofen, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Sölvesborg, Stentoften, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tjängvide, Tomstad, Tune, Væblungsnes, Varnum, Veile, Vi Comb and Plane.

Among the more striking differences is **R**, Charnay, and nearly similar on Æðred's Ring. — Chertsey has **R**.

The Sæding overgang-stone has the Scandinavian **A**. So has the far older Snoldelev stone.

Scandinavian-runes sometimes carve more "elegantly", as **R**, Sylling, Norway; — **R**, Alstad and Dynna, Norway; — **R**, Dref, Småland; or more carelessly, as **R**, Söndervissing and Stenstrup, N. Jutland; — **R**, as Ekala, Upland; — **R**, as Friberg, Upland; — **R**, as Ekala, Upland; — **D**, as a Danish unidentified Censer. — Now and then we have merely **1** for **r**, as at Ulstamma, Upland; Rök and Kålfvesten, E. Gotland; Forsa, Helsingland; commonly **r**-final; — this is very near to the sign **r**, as at Berga and Tuna, Medelpad, and in the Helsing runes. For Tree-rune **r**, see Maeshowe, Nos. 8, 18.

But Scandinavian-runes have also quite another type for **r**, later but still *very old*, **A**; sometimes, as at Alsted, Sealand, **A**; in the Helsing-runes expressed by two dots low down, **..**. This is commonly called **r**-final, but it very frequently occurs at the beginning or within a word, and this on very old monuments. The origin of this distinctively provincial mark is probably connected with a remarkable euphonic and literal tendency in the Scandinavian dialects in early times, — the inability to pronounce **s**, especially **s**-final, and the melting away of that letter into a dull consonantic or vowel sound, so that at the end of a word it either fell away altogether, or became a vowel, or hardened into **r**. This may also explain the remarkable fact that this rune **A** not only stands — on old and classical monuments — for **r**, but also for **oe** and **y**. I imagine then that **A** was hit upon to express this dull **s**, and that it afterwards settled down into **r**-final or **r** generally, or in an indistinct vowel. Just so in Sanscrit we have the vowels **ī** and **ṛ**. These remarks will also apply to the very antique **1** for **r** (especially **r**-final). In fact **1** may only be a half-**1**, the upper part (**1**) being often a type for **s**, while the lower (**1**) becomes employed for this dim **r**-sound. **A** itself may only be a similar variation of one of the many **s**-types, purposely invented to signify this dull **s** or a still duller vowel.

The Holmen piece has the Bind-rune **RT**.

As Scandinavian-runic monograms may be mentioned: **RE**, Hesselager, N. Jutland; **RR**, Tång, Upland; **RR**, Sästad, Upland. This last is **A**, **A**R.

It is important to remark once for all, that \mathfrak{R} and \mathfrak{N} (\mathfrak{R} and \mathfrak{v}) can sometimes scarcely be distinguished. When \mathfrak{R} is carved with a very slight bend, for instance \mathfrak{R} , and when the \mathfrak{N} is unevenly cut, they may nearly coincide. But even in this case they can generally be at once identified by the different look and the slight bend *inward* (\mathfrak{v}) or *outward* (\mathfrak{R}).

S.

4, the type for s, is also in common to a sweep of other staverows, besides the Old-Northern and Scandinavian. But it every where assumes many forms, sometimes apparently very wide apart. They all, however, resolve themselves into what may be called an *upright wavy line*.

This wave may make *two bends*. Thus we have: \wp , Bracteate No. 67; — ζ , Charnay; — r , the Amulet-Ring No. 1, S. Cuthbert's Coffin and Thames Knife, which reminds us that r is *s* in the Old-Welsh alphabet. See the somewhat similar Roman *s* on the Franks Casket. — Besides other variations in the Old-English parchment futhorcs, we have, in the Freisingen Ms. referred to under *B*, both the usual h and also h_1 , h_2 and h_3 for *s*.

But the wave may also make *three bends*, and the upper limb may start from the right or from the left. — ♪ meets us Franks Casket, Gjevedal, Hackness; — ♪, ♪, &c. Bracteates Nos. 6, 22, 30, (? 58), and Berga, Björketorp, Möjebro, Stentofen, Tune; — ♪, Bracteate No. 3; — ♪, Bracteate No. 2; — ♪, Bracteate No. 20; — ♪. Reidstad; — ♪, ♪, ♪, &c., Amulet-Rings Nos. 2-4, Bracteates Nos. 6, 17, 55, 57, and Bewcastle, Collingham, Coquet Island, Dover, Falstone, Franks Casket, Kallerup, Mörbylånga, Rök, Ruthwell, Sölvesborg, Wyk Coin; — ♪, Nethi's Casket; — ♪, ♪, &c., Bracteates Nos. 6, 14, 20, Årstad, Berga, Björketorp, Gallehus, Gommor, Lindholm, Seude, Tanem, Tune, Upsala; — but this figure may be quite or nearly square thus ♪, Bracteates Nos. 23, 28, 49; — ♪, Bracteates Nos. 23, 53; — ♪, Bracteate No. 56; — ♪, ♪, Alnmouth; — ♪, Bracteate No. 24.

We may also have *four bends*; thus } , Tanum.

Again, there may be *five or six bends*; as \mathfrak{Z} , \mathfrak{Z} , Himlingöie, Krogstad. The Vi Plane has both \mathfrak{Z} and \mathfrak{Z} . — Nearly allied is \mathfrak{Z} , St. Andrews Cross.

But there is also another, and very old, Scandinavian variety for *s*, evidently sprung from the simplest of the former type. Thus we have ¹ at Tjängvide and on the Rök stone; φ , Sigdal; ⁴, Bridekirk, Holmen; the latter modern.

So we have H, M, P, Z, Y, U, V, H, Z, N, N, B, h, Y, &c. &c., on a host of Scandinavian-runics, and Y, Grindem, Norway; — K, Grönhögsvaldsbro, E. Gotland; — b, Hörning, N. Jutland; — H, &c., on many stones. — See the closing remarks on R.





The simple type; — as ¹, every where; sometimes ¹, which is also on the Helsing stones; — ⁶, Dref, Småland; — ⁴, common; — ¹, ², Gerum, Lye, Gotland; Tandberg, Norway; — ⁷, Flatdal, Norway. — See also Maeshowe, Nos. 18, 22.

Many of these, as well as *F*, *Γ*, *ϣ*, &c., are on Old-English Coins.

For Scandinavian Binds see st, Ekala and Varpsund, Uppland; st, two varieties, Marstad and Signilsberg, Uppland; sv, Hösno, Småland; sva, Maeshowe 22.

T.

↑ is another letter common to a host of alphabets, as well as the several Runic. We have it on Bracteates Nos. 8, 22, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 56, 57, 59, and the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, Berga, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bridekirk, Buzeu, Charnay, Collingham, Etelhem, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Istaby, Kallerup, Lindholm, Monk Wearmouth, Mörby-långa, Nethi's Casket, Osthofen, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Sövesborg, Stentofen, Tanum, Thames Knife, Tjängvide, Tomstad, Tune, Varnum, Vi Plane, West-Thorp.

Among other minute variations may be mentioned forms of the Eared Cross or Cross with a Handle, such as the elegant, ball-bearing, , Bracteate 33; — bubble-blowing, , Bracteate 34; — arms deprest, , Bracteates 53, 55'; — straight-armed, , Bracteates 2, 4, 12, 13, 28, 53. and

¹ These cross-like variations of this letter are very ancient, and belong to several of the oldest Oriental alphabets. T (TAU) in the oldest Phœnician was a Cross-form sign, and had its name from its form. This symbol for Divinity and Sanctity was also the mark mentioned in Ezechiel, ch. 9, v. 3. See hereon the valuable remarks of Dr. L. Müller in his "Religiöse Symboler af Stjerne-, Kors- og Cirkel-Form hos Oldtidens Kulturfolk", 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1864, p. 10.

Franks Casket; ornamented stave, \mathfrak{F} , Chertsey; — club-footed, \mathfrak{T} , Bracteate 1; — one-armed, $\mathfrak{1}$, Holmen, Seude, (? Tjängvide), Bracteates 8, 9, 10, 11, 32, 56; — arm deprest, $\mathfrak{4}$, Bracteate 23; — arm gone, $\mathfrak{1}$, Holmen.

So in Scandinavian-runic the $\mathfrak{1}$ and $\mathfrak{4}$ often interchange on the same stone, the arm or arms are sometimes lower and lower down, or one lower than the other, or doubled, or absent, or the letter is upside down. — More singular is \mathfrak{D} , Hardeberga, Lund; — \mathfrak{r} , (properly \mathfrak{l}), as Flatdal, Norway, which has also $\mathfrak{1}$, and Kyrketorp, West-Gotland; — \mathfrak{r} , Forsa, Helsingland; — left arm alone, $\mathfrak{1}$, Helsingland; — pincht in, \mathfrak{r} , Kleppe, Norway.

Old-Northern Ties: \mathfrak{TE} , Bracteate 49; \mathfrak{TR} , Holmen.

Among the Scandinavian-runic binds we remark, \mathfrak{TA} , two kinds, Trinkesta, Södermanland; Danish unnamed Censer; — \mathfrak{TE} , Vederslev, N. Jutland; — \mathfrak{TEB} , Hesselager and Söby, N. Jutland; Danish unnamed Censer; — \mathfrak{TE} , two kinds, Ed, Varend; Barnspike and Bridekirk, England; — \mathfrak{TEK} , Danish unnamed Censer; — \mathfrak{TH} , Näle, Upland; — \mathfrak{TK} , Hösma, Småland; — \mathfrak{TO} , Börje, Upland; — \mathfrak{TR} , Barnspike, England; Maeshowe 17, and in many other places; — \mathfrak{TR} ($\mathfrak{1}$), Tingvold, Norway; — \mathfrak{TU} , Vrickstad, Småland; Tidam, W. Gotland; Danish unfixt Censer; and other variations; — \mathfrak{TY} , Holme, Norway.

P.

Another stave common to the Old-Northern and Scandinavian stave-rows is that \mathfrak{TH} which we have been foolish enough to let drop, but which it is to be hoped we shall restore — as we ought to have done long ago. It was one of the two letters wisely kept by the English and Scandinavians, when they otherwise adopted the Roman alphabet.

As usual, it may have many forms, particularly the rounded bow, \mathfrak{p} , or the angular, \mathfrak{p} , sometimes both shapes occurring on the same piece. We have it on Bracteates 3, 8, 17, 22, 23, 28, 59, the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, Belland, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bratsberg, Bridekirk, Charnay, Coquet Island, Dalby, Franks Casket, Gommor, Hartlepool, \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{B} , Holmen, Istaby, Kallerup, Lancaster, Monk Wearmouth, Mörbylänga, Osthofen, Ruthwell, Sigdal, Stentoft, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tjängvide, Tune, Væblungsnes, (? Vänga), and Vi Plane.

The bow more or less at the top instead of the middle, \mathfrak{p} , otherwise \mathfrak{w} , occurs Bracteates 25, 26, and Bewcastle, Falstone, Konghell. — But both the projecting points may nearly or quite disappear, leaving only \mathfrak{D} , as Bracteates 1, 7, 27, (? 29), and Nethi's Casket, Reidstad, Stentoft, Upsala, Vi Plane.

Unusual is the figure, \mathfrak{P} , on the Rök stone.

Romanized shapes are on Ælred's Ring and the Alnmouth Cross.

Old-English Coins, &c., exhibit several curious and barbarous forms for \mathfrak{p} .

In the Old-Northern times the Rune \mathfrak{p} was used both for the aspirated \mathfrak{T} (\mathfrak{TH} in *thing*, *think*, *thief*, *wherewith*, *breath*, *wreath*, &c.) and for the aspirated \mathfrak{D} (\mathfrak{TH} in *the*, *that*, *this*, *with*, *breathe*, *wreath*, &c.). But the English early made a happy subdivision, inventing an additional sign (\mathfrak{D} , \mathfrak{d}) for the latter or dull \mathfrak{TH} . This new symbol past over to Scandinavia with the rest of the Anglo-Roman alphabet; but the Scandinavians, like ourselves, foolishly suffered both \mathfrak{p} and \mathfrak{d} to die out centuries ago. In Iceland \mathfrak{p} and \mathfrak{d} have of late years been restored, \mathfrak{p} being used only at the beginning of a word.

So in Scandinavian-runic, besides the universal \mathfrak{p} and \mathfrak{p} , we have on hosts of pieces the shankless \mathfrak{D} . — Now and then we have also \mathfrak{P} , as at Åstrup and Fleisborg, North-Jutland, and Alstad, Upland. — Rarer are such forms as \mathfrak{b} , Danish unnamed Censer, — \mathfrak{d} , Bunsnes, Norway, — \mathfrak{d} , chiefly on Swedish stones, — \mathfrak{d} , Brattahlid, Greenland, — $\mathfrak{1}$, the Helsing runes. — A Tree-rune \mathfrak{p} may be seen on the Maeshowe stone No. 18. — Very scarce is \mathfrak{U} , as on the Broddby stone, Upland.

\mathfrak{p} is continued in Northern Mss. down to a late period. — Now and then (when it is not express by \mathfrak{TH}) \mathfrak{T} or \mathfrak{D} is used as its substitute. So the Latins, who had not the Etruscan \mathfrak{TH} , used \mathfrak{T} or \mathfrak{D} instead.

Old-Northern Ties are \mathfrak{THE} , Bridekirk; \mathfrak{THU} , Bewcastle. So we have the Scandinavian-Runic \mathfrak{R} , for \mathfrak{THR} , at Barnspike, England.

In a sense, this rune still lingers in England, but in a mask. When, either seriously or for fun as "old-fashioned", we write, \mathfrak{y}^e for *the*, \mathfrak{y}^e for *that*, \mathfrak{y}^e for *this*, &c., this \mathfrak{y} is the old \mathfrak{p} . We can follow it quite plainly in manuscripts. These usually retain the \mathfrak{p} down to about the 14th century, in

some places still later. But it then becomes so carelessly written that it soon sinks into a mere scribbled y, but still with the knowledge for a long time that this y was þ. Sometimes this symbol degenerated still further into z, and we may still see, in what is called "comic writing", z^o and z^t, &c., for *the, that*, &c. Thus both þ and γ have sometimes been barbarized into z.

U.

U, Ū, &c., is common to all the Northern alphabets, and has many minor variations, particularly the carving of the bend low, even half way down, on the stave.

I have already said (see R) that, when carelessly or rapidly carved, U and R may so much resemble each other as sometimes to offer a moment's difficulty. We have examples of this on all our monuments, both Old-Northern and Scandinavian-runic.

As U, then, or Ū, we have this letter on Bracteates Nos. 7, 8, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 30, 47, 50, 51, 52, 57, 61, 67, the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-4, and Bewcastle, Björketorp, Charnay, Collingham, Falstone, Franks Casket, Gommor, Hackness, Holmen, Istaby, Kallerup, Kragehul, Leeds, Mörbylånga, Nydam, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Sölvesborg, Stentofte, Tanem, Thames Knife, Tjängvide, Tomstad, Tune, (? Vänge), Varnum and Wyk Coin.

But the right limb may commence a little lower down, or still lower, and at last it may even be in the centre, h. In one or other of these modifications we have this stave on Bracteates 16, 23, 25, 59, and Charnay, Nethi's Casket, Tjängvide and West-Thorp. — Again, each side may be more or less rounded, producing the shape Ū, as on Bracteates 5, 11, Franks Casket, Lancaster. — But the form may also be angular, Λ, as on Bracteates 1, 2, 3, 4, 12, 13, 20, 27, 28, 40, 54, 56, 58, 59, 61. — Or it may be carved straight on one side, Λ, as Lindholm, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tune. — Sometimes the right foot is much shorter, so as to resemble an L (†), Bracteates 57, 61, — while the same figure may also lean, Λ, Bracteate 56. — Occasionally the whole is squared, Π, as Bracteate No. 1, Chertsey, Dalby, Krogstad. — Or the top may be wanting, ||, as Bracteate 49. — We may even have reverse-cut forms, Λ, Π, as Bracteates 24, 49, Mörbylånga and the Vi Plane.

Upside down, and thus in form becoming, but only apparently, more or less Romanized, we have it on Bracteates 1, 3, 28, 60, Alnmouth, Franks Casket, Konghell.

Similar and yet other variations occur on Scandinavian-runic. Besides the usual U and Ū, we have — the elegant A, Dynna, Norway, — A, Gran, Norway, which otherwise are Ū. — On many stones &c. we have Ū, h, k, and so on. — There is also the shortened or staveless v, as at Berga and Tuna, Upland, and in the Helsing alphabet. — The type d is at Säfva, Upland, — and a Tree-rune for U is on the Maeshowe stone No. 18.

See the apparent Tie U on the Holmen piece, and the Bind-rune UN on the Sanda stone, A.

This U, was retained by Ulfilas; and Old-English Coins, &c., give U in many variations, both Runic and Roman.

Ü.

By Ü is meant, vulgarly speaking, the dotted U, A, in its many variations, and by this again is intended that thin sound of U which is so near both to U and to I, and which was often exprest by the equivalents of v. Both etymologically and phonetically U, Ū, v, and I are intimately connected and continually pass into each other or into various vowels or diphthongs, the U being usually a mark of linguistic antiquity, the Ū, v, I, &c., of fresh formation and development or later dialect or gradual transition or local interchange.

But this old Runic A, tho here for convenience represented by Ū, in order to show that it is only a coloring of the U, has nothing to do with the modern German Ū. This last does not spring from any rune. It is merely a short way of writing the sound UE (a kind of v), which was first spelt UE, ue, then Ū, ū, and at last the superplaced e became two dots.

This Ū, then, being so intimately connected with its twin-sister v, the reader is referred to that letter. I only beg him always to bear in mind that U and Ū and v are often used almost in common. So in the Old-English skinbook alphabets Nos. 41 and 41 b the rune for U is A; as in Roman inscriptions, where V is used for v, V is employed for U.

A glance at the vellum stave-rows will show that this \mathfrak{A} has had many variations. And so on the monuments. Preserving its type, they freely modify it. The form \mathfrak{A} occurs at Bewcastle and Lancaster; — it is \mathfrak{A} at Hartlepool, \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{B} ; — still simpler, \mathfrak{A} , at Årstad; — a little rounded, \mathfrak{A} , on the Franks Casket; — this is \mathfrak{A} on the Upsala Axe, and twice on the Carlisle stone; — more varied is the \mathfrak{A} at Ruthwell; — \mathfrak{A} on the Thames Knife; — \mathfrak{A} on the Amulet-Ring No. 4; — but \mathfrak{A} on Bracteate No. 61; — at Konghell K.

It is curious to see this rune preserving itself, half Romanized, that is turned upside down to make it harmonize with \mathfrak{v} and the other Roman letters, on pieces from the middle age. Thus on the Seal of Ny Herred, Flensborg Amt, South-Jutland, it is \mathfrak{A} . This stamp is now in the Danish Old-Northern Museum, and reads:

SIGILLVM BONDONVM DE NÜHERETH. *The-SEAL of-the-BONDES (yeomen) OF NÜ HÆRETH.*

The date of this piece is the 12th or 13th century.



The same sign subsists in some Scandinavian manuscripts, in the small hand, in the form of a crost \mathfrak{u} , $\#$. See examples in the facsimile of Codex 455 in the Arna-Magnæan Collection containing Waldemar's Sealand Law in Danish, as given by Rask in his "Dansk Retskrivnings-lære", 8vo, Kjøbenhavn 1826.

Slightly varied, we have this Romanized rune on another Danish Seal, that of Gyiring (Gjording) Herred or Hundred, Ribe Amt, North-Jutland, probably dating about 1200-1250.* This piece, kindly pointed out to me by Archivary Herbst, runs:

SECRETVM GÜRING HÆRETH.

The \mathfrak{A} is here a monogram, and the \mathfrak{v} is \mathfrak{A} . — Observe also the 2 forms of the \mathfrak{g} .



Nor are we without examples of this rune in older forms in Scandinavian-runics, as well as in the later and general \mathfrak{A} . — Thus we have \mathfrak{A} on many monuments, — which is \mathfrak{A} at Gränby, Upland, — \mathfrak{A} on the Hesselager Censer, North-Jutland, — \mathfrak{A} on the Långthora stone, Upland, — \mathfrak{A} on the Vordingborg transition-stone.

On the Lytterstad stone, Södermanland, (Lilj. No. 905, Baut. No. 78 b, as corrected from the stone by P. A. Sæve in 1861, communicated to me by Prof. Carl Sæve), we have the form ᚱ.

This runic *ū* became in English skinbooks *u*, and so remained to the close of the middle age, of course, as we have said, with various vowel fluctuations, when it went over to some other sound, as *blysan*, to *blaze*, *yfel*, *Evil*, *yldra*, *Elder*, *older*, *hyran*, to *heat*, *ydel*, *idle*, *ytermest*, *outermost*, &c. In Scandinavia it settled down into *u*.

V.

v is not an old letter, as little as *j*. There could therefore be no rune for it. The Roman *v* (*u*) before a vowel was usually pronounced *w*, which has been too much forgotten. But in the middle age a distinction crept in, as to sound and letter, between *u* and *v*, and then *v* gradually obtained the modern hard sound.

We have traces of this also in Scandinavian-runic. Besides the usual ᚱ (*u*) for *v*, we have, for instance *ᚱ*, Dref, Småland, (ᚱᚱ in the expression AVE MARIA), and Klinte and Gulldrupa, Gotland (ᚱᚱ in AFI MARIA); — and *ᚱ*, Svinninge, Fyn, (ᚱᚱᚱ in AVE [= AVE] MARIA), and again in Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms. Sweden (ᚱᚱᚱ = LIVA), and in the 2nd part of the Ms. Skåne Law, Denmark, and at Ånga and Hväte, Gotland, and at Kyrkefälla, West-Gotland. — On the Iron-work at Raudland, Norway, we have 3 times *ᚱ* for *v*. — On the Uggjum stone, West-Gotland, the *v* is *ᚱ*.

See *w*.

W.

The second stave kept by the English and other Northmen, when they followed the Romanizing fashion and took up the Roman alphabet, was their native Runic *ᚱ* or *ᚱ*, = *w*. This Old-Northern letter, which disappeared first from Scandinavia and then from England, continued in the latter country, at least exceptionally, late down in the middle age, when it finally gave way before the Latin *vv* or *W* or *w* or *uu*, &c., Double-*u*, a most stupid and barbarous and cumbersome substitute for our old and elegant *ᚱ*. — In Scandinavia, besides the monuments in this work, we find it on the earliest Coins, from the 10th and 11th centuries. These, it is true, were struck by English moneyers, but they neither would nor could have employed this letter if it had been entirely unknown. Accordingly the monuments now show that it was daily seen in metal and on stone, and at this early period its meaning was still well understood. This is so much the clearer, as it is also used in the oldest Norse-Icelandic skinbooks.

Rounded, *ᚱ*, or angular, *ᚱ*, this rune meets us on Bracteates 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 47, 51, 52, 55, 56, 67, and Almmouth, Amulet-Ring No. 4, Årstad, Bewcastle, Björketorp, Bridekirk, Buzeu, Charnay, Collingham, Etelhem, Franks Casket, Gallehus, Gommor, Istaby, Krogstad, Reidstad, Ruthwell, Seude, Sölvesborg, Stentofte, Tanum, Thames Knife, Thorsbjerg Sword-sheath, Tomstad, Tune, Varnum, Vi Plane and Vordingborg.

But as *ᚱ* (*th*) can easily, currently or carelessly carved, approach in shape *ᚱ* (*w*), so this *ᚱ* may approximate to *ᚱ*, as at Sigdal. — Or the shanks may altogether fall away, when *ᚱ* or *ᚱ* (which we have seen might be *th*) may be *w*. It is thus on Bracteates 11, 29, 32, of course more or less straight or leaning. — But we have also the double *ᚱ*, *ᚱᚱ*, as Bracteate 49, — upside down, *ᚱᚱ*, as Bracteate 28. — Or the top may be straight, *ᚱ*, as at Almmouth.

This rune long held its ground on Old-English Coins, &c., often abridged as *ᚱ*, *ᚱ*, &c., but also with other still shorter forms.

In Scandinavian-runic, when the *w* had quite died out, the carvers contented themselves with *ᚱ* (*u*), altho the sound *w* certainly still continued in certain dialects and localities, as it does to this day. But now and then efforts were made to get a kind of substitute in another way. — Thus on the Hôga stone, Upland, (now at Upsala), we have *ᚱ*, FITA-FADUM, = UITA-UADUM, in white weeds, newly baptized, where the first *F* properly stands for *hw*, the second for *w*. At Blådinge, Småland, we have the name PINFIDIR = FINWIDIR. At Transjö, Varend, FER = UER = WAR, was. At Blistad, Upland, the name KUDFAR, = KUDAR = KUDWAR = KUNNAR. At Vallentuna, Upland, DAFID, (the name

DAVID), where, however, the *u* may really have had the sharp sound, as in Icelandic the name LAURENCIUS became LAPRANTS.

Another way was, to use *o* for *w*, as in Latin writers also we often find *o* (before *a* and *i*) as a representative of this Scando-Gothic digamma. Thus at Ångeby, Upland, OAR = WAR, *was*. At Giesingholm, N. Jutland, OAU = WAUF (HWALF) *vault*, grave. At Billsta, Södermanland, the mansname SOAINBIARN = SWAINBIARN. At Thorsåtra, Upland, SUM TO I HOITA-UADUM (= I HWITA-UADUM), *who died in white weeds (robes)*, newly baptized. At Gauthem, Gotland, OARN BISKU(P), = WARN BISKUP, *ac. s. m., our bishop*. On the Roynal piece, Norway, we have 4 times *o* for *w* (or *v*).

See *v*.

X.

x is unknown to Runic antiquity. For the runes used, or the fanciful marks invented, for this letter, when *ks* was not employed, see the skinbook futhorcs made to imitate the Latin alphabet.

Y.

This rune is difficult to handle; partly from its being in some degree a mere parallel to *u*, which see, and to the various other vowels and diphthongs represented by or allied to that letter; partly from the many shapes which it assumes on the monuments and in the bookfells, tho they most of them have a strong family likeness; and partly, like other vowels and half-vowels, from its tendency to have or not also a guttural breathing.

As for its types, see those for *i*, *u*, &c., in the old Greek and Italic alphabets, with which the runic often strangely coincide, as they sometimes do also in the sound. Thus the Greeks generally pronounced their *u* as *ū* or *y*, but the Æolians nearly as *oo*.

The Old-Northern pieces give this *y* by *ŷ*, as Bracteate 22; — by *ŷ*, as Bracteate 30; — by *ŷ*, as Bracteate 30; — by *ŷ*, as Bracteate 9; — by *ŷ*, Thames Knife; — by *ŷ*, Berga; — by *ŷ*, Bracteate 36; — by *ŷ*, Bracteate 39; — by *ŷ*, Bracteates 6, 55; — by *ŷ*, Bracteates 37, 38; — by the half-Roman *ŷ* or *ŷ*, as Alnmouth, not unlike Ulfilas' M. Gothic stave for *j* (= *y*), namely *ŷ*. This *ŷ* is the letter for *y* in Old-English manuscripts down to the 8th and even the 9th century, when it was followed by *y* down to about the 11th, when *y* was succeeded by *ȳ*, which lasted to the close of the middle age. In Scandinavia, where we have no very old codices, we begin with the *y*, then comes *ȳ*, afterwards shortened to *y* again.

Another type is *ŷ*, as Bracteate No. 41; — *ŷ*, Istaby; — *ŷ*, Charnay and Holmen; — *ŷ*, Flatdal and Franks Casket; — *ŷ* on the Årja stone; — *ŷ*, Holmen; — *ŷ*, Sæding. The Scandinavian-runic *ŷ* is used on the Amulet-Rings Nos. 1-3.

The *ŷ* of the Bridekirk Font introduces us to another variety, which, if we will, we can call half-Roman, and which, with various modifications, is so common on old carved pieces and in manuscripts. We are most familiar with it in the shape *ŷ*¹. Originally apparently *e*, this mark gradually past over to a kind of *ch* and *y*. And yet it must sometimes have had a hard sound. We are never quite sure. The carver of the Bewcastle Cross would seem not to have had a separate mark for this soft *ye* or *y* in his staverow. At least he has twice used *e* (ŷ) for *y* (*j*) in the word *gessus*, which must surely have had the pronunciation *yessus* (= *jesus*), not *gessus* with hard *e*. This word, with others, is often found on old monuments written with a *e*-like letter. And we do not know, with certainty, what was always the power of the *j* which was sometimes written for it. Thus the Anceren Rule, which is from about the year 1300, has *giws*, *giwere*, (*Jews*, *Jewry*); but the Ormulum, which

¹ Between two soft vowels the O. Engl. *ŷ*, tho otherwise it was a hard *e*, must often or commonly have sounded *y*. And yet this Anglo-Roman alphabet had a *separate* letter for *y*! In earlier English Mss., when *g* and *ŷ* become gradually distinguished, the symbols *ŷ*, *y*, *u*, *ch* are often used almost promiscuously — even in the same page — within, or at the end of, a syllable. In some Mid. Engl. Mss. *ŷ* is found at the end of a word for *s*, but in this case has evidently been regarded as a mere variation of *s* or *z*. But rapidly or carelessly written, *ŷ* may easily become *z*. And accordingly older English writings, especially in Scotland, have often blundered so far as to use *z* for *ŷ*. But this stupid orthographical corruption, which has misled the tongue as well as the eye, is now commonly laid aside and *y* substituted. Thus both *ŷ* and *ŷ* have been barbarized into *z*! In some Mss. *s* is used for *ŷ*, within a word; also a mere orthographic corruption.

is a little earlier, has both *JERRSALEM* (Jerusalem) and *JUDISKENN* (Jewish). — In Old-English, and often in Old-Scandinavian Mss., *Y* between two vowels is frequently exprest by *G* or *GI*, &c.

In fact there is no doubt that at certain times and in certain dialects this *U-* or *I-sound* became not only *U* or *Y* but really *guttural*, a *GH* or *G* or *HC* or *HY*, usually exprest by *G* or *H*. This foresetting a guttural where it does not belong and casting it away where it does, is common everywhere. And it was assisted by the rapid melting of the *G* in certain dialects, particularly before the soft vowels, into *Y* (Scandinavian *J*, but pronounced *Y*), a change which is now carried thro in Swedish, is rapidly advancing in Norse, and has commenced in Danish. In England it is well known, but not universal¹. In many German dialects and here and there in Scandinavia, (as in some few old or provincial English words), the *G* has become *Y* even before the strong vowels. It is as if *we* should now say *YOD YAVE YOLD* for *GOD GAVE GOLD*. In illustration of this process in English, let us take an example where the stave-rime assures us that the *G* was really hard *G*, not any soft sound; we go to the Old-English Metrical Psalms (ed. Thorpe), Ps. 102 (our 103), verse 5, second half:

on Geogoðe nú
Gleawe geworden.

in thy-youth now
gleg (fresh, vigorous) worden (become).

This Geogoð the first Wycliffite version softens to *South*, while the Mid. Engl. poetical version (Surtees Soc.) makes it *Yhouth*, and we *youth*.

Again in Beowulf (Thorpe) l. 5626:

þæt wæs þám Gomelan
Gingeste word.

that was to-the gammel (Olding)
the-youngest word.

In another form — *that was the old man's last word*.

It is plain that the hard *G* (*GH*) in *gleaw* and *gomel* required the hard *G* (*GH*) also in *geogos* and *gingest*. They could not at that time, in the folkland where these skinbooks were written, have been pronounced *yeogos* and *yingest*. Yet it is equally sure that in other passages and other codices these Old-English words *have* been so pronounced, they sometimes even being spelt with *I*. The *G*, then, is dialectic. This is so much the more undeniable as *G* (*GH*) is *unknown* in this stem in all the other Scando-Gothic talks, is *not* in the Latin (*Juvenis*, *Juventas*), and *not* in the Sanscrit (*Yuvan*, young).

Other examples, equally striking, might be given. But one is as good as a thousand.

We therefore need not wonder if we sometimes find the rune for *G*, where we should expect the rune for *Y*. The *rune* is right enough; it is the *sound* which is *dialectic*. And in some cases the *G-rune* might obtain a doubtful and double meaning, a kind of *G-Y* or *Y-H* sound, from the mere fact of the *same* word being uttered with a *G*, or with a *Y*, in border districts, while the runic spelling remained the same. And I here again remind the reader — for it cannot be repeated too often — that the modern sound *J* (*DG*) was apparently unknown in early times. In Scandinavia and Germany the *J* is merely the graphic mark for *Y*. The German *JUNG* (Scandinavian *UNG*) is pronounced *YUNG*. The Scandinavian and German *JA* (our *YA*, *YEA* = *YES*, Old-Engl. *GÆ*, *GAE*, *GE*, *GEE*, *GI*, *GIE*, *IA*, &c.) is sounded *YA*. The Norse-Dansk *STJERNE* is pronounced *STYERNE* (our *STAR*, North-Engl. *STARN*), but in Swedish *STJERNA* sounds *SHERNA*, the *STJ* being = *SH* in that dialect. The Danish *KLEDE* (chain) is spoken *KYÆDE*, but the Swedish *KEDJA* sounds *TCHEDYA*, the *K* in that dialect being now *TCH* before weak vowels, like as *G* is softened to *Y* in the same position. The word itself, as well as our *CHAIN*, is from the Latin *CATENA*. — We have at least one English word which has *J* as *Y*, the exclamation *HALLELUJAH*, which is now always sounded *HALLELUYAH*.

In Scandinavian-runic the old rune for *Y* lingers on for a time. — Thus we have *Y*, Frestad, Upland; *Þjälbo*, East-Gotland; *Saleby*, West-Gotland; *Norsunda*, Upland; — *Y*, Delsbo, Helsingland; *Dref*, Småland; *Over-Selö* and *Trinkesta*, Södermanland; — softened by being dotted, *Y*, Kyrkefalla,

¹ Our *GYLDAN* has become to *YIELD*, our *GEOC* a *YOKE*. But our *GIFAN* remains to *GIVE*, as in Danish, not *VIVE* as in Swedish; while our *GEOLU* has become *YELLOW*, Scandinavians saying *CUL*, not *YUL*, for the *U* is a strong vowel. Yet 3 or 400 years ago *GIVE*, AGAIN, and scores of other words were apparently fixt in English with the soft sound, being generally spelt *YEVE*, *AYENST*, &c. But a reaction set in, and these words recovered their hard *G*. So much for "uniformity" and pedantic systems!

West-Gotland; Hesselager. N. Jutland; Rogslösa, East-Gotland; Gammelnarn and Klinte, Gotland; — reverser 9, Skönabeck Horn, Lund; Kölabý and Skánum, West-Gotland; Lärbro, Gotland, and elsewhere on that island; — upside down, 8, Valby, Upland; shorter Vedelsprang stone, South-Jutland.

But this form was supplanted by the type 8 (which also stands for the vocalic variation oe, as well as for the dim vocalic 8, afterwards also a real 8), This is common everywhere, also in Mss., as in the Dialogue of the Virgin, Ms. Sweden, Skåne Law, Ms. Denmark. On all the Manx stones no 8 occurs; we should expect 8. — We have this form debased, 8, on the Julstad stone, Upland.

Among the later fanciful marks for 8, we will only mention the Icelandic 8.

Z.

This letter is of course unknown to the real runes. For the marks adopted or made for it, see the Old-English skinbook futhorcs shaped into the Latin alphabet.

Another difficulty in these monuments, and another reason for caution, and for slowness in generalizing and laying down rules as to the age of particular types, is the frequency of 2 or 3 *different* rune-types for the *same* letter on the *same* monument. Thus, Söndervissing, North-Jutland, we have 3 kinds of M, 3 kinds of 8, 3 kinds of 8; Salebo, West-Gotland, 3 kinds of 8, 3 kinds of o, 2 kinds of N; and so on by scores. All this is ornamental.

In like manner we have often *small* runes intermixt with the larger. So at Skjern and Söndervissing, North-Jutland, and crowds of others. On the Säby stone, Upland, about a dozen of the runes are carved small.

PIECES CALLED RUNIC

NOT TREATED HERE.

As a hint to future students, I add a list of a few other pieces not here entered upon. It might have been greatly enlarged if I had collected the notices of inscribed grave-monuments and other remains found in old authors, and probably bearing our old runes. But, as the pieces have perished, it would have been too melancholy and useless a task. Even in our own days we have similar sad notices. Thus at p. 168 and 169 of J. G. Liljegren's "Förteckning öfver Fynd i Svensk Jord" (Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Academiens Handlingar, 30 delen, Stockholm 1830, 8vo): — "1687, at Strömsholm, when the Garden there was laid out, was found in a cairn a vessel of *Alabaster*, like a vase or bottle with a stopper, and on the side an inscription in unknown letters." — "1690. In Arboga stream a boy found a *Golden Ring*, bearing ancient characters."

A small weight of iron, covered with a thin plate of a kind of brass, the sides slightly decorated, was found on the *Ahl-heath*, North-Jutland, Denmark. It is described and figured in "Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed", Vol. 1, p. 405. On the top are what has been redd

8
N I
(O U I)

All I can say is, that the marks are very illegible. So I regard the above reading as apocryphal. It is not sure that the strokes are runes at all. The reader can see the piece itself in the Old-Northern Museum, Copenhagen.

The *Aspatia* Armring, — the Golden armilla found at Aspatia in Cumberland, December 1828 — was supposed by Mr. Hamper to bear a word (GEBOT) in Runes. See it figured in *Archæologia*

Vol. 22, p. 439, *Archæol. Eliana* Vol. 2, p. 268. But we cannot see by these engravings what the inscription really was, and no one seems to know where this precious antiquity now lies hid. I can therefore get neither Cast nor Rubbing. When copied for the *Archæologia*, it was exhibited by G. Baird, Esq., of Carlisle.

A Stone Axe, undoubtedly genuine, found in *Denmark* (no one knew where or when), came by purchase to the private collection of King Frederik VII at Frederiksborg. It was exhibited by him at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Northern Antiquaries, March 21, 1853. What made it remarkable was some 4 Runic characters, whose genuineness was suspected by all who saw them.

This Axe perisht in the fire which consumed the rest of the King's Collection and the Palace itself. But an exact drawing appeared in "*Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*" 1852-4, Kjobenhavn 1854, p. 8 (see also p. 266), repeated in "*Mémoires de la Société Roy. des Ant. du Nord*", 1850-60, 8vo, Copenhagen 1861, p. 28.

As neither Herbst, Strunk nor Worsaae can assure me that this inscription was not a modern forgery, which it has every appearance of being, I pass it over.

Fin Magnusen, in his *Runamo*, p. 510, gives an inscription on the rock at *Framvaren*, Lister, Mandal, South-Norway, copied from Vegner, 1636. Dean Abel's copy, 1810, in the Old-Northern Museum, substantially agrees. If correctly copied, it must be redd UKIALIR ÆLTSEN, the name of a champion said by tradition to have cast himself from the cliff. But the runes are Scandinavian, not Old-Northern. In the "*Forhandlinger i Videnskabs-Selskabet i Christiania Aar 1861*", p. 247, Hr. Tellef Dahll gives another copy, differing so greatly as not to be recognized as the same! Lector Rygh informs me that two other copies are preserved in the Archives of the Ac. of Sciences, Tronyem, from 1734, the one, like Abel's, having M for T, the other differing from all the other copies!

A fragment of an Iron Sword, dug up at *Gilton*, in the Parish of Ash, near Sandwich, Kent, and formerly in the possession of W. H. Rolfe, Esq., but now in the Museum of Joseph Mayer, Esq., Liverpool, bears a line of Old-Northern Runes, somewhat injured, on the one side of the pommel, and traces of a similar line on the other. The more perfect line has been translated by Mr. Haigh, *Conquest of Britain*, p. 51.

Of this inscription 3 copies exist, the one in a letter from C. Roach Smith, Esq., to Councilor Thomsen, Cheapinghaven. It is dated London, Sept. 18, 1845; — the second in J. Y. Akerman's *Remains of Saxon Pagandom*, London 1853, 4to, p. 49, pl. 24, fig. 3; — the third is in Mr. Haigh's *Conquest*, as aforesaid.

All these copies differ. I will therefore not attempt to read the carving.

Since writing the above, J. Brent the Younger, Esq., of Canterbury has kindly forwarded me rubbings of the runes, obligingly provided for him by Mr. Mayer for that purpose. But even this is not sufficient. The letters are still doubtful, being so much worn. I doubt whether they could be perfectly copied even *after* a long and patient examination of the original; certainly they cannot *without*. I must therefore wait till I perhaps one day visit Liverpool or can get an exact cast. Most likely, being so imperfect and probably also connected with the letters once on the other side, they will never be translated. So I refer to the publications just mentioned, and pass them by.

In the "*Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*" for 1838, p. 118 fol., is a treatise by Fin Magnusen on a small Stone Ring bearing a so-called inscription, found some years before at *Hamnerlöf*, in Scoué, Sweden. Even were we to suppose this piece to be genuine and the marks to be Runes, these latter are evidently not Old-Northern.

The very ancient Bronze Ell-wand found in *Italy*, figured first in Count L. Moscardo's "*Della Parte seconda del Museo*", 1672, p. 404, — then in Peringskiöld's "*Vita Theoderici*", Stockholm 1699, 4to, p. 530, — then in Eccard, "*De origine Germanorum*", Goettingæ 1750, 4to, p. 190, — and learnedly explained by Peringskiöld as undoubtedly Runic, — I take to be Oscan or some such dialect. The marks are not Runes.

Hr. Richard Dybeck, the well-known Swedish Runologist, has kindly placed in my hands his paper tracing of a fragment found by him in 1864. The greatest height of this stone is nearly 3 feet, its greatest breadth about 18 inches. It was discovered at *Löfstad*, in Dingtuna Parish, Vestmanland. The principal side is nearly equally divided by a line from top to bottom. The left half bears a large rough crown, below which are more than a dozen characters in 4 lines. The right half has a similar

crown; below are more than a score characters in 7 lines. The whole inscription, which is carelessly and barbarously cut, is intended for runes, which here and there resemble O. N. letters. But I take this piece to be a comparatively modern forgery, and to be meaningless.

The *Ringsbø* stone, Randers, North-Jutland, Denmark, partly figured in Runamo p. 552, is not Old-Northern, but a regular Scandinavian-Runic inscription in two lines. An excellent drawing by Kruse is now in the Museum, Cheapinghaven.

There are several pieces in the Vienna Museum bearing inscriptions in what many have called "Runes". There are the 2 *Steiermark* Bronze Helmets and several Golden Ewers and precious Goblets and other things. But I look upon the characters to be old Classical. They are certainly not our Runes.

Some Urns of baked clay have been laboriously deciphered by F. Magnusen. I look upon the strokes to be mere fingermarks or rough ornaments. — So some simple carvings on his "perantique" stone blocks are mere scratches or decorations.

The Carthage Weight mentioned by Lauth, p. 75, and by others, and (as redd by the Danish Archæologist Münter) bearing the name RAGINARI (= RAINER). — I have never been able to find in Münter, nor do I know whether it now exists. — It must have belonged to some Northern chapman or soldier.

In Worm's Fasti, p. 92, is engraved a specimen of a fragmentary old bone Almanac or Runic Clog, curious enough as showing that, among the other signs, are also a couple of Old-Northern Runes. Doubtless this piece has been from the early middle age. It is now lost.

I do not mention many pieces, with Etruscan or Classical or even Middle-age inscriptions, which have been described or sent to me as Runic, but which belong to far other fields of monumental study.

Neither have I taken any notice of a word or two — a name, such as ERCONFRET — a phrase, such as AMEN or PAX VOBISCUM — a single word, such as HORS, MAN, found in a Manuscript here and there. They have no moment or value for our purpose, are not "monuments", are mere playful variations from the usual Latin letters. — For the same reason I pass by a couple of inscriptions in Mss. in O. N. Runes indeed, but not in any known Northern or other dialect. See them in Kemble's Essay.

I have also omitted pieces bearing a rune or two, mixt with Roman letters, but this rune not distinctively Old-Northern. Thus the Gold-ring assumed to have belonged to Alhstan, Bishop of Sherburne, who died in 867, and which is figured in Archæologia, Vol. 4, p. 47, has Latin letters, all except the last, which is a Runic † (x).

The discovery in 1854 of Runic Stones, &c., in Normandy, Departement de l'Eure, Arrondissement de Bernay, Canton de Beaumont le Roger, Risle Valley, in a Chapel dedicated to St. Eligius, was made known by M. Lenormant. It excited great astonishment, and was believed in (in spite of the absurd "runes") by Jacob Grimm and others. The inscriptions were said to date from the 6th century. They have long since been proved to be a gross forgery, equal in audacity to the scandalous humbug of the last century (1769), the "discovery" of Bronze Idols, Stones, &c., bearing "Wendish Runes". For a good digest of the literature and facts connected with this Wendish Rhetra "find" see F. Magnusen's Runamo, p. 236 and following. For the similar Lenormant "find" see Prof. Worsaae's "Om nye Opdagelser af Runer i Frankrige og England", 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1856. Consult also "Monatsberichte der k. Akad. d. Wissensch. zu Berlin", 1854, 8vo, pp. 527-30, with plate; and A. Kirchhoff's "Zur Würdigung der Französischen Runen", with plate, in "Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum, herausgegeben von Moriz Haupt", Vol. 10, Berlin 1856, pp. 198-215.

S W E D E N.

IN MINNE

OF

THE RUNE-SMITHS OF SWEDEN;

WITH MANY GREETINGS

TO

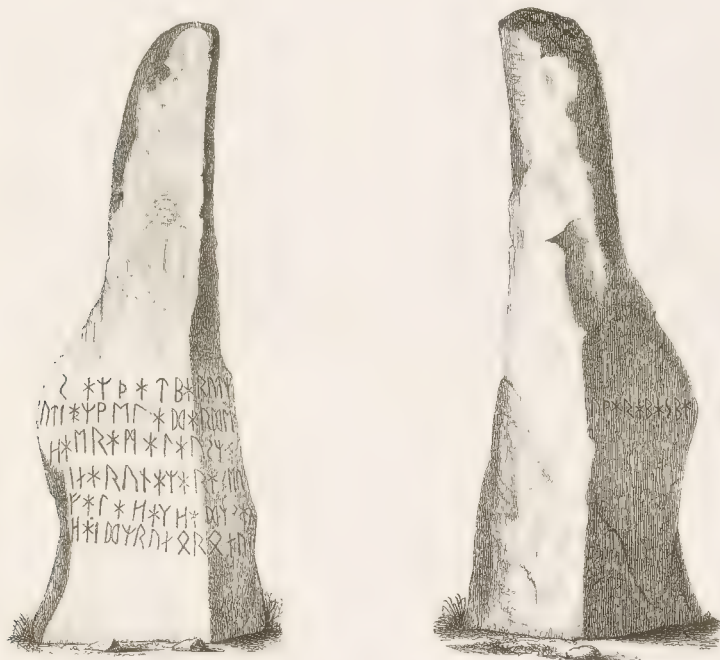
PROF. CARL SÄVE,

OF UPSALA.

BJÖRKETORP, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

This noble Heathen Pillar-stone, mentioned as No. 2058 in Liljegren's Run-urkunder, of its kind the grandest and most picturesque in all the North, has been often copied, and various attempts have been made to read its runes. For these I refer to the works enumerated in "Runic Literature". I will only here observe that the oldest drawing is that given by Ol. Worm in his *Danica Literatura*, 4to, 1636, p. 66; next and better, but still incorrect, is the woodcut in Ol. Worm's *Literatura Runica*,



WORSAAE'S DRAWINGS OF THE BJÖRKETORP STONE.

fol., 1651, p. 65, this being a second very slightly altered edition of the *Danica Literatura*. This second wooden block was copied by Dr. Sven Bring (*Lagerbring*) in his Dissertation "*De Nomarchia Medelstadii, Medelstads Härad*", 4to, Londini Gothorum, 1748, p. 24. Still better is the 3rd transcript, in Runamo, Plate 13, fig. 7 and 7 b, given by Fin Magnussen from a drawing by Lieut. Peterson of Carlskrona, taken in 1821, but corrected from the stone by Councilor Thomsen in 1838¹. Last and best is the lithograph in Prof. Worsaae's *Blekingske Mindesmærker*, Plate 11, a, b. As this was made with great care in 1844 by a profest Artist (Mr. Zeuthen), under Prof. Worsaae's own eye and guarantee, I have re-engraved it here. It is almost identical with my own.

But the importance of the four Old-Northern Bleking Rune-stones was felt to be so great, and so many years have gone by since Prof. Worsaae last handled them, that archæologists eagerly desired new copies, and examinations as to the state of these monuments. The Royal Society of Sciences in Upsala took upon themselves to carry this wish into execution, and in August 1864 voted me a grant of 300 Swedish dollars for the above excellent purpose. So generously assisted, I immediately repaired with my artist (Mr. J. Magnus Petersen) to the beautiful province of Bleking from Sölvesborg in the west to Björketorp in the east, was fortunate enough to find all the 4 stones, and am now enabled to lay before my readers fresh and careful facsimiles. They show the substantial correctness of Prof. Worsaae's copies. The 5th Bleking stone, that said to have once been seen at Flegehall, I could not discover owing to the water being so high. But Rector F. W. Dahl, of Sölvesborg, who kindly gave me most valuable help, has promised to look for it when the waters subside. A 6th similar runic stone I heard of when in Istaby. It is said that it was used in building or repairing the homestead of the yeoman Pehr Knutson of that ilk. Possibly this tradition may be true, and it may one day turn up.

The beautiful and striking Björketorp [Birch-thorp] monolith is of that rare class an Inscribed Bauta stone, one of three which form a triangle, the other two bearing no runes. These latter blocks, which are upwards of 10 feet high, stand eleven paces off, with a space of 16 feet between them. A deep digging has been made, some time or other, between these three stones, but it is not known whether anything was found. The Rune-bearer is more than 13 feet high, in its broadest part 3 feet and 2 inches, the adjoining rune-side being only 16 inches broad; the letters are about 6 inches long. Nearby have been found a Stone-kist and a Stone-circle (Doom-ring).

In order to mark the spot exactly it may be mentioned, that the Björketorp stone is not far from the village of Leråkra or Lerager, some distance up the road to Björketorp, a small hamlet of four cottages, on the right hand. This is east of Ronneby, in Medelstad Härad, East-Bleking. The plot of land is now the property of three several peasant owners. Nils Månsson of Listerby, Karl Karlsson of Björketorp, and the peasant Otto. The fences which divide their lands run up to and between the stones. The whole group stands in a beautiful shaw of Birch and other trees, almost all wild woodland unfit for cultivation, save that here and there on the left is a patch or two of potatoes or buckwheat. We may therefore hope that these noble remains — besides their general sanctity and their being state property — are safe from the plough. The Runic block is of course a good deal weathered, but only a letter or two is really doubtful, the hard granite having resisted the tooth of time with wonderful tenacity.

On narrowly comparing Prof. Worsaae's copy with the stone itself the only differences are, that in the 2nd line the 4th stave is distinctly only *; in the 3rd line the last letter is very doubtful, the stone being here so much furrowed and worn; I tried a rubbing, but it gave no result; apparently the rune has been X; in the 4th line the last character but two is clearly X; in the 5th line the last stave but two is X. In the last line there has apparently never been any letter after the n, so that here Worsaae is quite correct.

I now give my fresh copy of the block, as seen in September, 1864:

¹ The original drawing by "C. D. Pettirsson", as he himself signs his name, dated Aug. 25, 1816, is now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven, to which it came with the other collections of Dr. Vedel-Simonsen. It is carefully done, but was very properly corrected by Thomsen in 3 or 4 places.



We have here * for \mathfrak{A} and \mathfrak{Y} for a short \mathfrak{A} , the other \mathfrak{A} having its own stave, †. (So some parchment-alphabets have two runes for \mathfrak{A} .) To distinguish them I mark * by $\mathfrak{A}^{\mathfrak{A}}$ and † by \mathfrak{A} . It will be observed that the closing formula bears a striking likeness to that on the Stentofen stone, which it also helps to explain, the $\mathfrak{S}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{Y}$ (*these*) of the one answering to the $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{A}$ (*these runes*) of the other.

The $\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{U}$ (*has rest, takes his rest*) of the last line has a striking parallel in the lately discovered $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}(\mathfrak{A})$ (*has rest here*) of the Arstad stone, Stavanger Amt, Norway, — which see in its place.

I divide and translate:

$\mathfrak{S}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{D}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{B}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{W}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{L}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{D}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}$.
 $\mathfrak{H}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{M}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{I}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{A}(\mathfrak{O})\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{A}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{N}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{A}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{R}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{U}$.
 $\mathfrak{F}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{L}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{H}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{H}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{O}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{G}$.
 $\mathfrak{H}^{\mathfrak{A}}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{U}\mathfrak{A}$.
 $\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{U}$.

SEATH AT the-BARRATRY (*battle, conflict*) OUT IN ÆAWEL DIED
 HERE MELL (*speak, tell*) US THESE RUNES his-ARE (*fame, glory*) YEA (*truly, indeed*),
 FELE (*many*) of-HELTS (*heroes, champions*) he-ROUTED
 HALOR (*honor, lustre, glory*) he-WAN.
 OWNS-he (*he-hath, he enjoys, takes he now*) his-ROO (*rest, repose*). (= *Here sleeps he now in peace*).

On the other side we have:

UTHAR and-ÆBÆ the-SPÆ (*the-Wise*) (= *raised these stones and carved runes these*).

UTH is sometimes found on Runic monuments as one word, equivalent to IN, and this may possibly be the case here. — For remarks on the place-name ÆAWEL see the Word-roll. — Should SBE be a maus-name, not an adjective, there will then be three men named who joined in this monument to their brother-in-arms. But SPÆ was frequently used as an epithet. This ÆBÆ SBE is probably the ÆBÆ who carved the Stentoften stone.

THE RUNIC PILLAR AND ITS BAUTA-STONES.



As I have said, the Björketorp Standing Stones are a most imposing and charming sight, framed as they are in such a delicious landscape. To give an idea of this remarkable group, and also to show what a Bauta-stone (a tall pillar-stone without runes) really is, as we often see it singly, or two or three or more, guarding the grave of the departed chieftain, who was so well known in his day that to carve his name was needless, I have added my artist's excellent sketch.

STENTOFTEN, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

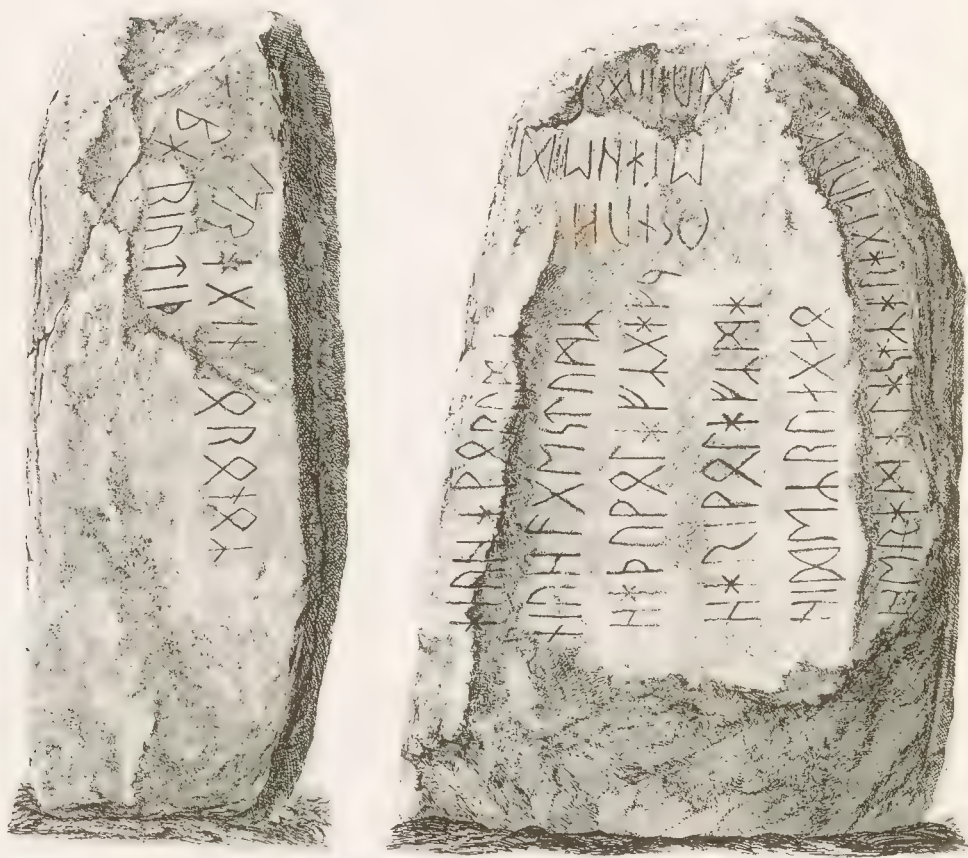
This stone, which is only a short walk from Sölvesborg, is said to have been found early in this century, and is mentioned as No. 2062 in Liljegren's Run-urkunder. It is of a marbly granite, at present about 4 feet 6 inches above ground and about 2 feet 4 inches broad. It is on a part of the Sölvesborg Castle estate, which now belongs to Mr. Meurling, a merchant in Calmar. The field in which it stands having of late years been ploughed and the soil thus gradually made lower, the block is now somewhat taller than when measured by Prof. Worsaae¹. The water of the fiord formerly came much higher up; so that all this part was once sea-land, and this Runic stone was then nearly surrounded by the waves, which sung the hero to sleep in his grave, a resting-place so often desired by the sea-kings of old. The original Stone-crowned Cairn, was therefore at once a burial-mound and a sea-mark, as were the Bauta-stones near it. For several such, at least 5, are visible at once not far off, when looking at the front or principal side of the block from the left of the high-road; but none of these bear any carving. The runes are about 2 inches high, and for the most part still tolerably plain. Worsaae was the first to copy and publish² this monument, and I here re-engrave his lithograph, from Blekingske Mindesmærker, Plate 12:



¹ Rector Dahl informs me, in a letter dated Sölvesborg, Jan. 29, 1865, that, according to the testimony of eyewitnesses, this stone was found about the year 1825, thrown down, some fathoms farther from the road on a slight eminence. It was then carried down to the hedge, near a gate, but about 10 years afterwards was moved to the spot on which it was seen by Prof. Worsaae and myself.

² An unpublished drawing by W. Gynther, probably from the beginning of this century, is preserved in Liljegren's Full-rändig Bauta, Stockholm. It abounds in faults.

The generosity of the Royal Society of Sciences in Upsala having enabled me to make a fresh drawing, I will add a remark or two on the above, generally speaking excellent, representation. Unusual is the s, the last rune in the 3rd long line of the front: but it is really so. — The last, dotted, rune in the 6th long line is clearly \mathfrak{M} (M). — The second stave in the second short horizontal line is \mathfrak{r} (L) not \mathfrak{Y} . — The great difficulty is in the topmost short line, for which see my engraving; the whole is exceedingly doubtful and worn, almost quite illegible, especially the last rune. A rubbing was of no use. I take the letters to have been $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$, or possibly $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{X}\mathfrak{X}$. On the side of the stone, last stave of the under line, we have clearly \mathfrak{p} . I now give my own copy, September 1864, as drawn and engraved by Mr. J. M. Petersen:



Unfortunately, this whitish granite block has seen its best days. It is beginning to split and to scale away. Especially in those parts where the chisel has cut thro a thin lamina of quartzose stone, the peeling off and falling away of small particles is daily going on. Even granite cannot resist the elements for ever, especially when, as here, it has not been protected for hundreds of years by being covered with earth, but has stood all its time on its original mound. The front has suffered most.

Impelled by a sense of the great danger of delay, I made this state of things known to the Upsala Royal Society of Sciences, and requested their active interposition towards its rescue, pointing

out that it might easily be taken, for shelter from rain and frost, to the Porch of Sölvesborg Church, and that Rector Dahl had offered his assistance in this removal. The Society kindly listened to my prayer, and brought the circumstances to the knowledge of Riks-Antiquary Hildebrand, who immediately interested himself in the preservation of so invaluable a relic. At his solicitation and by his influence a Parish Meeting was held, at which it was cheerfully agreed that the block should be at once deposited in the "Weapon-house" of their olden temple. Rector Dahl was indefatigable in his superintendence, and under his guidance the pillar was flitted in December 1864 to its final restingplace in the Church, where it is so set up that it can be examined on both its runic sides. In order to mark the exact spot where it formerly stood, which on many accounts is of scientific interest, Rector Dahl placed a tall stone in the very hole whence the Runic block had been dug. Greatly did the good folk in Sölvesborg wonder when this unwanted procession slowly wended thro their streets — powerful oxen dragging the heavy monolith to the Holy House! But it was a glad day for all lovers of the Old North, all who are wishful that its proud and precious memories should not die!

The peculiarities on this monument are, its many variations of the same letters, and its use of * for a broad æ (here given ^æ_u) while it keeps ʀ for the usual æ; just as its ʌ is a short a, while † stands for ʌ, as on the Björketorp stone.

With regard to this ʌ, it is of course impossible to be *absolutely* certain as to its power here. The modern R it is assuredly not. Nor are either œ or ʁ, also comparatively modern values, here suitable. I believe that ʌ here, as on the Voldtofte stone, is merely ʁ turned over and therefore ʌ.

I take this to be proved by the general harmony of ʌ as a on this piece, and also from the following considerations. — The Stentoften the Istaby and the Björketorp stones are all evidently more or less contemporary, whatever be their year-hundred. The two former are clearly so, for they were raised to the same two chieftains. The language and closing formula of the first and the third are nearly identical. Now where we have the same words on the Stentoften and the Istaby stones, namely:

Stentoften, HÆRIWOLÆFA	}	both nom. sing.
Istaby, HYERUWULÆFIA		
Stentoften, RONOA	}	both accus. plur.
Istaby, RUNYA		

the ʌ (A) of the former is given by ʁ (A) on the latter. So on the Björketorp stone we have also RUNÆA, nomin. plural, with ʁ for A. Again:

Stentoften, HIDEAR	}	both accus. sing.
Björketorp, HÆIDAR		

where the ʌ (A) of the former is equal to the ʁ (A) of the latter.

But should any of my readers still regard ʌ as here either œ or ʁ, it will be easy to change the words:

RUMA	to either	RUMGE	or	RUMY.
STUMA	„ „	STUMGE	„	STUMY.
HÆPUWOLÆFA	„ „	HÆDUWOLÆFGE	„	HÆDUWOLÆFY.
HÆRIWOLÆFA	„ „	HÆRIWOLÆFGE	„	HÆRIWOLÆFY.
HIDEAR	„ „	HIDEGER	„	HIDEYR.
SÆA	„ „	SÆGE	„	SÆY.
RONOA	„ „	RONOGE	„	RONOY.

We have on this block one full scoring and three continuations, besides the final side. I take first the long lines, beginning at the bottom on the left, then the 3 short lines above, beginning with the undermost, and conclude with the two lines on the narrow side to the left of the front, beginning with the lower row.

Footed on this arrangement, my reading and division is:

^hIU ^hBO RUMA,
 NIU HÆGE STUMA,
^hDUWOL^hFA G^hFS
^hRIWOL^hFA M^h.
 HIDEAH UAGÁO.
 HER^h M^hL^h S^hA ^hER^h GEUW.
 MUCNU HEL^hHED(DUÁ IUGO).
^hB^h RIUTI DER^h GINO-RONOA.

AYE HAVE-they ROME (*lustre, praise*),
 NOW in-the-HOY (*grave-mound*) STOOM (*at peace, resting*),
 HÆTHWOLF the-GALLANT
 HÆRIWOLF the-MO (*great, mighty*).
 HADOR (*honor, glory*) GAINED-they.
 HERE MELL (*speak, tell*) THESE-runes their-ARE (*fame*) YEA (*truly, indeed*).
 MUCKLE (*a multitude*) of-HELIS (*heroes*) they-ROUTED.
 ÆBÆ WROTE THEIR GIN-RUNES (*mighty letters*).

For remarks on MUCNU, STUMA, &c., see the WORD-ROLL. Probably the ÆBÆ of this monument is the ÆBÆ SBÆ of the Björketorp pillar.

The word STUMA is difficult to translate, from its extreme antiquity and rarity. It occurs here for the first time on any Northern monument, Runic or Roman-staved, stone or metallic, parchment or paper. The meaning I have given it is quite in accordance with its primitive signification in those other Scando-Gothic dialects in which it has hitherto been found, and harmonizes admirably with the context. I do not think it possible to read it in any other way, or to obtain any other word by means of a different division. The *next* letter-group is evidently the mansname HÆDUWOLF; so we are stopt on *that* side. The foregoing word *must* apparently be HÆGE, for ESTUMA, GESTUMA, ÆGESTUMA, HÆGESTUMA, will not help us; while NIU HÆG, NIU HÆ, NIU H or NIUH, are clearly inadmissible.

All must admit that this and the preceding stone, both of them standing in the same folk-land and both carved at about the same time, have — as I have redd and divided them — several expressions more or less in common, in fact offer a grave-formula whose general character is strikingly similar. And this I take as an argument in favor of my texts. Thus we have:

Björketorp.

HÆERE MÆLE USAO
 IÁJ RUNJA
 ERE GEU.
 FÆLE HÆLHEDA OÆG (sing.).
 HÆIDAR UÁ (sing.).
 o (sing.) ROÁU.
 UDER, ÆBÆ SBÆ.

Stentoften.

HERE MÆLE.
 SÆA
 F.R.J. GEUW.
 MUCNU HÆLHEDDUÁ IUGO (pl.).
 HIDEAR UAGÁO (pl.).
 NIU HÆGE STUMA (pl.).
 ÆBÆ RIUTI DERÆ GINO-RONOA.

ISTABY, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

This monument was first made public in the woodcut given by Dr. Sven Bring (Lagerbring) in his Dissertation "De Listria, Lister-Härad", 4to, Lund 1748, p. 32. Of course his copy is full of faults. — Next, a part of the front-carving was engraved by Sjöborg in the vignette title to his "Blekings Historia", 8vo, Lund 1792¹. — After these absurd failures it was indeed refreshing to get Prof. Worsaae's successful lithographs, in his *Blekingske Mindesmærker*, Plate 13, fig. 1, a, b. These I here re-engrave. The only substantial inaccuracy is, that he omits the upper arm of the ∇ (F) in line 2, stave 3 from the end. In Liljegren's *Run-urkunder* this piece is registered as No. 2059.



WORSAAE'S DRAWINGS OF THE ISTABY STONE.

¹ An unpublished drawing by W. Gynther, probably from the beginning of this century, is in Liljegren's *Fullständig Bantil*, now in the Library of the Royal Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm. It has errors plenty.

As we have seen, the Stentofte stone is on the land belonging to Sölvesborg Castle. But in this same district, a few English miles still farther south and east, is this other runic block, at Istaby, in Mellby Parish, Listers-land. It stands in a field belonging to the yeoman Pehr Nilsson of Istaby. Many years ago it was fittet to another place, but the owner "had no peace", and so he moved it back again. The heathen dead often thus vex or punish — sometimes even slay — those who disturb their remains, and this is happily a powerful cause in the preservation of these monuments.

This block is about 4 feet 6 inches above ground, about 2 feet 6 inches at broadest, of a whitish greystone. The runes are from 6 to 9 inches high, originally deeply and boldly cut. It is said that an earthen pot was found at its foot in 1746. But this may have been deposited long after, and may have belonged to some one unknown to fame. This kind of appropriation of other men's graves or monuments was not uncommon. Sometimes a mound has received the remains not only of 2 or 3 or 4 or more *persons*, but even of 2 or 3 different *races* or rather culture-periods, with many centuries between.

In my opinion this piece was raised in honor of the same two champions as the Stentofte stone. The latter expressly states that they lay reposing in the mound beneath. That is, they *were really buried there*. This block merely announces that the runes were carved to them. That is, it was a Cenotaph, a Memorial-stone, *not a grave*. It was raised by some kinsman or dear friend or weapon-brother that their fame might not perish. We have many such instances, 2 or 3 or 4 or more stones in different places to the same person or persons, the one perhaps by a parent or widow, another by a child or brother, another by some brave friend. But the deaceast could only lie in one place. Or possibly he was beneath no one of these stones. Sometimes *all* these "marks" are minne-stones, the mounds *empty* tokens, the chieftain thus commemorated taking his last sleep on some distant shore, in Britain or Ireland or Greece, Spain or Italy or the East, or in the heart of Russia.

But whether or no *the men* here mentioned were *the same* as those to whom the Stentofte pillar was erected, *the names are the same*. And we have here another striking example of difference of dialect, or at least of orthography, on two monuments from the same time and so few miles apart, as thus carved the one by ÆBE and the other by HYERUWOLF. For

The Istaby stone has:

HYRIWULÆFE, ac. s.
HYDUWULÆFA, " "
WÆRYIT, 3 s. p.
RUNYA, ac. pl.

The Stentofte:

H[†]RIWOL[†]FA, n. s.
H[†]DUWOL[†]FA, " "
RIUTI, 3 s. p.
RONOA, ac. pl.

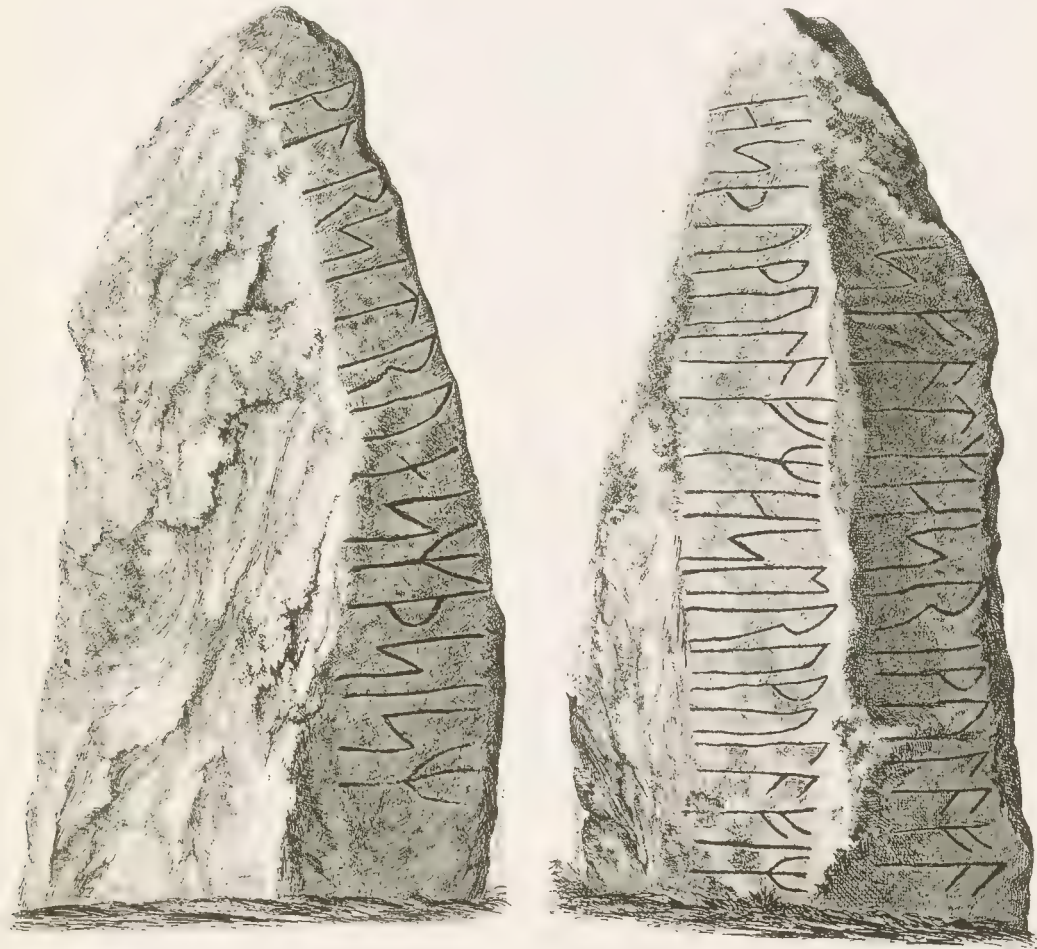
We have very many instances on runic stones of the omission of AUK or UK, &c., (EKE, and) between two proper names.

The first man who *partly* redd this stone was the late learned and lamented Prof. P. A. Munch, in his "Runestenen fra Tune", 4to, Christiania 1857, p. 5. — Its runic characteristic is, that the stave *h* here everywhere stands for *y*. In line 3 (the line behind), letter 2, the top stroke of the *F* and a small piece of the *R* have long been broken away. Otherwise the whole can still be made out, in spite of the wear and tear of the block during so immense a period.

Interesting is the vowel-ending in the 3 names. Those of the two deaceast chieftains, both ending in WOLF in the accusative singular, we should have supposed *must* have the same vowel; yet the one has Æ (HYRIWULÆFE), the other A (HYDUWULÆFA), a proof how nearly these two sounds were allied, and how easily in a floating unsettled shire-talk they might be regarded — especially at the *end* of a word — as almost immaterial or identical. The 3rd name, HYERUWULÆFA, has IA as its nominative-mark, instead of the old *s* or still older *as*. — Thus we have here a family of the WOLVES or WYLFINGS, the three (? brothers) HERE-WOLF (Army-wolf), HATHO-WOLF (Battle-wolf) and HEOR-WOLF (Sword-wolf). Unhappily, we have not the name of the Sire of these chiefs. Was the ÆBE who planted the stone over their bodies at Stentofte their Father, and did they fall in the same campaign in which perisht the mighty SEATH? In this case, was SEATH the fylke-king (folk-earl, local leader) under whom they served? This would account for the relative magnificence of SEATH's grave-pillar at Björketorp, with its towering Bauta-stones, which *two* of his high officers, UTHÆR and ÆBE, united in raising. — But all this is only —

a specimen of the tantalizing questions, the idle even if ingenious dreaming, the numerous combinations, by which we may be attracted — where all proofs and monuments are absent.

I now give my own copy, as drawn and engraved in September 1864 by J. M. Petersen:



I take it that the risting is simple enough, and reads:

YETTA HYRIWOLF. HYTHUWOLF.

HYERUWOLFIA WERYIT RUNYA DYIA.

AFTER (*in memory of*) HYRIWOLF and-HYTHUWOLF

HYERUWOLF WROTE RUNES THESE

To judge by the names — all ending in wolf — this stone may have been raised by a brother, or other very near kinsman, probably in memory of two brothers.

By a common rune-carver's specimen of "ornamental writing", *ŋ* is here given by *†* instead of *†*.

BERGA, SÖDERMANLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

The *inscription* on this block, *not* the stone itself, was first engraved by Sjöborg, in his Samlingar, Vol. 3, p. 120, fig. 172, whence it was transferred by F. Magnusen to his Runamo, pp. 346, 7. Sjöborg's copy was taken more than 35 years ago, and it will be interesting to examine it. I therefore add it here, using the *identical wooden blocks* employed by F. Magnusen, for which I have to thank the friendship of Mr. H. H. J. Lynge, Bookseller, of Cheapinghaven, into whose hands they had come by purchase.

After this, local tradition could no longer point out where the stone stood, and it remained unknown for many years. First after repeated efforts was it rediscovered by Colonel Nils Hägerflycht of Södertelje and Fredriksdal, Södermanland, in 1861. To his goodness I am indebted for the rubbing and other materials from which the following engraving has been made.

Now that the monolith has thus been restored to us thro the enlightened exertions of Col. Hägerflycht, we see that Sjöborg's copy was correct in substance, however imperfect in minute details.

The Berga stone is in Trosa country-parish, in the Hundred of Hölebrö. It is registered as No. 2056 by Liljegren. It is 7 feet 2 inches high, 2 feet 4 inches broad above and 3 feet 10 below. At some little distance north-west are several burial mounds and Bauta-stones (uninscribed standing memorial-pillars), together with a Stone-setting.

The staves, which are from 4½ to 6 inches high, are all wend-runes, and read from right to left. We have † for † (x) as elsewhere. The stroke across the one foot of the X (g) is part of a flaw on the stone. The upper line is doubtless to be taken first; the lower line next, from above downwards.



This short inscription may be deciphered in two ways, and I cannot absolutely decide which is the one intended. So I submit then both to my reader.

FIRST SUGGESTED READING.

I take each line to form a word. The whole will then be:

FINO SÆLIGESTIY.

FINO to-SÆLIGÆSTS.

(Fin raised this stone to Saligast.)

SECOND SUGGESTED READING

The long line may be two words, thus:

FINO. — SÆLI GÆSTIY!

FIN. — SELE (*happiness*) to-his-GHOST!

Till further examples of this latter formula turn up, the former reading seems simpler and better. And this is the more likely as we have a similar but not quite identical carving (N. N. to N. N.) on the Amland stone, Norway, which see, and elsewhere.

Mr. Haigh is of opinion that the whole is only two words, *both* Proper Names, probably of two deceased kinsmen, and *both* in the dat. sing. masc.

MÖJEBRO, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

(NOW AT HAGEBY, 2 SWEDISH MILES FROM UPSALA.)

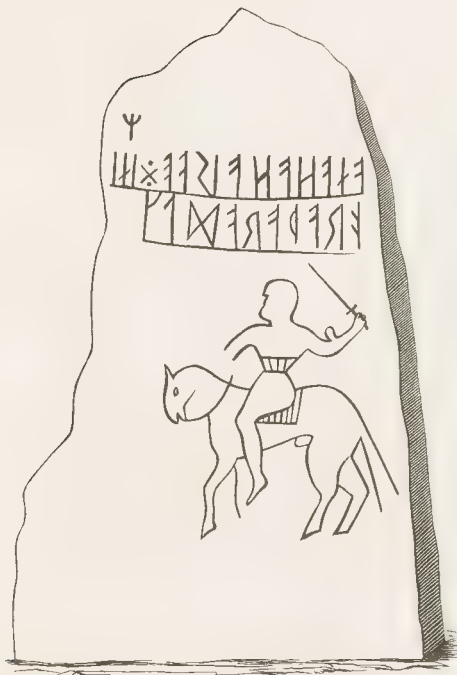
? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

In the Riks-Bookhoard, or National Library, Stockholm, is preserved an old copy of this stone, apparently by Lars Bure, of which Prof. Carl Sæve has kindly favored me with a transcript. It exhibits extraordinary differences from the actual carving. The figure is *standing*, not *on horseback*; wears a *cap*, not a *helm*, and with his right hand grasps a *shield*! The runes, reckoning from the right, agree in the top line as far as the *1*, after which they become barbarous. The under line begins with *1* instead of *F* as in Bautil, and the last two staves are shapeless. This is another glaring example of the frequent untrustworthiness of these older drawings. That in Bautil is nearly correct, and it was so much the more likely that it should be so as the companion-monument at Krogstad, which still exists, has been found to be well copied in that work.

But I have lately found in Johan Bure's Ms. "Sveonum Runæ", 8vo. No. 7, undated but probably about 1640-50, a second rough outline of this stone, with the superscription "Hageby Soehn. Wedh Möjebro på Giärdet". The runes are repeated in the margin, but in a barbarous form. On the drawing however they are almost identically the same as they stand at this moment on the block; only the solitary *Y* above is *wanting*. It was perhaps overgrown with moss and not observed, — for the stone then stood "på Giärdet", = out in the open field. In the first line the *1* and *s* are quite separate, as they ought to be; in the second the first stave is *4* instead of *4*, and the last letter is quite correctly *Y*. Pencil below the staves is a warrior brandishing a sword in the one hand and a shield in the other, and standing with outstretched legs. In the margin is written: "Här står en krigzman med en sköld i högra handen och ett sverd i den wenstra" (*here stands a soldier with a shield in his right hand and a sword in his left*). This figure and the margin copy of the runes are exactly the same as in the old Stockholm transcript mentioned above, which Johan Bure had thus seen and added as a second copy.

Now John Bure was a good runologist and an excellent draughtsman. Many of his drawings of runic monuments, with their interlaced windings and difficult scrolls and figures and ornaments, are masterly, often as correct as they are elegant. *He* could never therefore have made so stupid a blunder as to mistake a horseman for a foot-soldier, let alone the barbarous runes. In fact he certainly *never* saw this stone. He had access to or had received for his great collection *two separate copies*, the one the bare letters, nearly faultlessly given, the other a strange caricatured transcript, with the information from his blear-eyed or careless correspondent that below the runes was the figure of an armed foot-soldier.

The first representation of this pillar ever given to the learned world was that engraved for Göransson and publisht in his Bautil, No. 361, registered as No. 2054 in Liljegrens's Run-urkunder. This is now nearly 6-score years old — the block or drawing may have been very many years older still —, and was taken when the monument was much less worn than now. I therefore repeat it here:



Shortly after this, the stone was lost sight of. It had disappeared. Individual archæologists made search for it, but in vain. Its re-discovery is owing to the untiring zeal and energy and tact and patriotism of Sweden's greatest Runologist and Northern Linguist — Prof. Carl Säve. After one expedition had failed, he set out on another, and at last happily found it on the 1st of September 1861, lying deep sunk in the ground, the inscribed face uppermost, before the well in Hageby Rectory, whither it appears to have been removed as a "useful" stepping-stone in the year 1730. Thus for 130 years had this precious monument been trampled upon by cattle, iron-shod horses and clodhoppers in "clouted shoon", besides being exposed to the minor injuries of slop and sleet. But its own still harder elements, its prodigiously compact and impregnable heart of granite, resisted everything. Its general features are still well preserved, and it may yet defy a thousand winters or more of its native Swedish clime. For I have great pleasure in adding that this noble monolith has been as nobly rescued from degradation and destruction, and in the summer of 1862 was raised in the grounds of Hageby by Prof. C. A. Cornelius, to whom be all thanks and honor at home and abroad!

The Sword in the warrior's hand seems furrowed down its whole length, a characteristic which often meets us in Iron Swords from the Early and Later Iron Age, especially in those found in Sweden. On the Arm, just above the elbow, is a splint or globe or protuberance, probably intended to signify some kind of guard of iron. I do not remember to have seen anything exactly similar elsewhere on so old a monument; but this is not to be wondered at, our materials being so excessively scanty. It may have been intended to ward off a blow slanting along the upper arm, or for the defence of the arm below the elbow, thus serving as a kind of *Garde-bras* or large Splint, which in the middle age was fastened to the elbow-plates. Something such may occasionally have been used, in one way or other, in the earliest times. The Helmet (if it be a Helmet, and not a helmless Head) looks like a kind of skull-cap, with a nasal. Round the waist the warrior wears his Belt. Spurs are wanting, tho used at a date earlier than this stone. Perhaps the artist has only omitted them for shortness, so much the more as the oldest Scando-Gothic Spur was so very small. I think it self-

evident that the steed has a Cloth or Housing on Pad and not a Saddle, which was scarcely in use at the beginning of the Early Iron Age¹. — The drawing of both Horse and Horseman is so correct, comparatively speaking, the Runes are so elegant, and the language so old, that I hesitate at giving this piece a lower age than the 4th century. But of course all such date-fixings are merely approximative.

As carefully and faithfully chemityped by J. Magnus Petersen from an exact drawing, together with a separate tracing of the runes, both made by Prof. Carl Sæve of Upsala, Sept. 5th and 15th 1862, this piece shows at this moment as follows:



The above splendid block, originally standing at Möjebro in Hageby Socken and Hagunda Hårad, is of the hardest red quartz and feldspar, 8½ Swedish feet high (nearly 8 feet 3 inches English) and 5 Swedish feet at broadest. As now raised, only 6 Swedish feet are above ground. The runes, which average 7 inches in height, are turned round, and read from right to left. In the first or upper line the 8th-9th staves are clearly *i* and *s*. In Bautil they are given as one letter, closed below, thus becoming an *u* upside down. Another error in Bautil is, that staves 10 and 11 are given as *ṛ* and *ṛ*, whereas they are in fact *l* and *ḷ* (*l* and *æ*). The cause of this mistake in Göransson is, that there is a rough

¹ One of the Horses on the Runic Golden Horn (Galléhus, Denmark, further on), which I opine also to date from about the 4th century, bears a *Saddle*, but this, as has been pointed out to me by Prof. Steenstrup, is a Draught-saddle, not a Riding saddle.

rise or knot or nut or gnarl or small protuberance, or whatever we may call it, on the left side of each of these letters, and this swelling vein he has taken as a line. The last rune, Ψ , is written above for want of room. In the under row the first letter is \mathfrak{F} in Bautil, in other words a retrograde \mathfrak{F} (\mathfrak{F}). This is correct. The iron and wooden shoes standing or pawing on this stone for so many years have worn away the strokes at the side, never very deeply cut. Owing to the excessive hardness of the granite all the runes are carved rather shallow. Sæve observes, in his communication to me, that the quartz is flaky and uneven just to the left of this character, thus strengthening the likelihood of the \mathfrak{F} . Certain it is that \mathfrak{F} REWÆRED is an unheard-of and impracticable name, while \mathfrak{F} REWÆRED is well known. The 9th rune is \mathfrak{A} (= \mathfrak{F} , \mathfrak{E}) not \mathfrak{A} (= \mathfrak{F} , \mathfrak{L}) as in Bautil; and the 10th is not \mathfrak{V} but evidently \mathfrak{Y} (\mathfrak{A}), only the one arm is here somewhat shorter than the other, as we also find it on the Krogstad stone. — There is no sign of any other letter, the large chip to the extreme left being doubtless later than Bautil, which has no additional rune. A small piece at the right corner of the base has also been broken away since the days of Göransson.

The staves being reverst and reading from the right, I would group them thus:

$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{H}$ $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}$
 LEGINIA \mathfrak{F} REWÆREDÆA.

$\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}$ HEWED THESE-runes
 to-the-down-LAID (fallen, slain) \mathfrak{F} REWÆRED.

Out of 14 vowels no less than 9 are \mathfrak{E} , an evident proof of a strong dialectic tendency to use that sound.

We might divide:

$\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}$ SLÆGINIA
 THIS-stone to-the-SLAIN.

But I think that the antique pronoun $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}$, if it had thus been an accusative *singular masculine* (to agree with *stone* understood) would, at this early period have had a final \mathfrak{N} , $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{N}$. It is also likely that LÆGIN, *low-laid*, was selected on purpose, instead of the more prosaic SLÆGIN, *slain*. I therefore prefer $\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}$, looking upon it as the accusative *plural feminine*, to agree with *runes* understood.

Should we suppose that the *later* custom of taking a rune twice over, to spare carving, was *already* in use — of which we have as yet no proof — we might then read:

$\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}$ SLÆGINIA
 THESE-runes to-the-SLAIN.

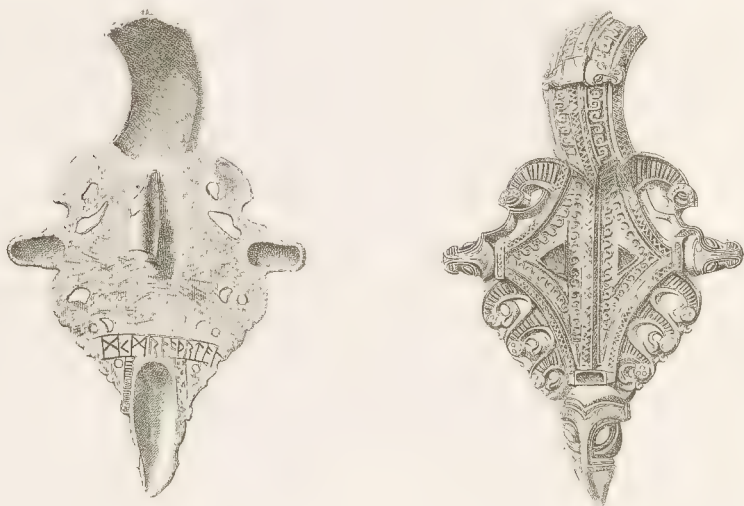
But I do not see what we should gain by this change of word.

\mathfrak{P} and \mathfrak{D} (\mathfrak{W} and \mathfrak{TH}), like \mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{D} (\mathfrak{M} and \mathfrak{D}), &c., often appearing nearly or quite like each other, from a careless easy way of writing, it is barely possible that the name may have been \mathfrak{F} RE \mathfrak{TH} ÆRED. But as the rune is plainly \mathfrak{P} (\mathfrak{W}) not \mathfrak{D} (\mathfrak{TH}), and as we have the old mans-name \mathfrak{F} REWÆRED (the Lordly Counsellor) as well as \mathfrak{F} RE \mathfrak{TH} ÆRED (the Peaceful Counsellor), it is safer to abide by the actual reading of the monument.

ETELHEM, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

Engraved, full size, by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN, from the original. No. 1261 in the Old-Northern Museum, Stockholm. Mere mechanical copies not enabling the artist to obtain absolute accuracy, the Fibula itself was most obligingly forwarded from Stockholm for my use by EROR EMIL HILDEBRAND, the "Riks-Antiquarie" (Chief Guardian of the Swedish National Antiquities and Keeper of the Museum). For the boon thus conferred on myself and on Runic Science, I beg hereby to tender that distinguished Scholar my warmest acknowledgments.



This costly and elegant silver-gilt Brooch was found in 1846, lying quite alone in a field, by a peasant digging on the farm Etelhem (in the local dialect *Aitelheim*), south-east in the island of Gotland. The precious metal here employed is not a slight leaf, as is often the case, but is a pure plate of considerable thickness, apparently first cast and then finished with the burin. Some of the smallest ornaments seem to have been picked out with a sharp tool.

On the front, the raised bands and upstanding carved ridges have been left in their original white glitter, the zigzags being filled with a bluish niello, like the runes on the other side. All the other surfaces and lower parts are richly gilt. This is a surprising relief to the higher lines and belts.

At the middle of the top bend, the square red stone or fluor-spar or glass flux still remains, tho broken. The two similar triangular stones in the centre, and the oblong one lower down, have fallen out.

As usual, the staves are carved on the ungilt back. The whole runic inscription, and the two long lines between which the staves stand as well as the ornamental belts below on each side the head, are nicloed, the cuttings having been filled-in with a composition of silver. But much of the niello has fallen away, and whole lines or parts of lines are now empty. All these scorings would seem to have been punched with a sharp tool.

Viewed thro a lens, it is evident that the mark on the centre of the τ is a mere abrasure and has never been carved, and the same is the case with the last stroke, the side-mark on which has no appearance of having been engraved. I therefore regard this last score as *no letter*, but as an I-like frame-line closing the whole inscription and carelessly drawn a little below the line. There are several other slighter or deeper scrapings and jags and indentations scattered all over the back, as was to be expected on a metallic surface.

But even supposing this last mark to be a letter, it would make no difference in the reading. For if we must take the lower side-dint we must also take the upper, which is still more clearly a jag at a part which has scaled away. Thus we should get a *second* \mathbf{F} (\mathbf{x}), that is, $\text{WRT}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{E}$ instead of $\text{WRT}\mathbf{E}$. Such a form as $\text{w(o)RT}\mathbf{x}\mathbf{E}$, with a double final vowel, is very unlikely. But the meaning would be the same.

We have therefore the runes:

MCMRLIEWRT \mathbf{x} .

Evidently vowels are here absent. I would propose to insert them, and to divide as follows:

M(\mathbf{A})C M(\mathbf{U})RL \mathbf{E} W(\mathbf{O})RT \mathbf{E} .

MAC-MURL \mathbf{E} WROUGHT (*made me*).

To find a Keltic name on so early a Scandinavian piece is remarkable. Should this rendering be correct, the artist was doubtless, in himself or by descent, one of the many Kelts who settled in the North in these olden days, — sometimes brought in as slaves by vikings, sometimes visiting its shores on warlike or mercantile or religious adventure. Such, among others, were the *Papes* (Irish Monks and Hermits) found in Iceland, when that island was first discovered by the Northmen some four centuries later.

Mr. Haigh has privately suggested to me another view. He says: — "Instead of bringing a Celt into Scandinavia to write runes on the beautiful brooch from Erelhem, and one with a name such as his countrymen cannot recognize, is it not better to read:

M(\mathbf{I})C M(\mathbf{F})R(\mathbf{I})L \mathbf{E} W(\mathbf{O})RT \mathbf{E} .

ME MERIL \mathbf{E} WROUGHT

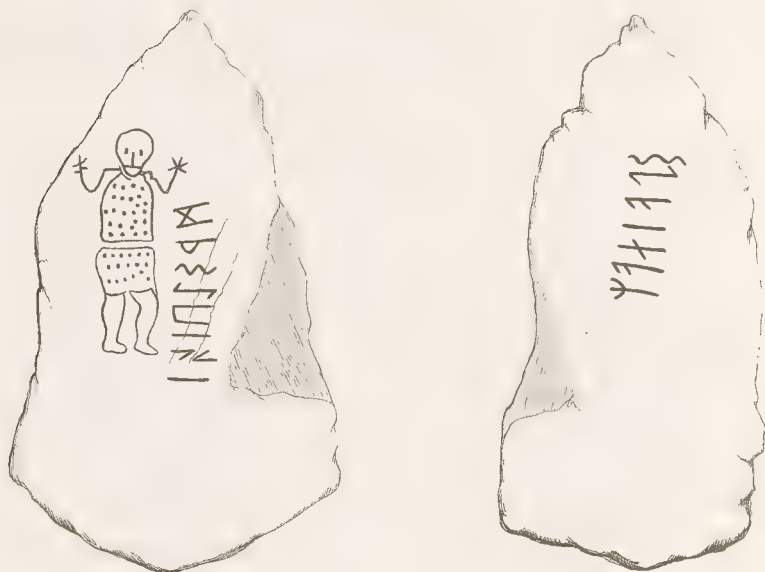
Then in MERILA we have a true Gothic name, that of one of the subscribers in the Naples Ms." (about the year 550).

This reading is so good, that it is perhaps better than my own.

Out of deference to the archæological canons laid down by our Northern old-lorists, I had long fixt upon about A. D. 500-600 as the age of this precious clasp. But I have been compelled by facts to adopt an earlier date. In the last few years so many finds have occurred of articles similar in make and style *far older* than the 6th century, that I *must* move this piece farther back. I think it cannot be later than the 5th year-hundred. Had it been found in England, or in any other country to the south and west of Scandinavia, I should have placed it as high as the 4th century after Christ. It surely could not have taken more than 100 years for a particular art-fashion to travel farther north.

KROGSTAD, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

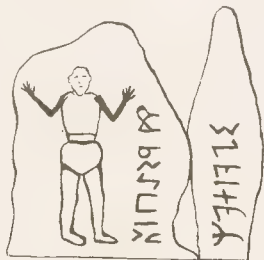
From Drawings by Baron JOHAN NORDENFALK, made Sept. 9, 1858.

This inscribed block, No. 581 in Göransson's Bautil, is upwards of 6 feet high, breadth of sides between 2 and 3 feet. Runes nearly 6 inches in length. The stone has suffered somewhat since the drawing was made for Bautil, which is mentioned in Liljegren as No. 2055. The ring-like dots — which I take to be a conventional representation of *mail-armor*, apparently *ring-mail* — are now nearly all gone, a part of the *ng* and of the *i* has fallen away, and the weather has made other slight changes. Still, on the whole, the monument is in excellent preservation, and the copy in Bautil is very good. The only difference of any consequence is, that the *syö* on the figure-side are improperly drawn (almost like an *æ*) in Bautil, chiefly from the two runes being brought too near together.

For a copy of Baron Nordenfalk's drawings as here engraved, the accidental damages, as just explained, being supplied from Bautil, I am indebted to the kindness of Prof. Carl Sæve of Upsala.

To save space, Bantil shows the two sides on one block: but they cannot both be seen at once, and I have therefore given each separately.

But the oldest drawing of this stone known to me is that by Johan T. A. Bureus, the great Swedish Runologist, taken about 1620-40. It occurs in his *Runic Ms. Collectanea*, vol. 7, No. 121. He gives 2 figures side by side, showing the 2 faces of the stone. As curious in itself, and as a specimen of the modifications these letters too often underwent when transcribed by the lore-gatherers of the olden school, I engrave this drawing here full size:



It will be seen that one letter, the *i*, is altogether omitted on the principal side. It may have been sunk in earth or overgrown with moss, or otherwise hidden.

The inscription is short and simple enough. Both lines are read from right to left (from top to bottom), both having the runes reverst. I propose to divide them thus:

MWSYOUNGI
SYOE IN EA.

The first line I take to be the name of the buried chief, and suppose in the second the common ellipsis of *HEIT*, *HIGHT*, *was called*, *was named*.

MWSYOUNGI
SE (= *he, he-was, he-hight*) IN AYE (*his-time, while living*).

On these old monuments *w* is occasionally found for a thick *u* or *o*. — The *s* being older than the *r*, the name is probably the well-known *MEROWINGI*. A place¹ called *MYREINGES-TORP*, so called from a settler of that name, is or was found at Tjällmo, Finspångs Härad, East-Gotland; and there is another such homestead, *MYRUNGS*, in Linde Parish, Gotland².

I have said above that I believe the ring-like dots on the figure, in all their barbarous roughness, are intended to represent mail-armor: whether ring-mail or chain-mail, and whether interlaced or sewn on to leather or other material, cannot of course be determined. So far from dating from the crusades or from the early middle age, as is commonly supposed, mail-armor, the interclashing rings riveted within each other, can be traced in Europe nearly as far back as the Christian era, and was largely used by our Scando-Gothic forefathers³. In the famous find at Thorsbjerg (in 1860), South-Jutland, Denmark, several splendid shirts of ring-mail were dug up more or less perfect. I beg to translate Mr. Engelhardt's description of these pieces, in his valuable work on the Thorsbjerg Moss: —

"Nothing hitherto found from the Early Iron Age shows a higher degree of skill and expertness than these defensive pieces, and the rich ornaments belonging to them. These brinies are a kind of net- or twist-work of small steel rings, whose diameter outside is between 4 and 5 lines, each of them stuck thro four other rings. In some of these brinies all the rings are clincht, and very fine work this is. In others only every other ring is riveted, the alternate ones being smithied together, so that each clincht ring grasps four smithied, and, contrariwise, each smithied grasps four riveted. See fig. 2 and 3, plate 6, engraved full size:

¹ Olaf Rudbeck, *Atlantica*, fol., Vol 4, Stockholm 1702, p. 179.

² The Gotlandic farm-names are patronymics in the genitive, thus here *MYRUNG's* (farm). Whoever buys or inherits such a freehold takes the name of the place, whatever his own name may be. Thus the owner of *MYRUNG's* is called *MYRUNGE*, of *AMLUNG's*, *AMLUNGE*, &c. So also in Jutland, and elsewhere.

³ See some excellent remarks hereon in Lieut. O. Blom's "*Den tidlige Middelalders Vaaben*", 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1861, pp. 17 and fol.



"In one of these mail-shirts, which is made of very delicate iron rings, each of them is riveted with a small nub of bronze, which must have given the brinie a very elegant appearance. There were also found several strings of bronze rings, which were probably used as a fringe above and below the brinie, just as we see them on the mail-shirts of the middle age. Some strings of clincht bronze rings are also remarkable, as fixing the width of the brinie and its sleeves, the circumference of the former being about 39 inches, of the latter about 18. All these shirts were found rolled up in large or small bundles, much spoiled by rust and difficult to unroll and unfold. In fact we have to thank the circumstance that most of them were deposited in earthen pots, for our good fortune in being able to rescue any considerable remains of these pieces. And even these are not sufficiently perfect to show their complete original length; but we may suppose that they have reached to the middle of the thigh, and their upper part nearly to the elbow. At least we are led to this conclusion from a comparison with a monument given by Lindenschmit, the grave-stone of the flag-bearer Musius, in his "Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit", 4, 6. This is a Roman stone, apparently from the 3rd century"¹.

Since the above, Shirts of Ring-mail have also been found (in 1865) in the Vi-moss, Fyn. Having thus ring-mail bodily before us, from a date not later than the 3rd century after Christ, we can better understand the fact that warriors from the Early Iron Age — about the 1st to the 5th and 6th century — have actually been buried in such costly brinies, as indeed may have been the case with the hero who sleeps at Krogstad. Thus we have a description of a heathen cairn in Gotland, Sweden, all whose details seem to point to about the 3rd century. I translate from a paper, in Swedish, furnished by the Swedish antiquarians J. G. Liljegren and Bror Emil Hildebrand: —

"Gotland. Forsa Ting, Hangvar Parish. Close to Söderby homestead, near the kirkway, in a grave-mound beneath a multitude of stones and about 4 feet deep, Captain G. A. Braune found a remarkably large human skeleton *wrapped in a coat of mail*, parts of which were taken up. One of these fragments is now in the Collection of Mr. Söderström in Carlskrona. It is of common iron, so made that 4 rings always grasp each other, every ring being clincht with a tack. In many places rows of brass [? bronze] rings take the place of iron, as an ornament. In the Cheapinghaven Museum are several mail-shirts from the 14th and 15th centuries, very similar in workmanship. By the side of the skeleton lay an iron battle-axe in shape like a Carpenter's axe, 6 inches broad at the edge, but ending behind in a 6 inches long spike instead of the usual axe-hammer. Total length of this weapon 13 inches. The shaft is said to have been 8 feet long, and to have reached 6 inches beyond the axe-head"².

Mr. Engelhardt, who also refers to this remarkable find, adds: — "this description agrees exactly with the brinies discovered in Thorsbjerg Moss"³. Another example, mentioned by Roach Smith⁴, is also spoken of by Engelhardt, the skeleton found in a grave near Cologne, by which lay a fragment of a mail-brinie, each clincht ring holding 4 forged rings, together with a Roman bronze Coin struck anno 275, an earthen vessel, a glass dish, &c. &c., thus marking a grave of the 3rd or 4th century. — Still earlier than this, Chain-mail was also used by the Keltic races.

Paucity of monuments prevents us from bringing examples exactly like the figure on the Krogstad stone. But those who are familiar with the simple methods of drawing and carving called "conventional", from the earliest times, the sculptures of Egypt and Nineveh, down thro the middle age

¹ Cour. Engelhardt, "Thorsbjerg Mosefund", 4to, Kjöbenhavn 1863, pp. 26, 27, and plate 6, fig. 2, 3.

² "Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed", 8vo, Vol. 1, Kjöbenhavn 1862, p. 228.

³ "Thorsbjerg Mosefund", p. 30.

⁴ "Collectanea Antiqua", 8vo, Vol. 2, p. 150.

— the rough bush for a wood, the parallel lines, with or without a fish or two, for the sea, the strange outlines meant to portray ships or castles — will at once recognize the dots on the Krogstad block as *ring-mail* and the central space as a *war-belt*. In fact very much the same style pervades the miniatures and other works of the middle ages.

Thus Hefner, in his "Trachten des christlichen Mittelalters", Vol. 1, p. 51, engraves from a Skinbook of the 9th century a Bowman with helm and scale-armor, all very rude but quite easy to understand:



A figure of Goliath, in a shirt of ring-mail, is given by Hewitt, "Ancient Armour", fig. 17, from an English skinbook of the 10th year-hundred:



In Bordier and Charton's "Histoire de France", Vol. 1, p. 231, is a group of three horsemen, the middle one evidently clad in ring-brinie, regular ring-mail. This is from a codex of the 10th century:



Three warmen are copied by Hewitt, "Ancient Armour", fig. 13, from a bookfell of about the year 1000. The crowned personage in the centre wears a ring- or scale-brinie:



And can anything exceed the naïve way in which the hauberk is represented in a miniature in the Romance of Meliadus (British Museum, Add. Mss., 12-223)? I copy this from the cut in "The Gentleman's Magazine", Jan. 1861, p. 43:



Mail shirts of various kinds occur very frequently on the Bayeux Tapestry. I will only copy 3 examples:

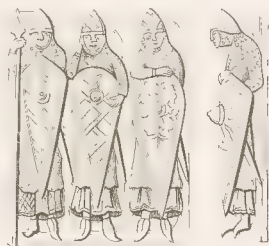


But again still later, probably in the reign of Henry I or Stephen, in Cotton Ms. Nero, c. 4, as copied by F. W. Fairholt, "Costume in England", 8vo. London 1846, p. 87:



I add that excellent antiquarian's descriptive text: — "The figure wears the helmet pointed forward, similar to the Anglo-Saxon ones before described, and has the protecting nasal The warrior has a ringed hauberk, open at each side, and through an opening at the waist the scabbard of his sword is stuck. It is on the *right* side, as will perhaps be noticed; but it frequently occurs on that side as well as on the other in figures of this period. A long green tunic appears beneath his hauberk, and he wears white boots."

Once more, I will give some interesting figures from early in the 12th century, copied from the same work, p. 149, adding Mr. Fairholt's text:

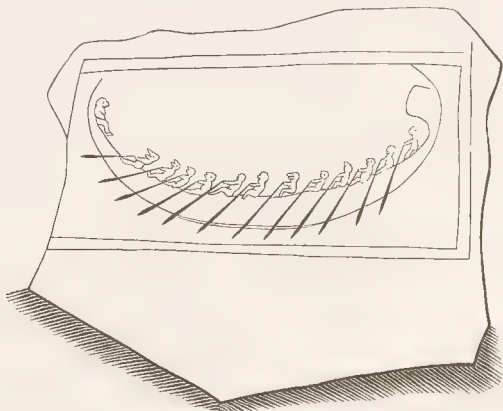


"The figures here engraved are copied from a curious little bronze, strongly gilt, now in the possession of T. Crofton Croker, Esq., and which is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1833, accompanied with a description by A. J. Kempe, Esq., the author of the letter-press to *Stothard's Monumental Effigies*, whose intimate knowledge in these matters enables him to well authenticate dates; and he considers this relic may safely be attributed to the early part of the twelfth century. It was discovered in the Temple Church, and had originally formed a portion of a pyx, or small shrine, in which the consecrated host was kept. Our engraving is more than half the size of the original, which represents the soldiers watching the body of our Lord, who was, in mystical form, supposed to be enshrined in the pyx. They wear skull-caps of the Phrygian form, with the nasal like those in the Bayeux Tapestry, already described; and the mailles or rings of the hauberk appear, as in the armour there, sewn down, perhaps, on a sort of gambeson, but not interlaced. They bear kite-shaped shields, raised to an obtuse angle in the centre, and having projecting bosses; the third of these figures is represented beside the cut in profile, which will enable the reader more clearly to detect its peculiarities. On two of these shields are some approaches to armorial bearings; the first is marked with four narrow bendlets; the second is fretted, the frets being repeated in front of his helmet, or *chappelle de fer*: all the helmets have the nasal. A long tunic, bordered, and in one instance ornamented with cross-lines, or chequered, appears beneath the tunic [? hauberk]. The sword is very broad, and the spear, carried by the first figure, obtuse in the head, — a mark of its antiquity. The shoes are admirable illustrations of that passage of Geoffrey of Malmesbury, where, reprehending the luxury of costume in which the English indulged at the time when Henry I began his reign, he says: "Then was there flowing hair, and extravagant dress; and then was invented the fashion of shoes with curved points: then the model for young men was to rival women in delicacy of person, to mimic their gait, to walk with loose gesture, half-naked". The curvature of the points of the shoes in the little relic before us, in conformity with the custom censured by Malmesbury, is quite remarkable. One turns up, another down; one to the left, another to the right; and scarcely any two in the same direction."

For some remarks illustrative of the rude conventional hairless head on this Krogstad stone (if it be not a close-sitting helm), see the SÆDING stone, Denmark.

I have just said that I believe the opening in the middle of the figure to be an equally barbarous and conventional way of giving the Girdle or Waist- or Sword-belt. Since writing the above Prof. C. Sæve's unwearied kindness has enabled me to prove this. He has furnished me with a copy of the drawing by the Rev. P. U. Isæus, Vicar of Hæggeby, of the second side of the remarkable Ship-

stone in the Church there, given by Göransson as No. 344 in his Bautil. This singular Funeral or Memorial block is 5 feet 4 inches broad and 4 feet 4 inches high. The side hitherto known, that engraved in Bautil, is now so very much worn by continual tramp, it having been laid down in the church as a common slab, that it is nearly obliterated. I therefore copy the woodcut in Bautil, taken more than a century ago when the carving was perfect, registered as No. 2991 in Liljegren:



But Baron H. Essen has lately (1863) had the stone raised from the church floor, and placed upright on a wooden foot, so that both sides are visible. This shows that the other side also bears a precious carving:



The figures evidently represent a *Horse-baiting*, that ancient Northern sport so often referred-to in Sagas and traditions. The Icelanders called it the *Hesta-at* — the *Horse-hetting*, horse-goad. So here we see on the block two men, one on each side egging and driving his horse against its adversary with a kind of gad or goad, as well as with a sort of sharp gore or stick.

The whole carving is wonderfully "barbarous", and evidently belongs to the helpless figure-rising which crept-in low down in the Early Iron Age. The style no one can for a moment mistake.

Again on the Äskelhem stone, Gotland, found by P. A. Sæve in September 1863 and also communicated to me by Prof. C. Sæve, we have two Horses standing with their heads and forelegs close together — evidently typifying that the deceased was a famous Horse-baiter. On this latter piece the drawing of these animals is very good.

These two are Bild-stones, have bils, or figures, but no runes. Similar pair-animals, however, sometimes occur on Runic Bild-stones, and doubtless also refer to the favorite Horse-bait. As this was a costly amusement, we learn that the dead hero was a man of station. So is the keeper of a Pack of Hounds in an English County.

When such a powerful magnate died, and the barrow was raised over him, and on the how was uplifted the Bild-stone, by which all the world could see that the great landholder or wiking — famous for his costly horses and dogs and his success at the baits — was gone from his old comrades, the addition of his name was comparatively immaterial. He would be known well enough, whether his name were added or no. Hence on such stones as those at Hågeby and Äskelhem the name is wanting.

But what makes this Hågeby piece so valuable is, that *both* the Horse-baiters are cut-in-two at the waist, exactly as the figure on the Krogstad stone. That this has nothing to do with wounds and death is clear, for both the rivals are busy cheering on their steeds. What, then, can be more simple and natural than to regard this gap as a rough-and-ready mark for the Belt or Girdle? That it is so, is not to be doubted.

This happy find enables us to draw sundry conclusions:

The War-galley is from the Iron Age, not from the Bronze Period, for it has no Ram. The Galley with its Ram is the shape of every ship yet found from the Bronze time; it continues in the Iron Age, but after a couple of centuries this second or butting stem is gradually laid aside, perhaps from some change in naval tactics.

The rude style of both sides distinctly points to nearly the close of the *Early* Iron Age, say the 5th century. But this exactly coincides with the approximate date I had fixt for the Krogstad stone, years before the Hågeby block was turned over.

The War-galley was well known in the North from very early times, as we all are aware from other sources. One of oak and filled with arms, and dating from the 3rd century, has lately (1863) been found in the Nydam Moss, South-Jutland; it had no Ram; but another yet larger Boat or Galley built of pine was found close by, in the same Moss, *with* a Ram. This last ship was however neglected and ruined by the incoming German Barbarians, and is therefore far less instructive than the other. See Engelhardt's Nydam Mosefund, pp. 6-18 and Plates 1-3.

Figured stones without writing may be as old as Bild-stones with runes, or as Runic stones without any figure.

Tho not sure, it is most likely that the Hågeby monument was a Burial-stone, as well as almost every other characteristic slab or block or pillar found under circumstances apparently funeral.

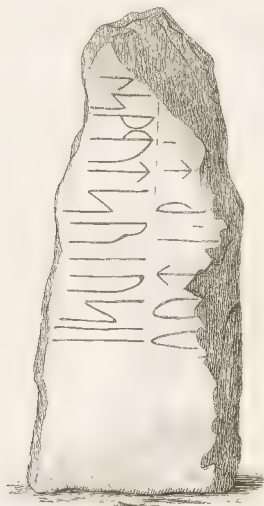
All this is not so little to learn, from one single fortunate parallel-piece!

SÖLVESBORG, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

This stone was first engraved by Dr. Sven Bring (Lagerbring) in his Dissertation "*De Listria, Lister-Härad*", 4to, Londini Gothorum (= Lund, Sweden) 1748, p. 50, but the less said about this copy the better. The drawing published by P. Tham, in his "*Anmärkingar i anledning af Herr Prof. Müllers afhandling om Guldhornen*", 4to, Stockholm 1817, p. 9, is execrable; it was furnished to him by Prof. Sjöberg in 1800. Prof. C. Sæve has forwarded to me his transcript of an unpublished sketch by W. Gynther, probably from the beginning of this century, taken from Liljegren's *Fullständig Bantil*, Stockholm; it is very faulty.

But I am fortunately enabled to give two later and better copies, the one Worsaae's, made in 1844, the other my own, drawn 20 years later. The former is taken from *Blekingske Mindesmærker*, Plate 13, fig. 2:



The block is here represented as seen ideally, that is, independently of the boarding or paling by which it is surrounded and as it were framed. For it stands now in the very limit, between it and the street, of a yard or garden belonging to a private person. It is in a side-street, about 240 paces west of the western side of the church. Here it has been for about 30 years, when it was removed from

a part of the old Cloister, which was then taken down. No one knows whence it came to the Cloister-walls, but of course it was from some Heathen How. Students of the Runes are familiar with this process, of which we have scores — or rather hundreds — of examples in the later runic stones. Churches or Cloisters or Castles must be built, and more or less regular or hewn stones are necessary, and to cut them costs money and time. So we take those at hand. They are "ready-made", and cost little or nothing. There are plenty out on the heath or near the village, the forgotten or neglected memorials of former generations. So the Master of the Works sends men out to lay hold of them, and Oxen to drag them. The peasants are paid to assist or do so of their own accord, out of their good will to "Holy Church" or to the Earl their lord or neighbor. After a few days the Heathen or Christian burial-ground loses yet another of its Minne-stones; they are used as building materials. All the rest is soon forgotten. And besides this, individual farmers want a slab or block for a corner-stone or hearth-stone or door-stone or gate-post or spong-stone (foot-bridge over a brook), and so on. So he takes one near at hand, or buys it from a "Sexton" or "Parish Priest" or "Parish Board" — authorities



Heathen or Christian as the case may be — and all is right. But in this way the history of the Past is extinguished, and in a few generations it is hard to tell whence a particular old-fashioned block really came. So with this at Sölvesborg. The "intelligent" people of course knew nothing at all about it. An old man or two of the "lower" class gave me some valuable information; but I could never get beyond a certain point.

But this remarkable Sölvesborg heathen monument is now not seen to advantage, for when the boarding was last tarred a coat was stupidly given to the stone also, and a good deal is still left on the whitish granite; however, every shower makes it less. This stone belongs to the Town of Sölvesborg, and the authorities are well aware of its value. Liljegren, in his Run-urkunder, mentions it as No. 2060.

The second view is that taken under my inspection by my artist, Mr. J. M. Petersen in September 1864, the exact character of the whole being carefully preserved, and of course each letter measured. For the sake of variety, and to be quite exact, it shows the block as it stands in the paling. The dotted lines mark the stone behind the boards. Its height is about 4 feet 6 inches, its breadth a little more than 18 inches. The tallest runes, on the left, are about 8 inches, but they diminish on both sides, showing that they were carved to suit the broken character of the surface, and consequently that it is now in very nearly the same state as it was when first inscribed. It has suffered little injury. The top of the first letter on the left is broken away, or else it has never been carved for want of room, and hence the **F** (**Æ**) appears as **†** (**L**). The first letter on the right, below, is **R**, here made very like **U** (**Ń**), as is often the case, and is the beginning of a mans-name very rarely found, in other dialects often with the **U** prefix. A very little bend of the right limb of **Ń** will make it an **R**, and *vice versa*. It is doubtless for the sake of the **R** in this word (**RUTI**) that the carver selected the uncommon **RIUSH** in the first line, in order that he might get his riming letters (stave-rime). The block being so damaged farther on, the "stone-smith" has only carved **w** and **ri**, the **r** upside down, as often. These staves are a contraction, apparently for **WRAITI** (or some such form of the word), *wrote, scored*. Before the **w** is a mark of diversion, and after the **ri** is perhaps a kind of stop.

The runes read from top to bottom on the left side, and then from below upward on the right. They are, in stave-rime verse:

ÆSMUTS RIUSH.

RUTI w[rai]ti.

ÆSMUT'S HRUSE (*barrow, stone-mound*).

RUTI WROTE (*carved these runes*).

ÆSMUT is the usual mans-name ÆSMUNT, ASMUND, OSMUND, &c.

The reader will observe the tie (bind-rune, monogram) **MU**, in the first line, which is a good example of a plain monogram on a stone evidently very ancient. But we shall soon meet with other similar tied letters, especially in Sweden and Norway. We cannot yet fix the exact date for the appearance of these ties. They would seem to be scarcer the farther back we go.

It is very disheartening when we find a formula which stands *quite alone*. We have then never that comparative confidence which naturally arises from an at least apparent outward likeness between two or more of these ancient monuments. Only let us get at least *two* pieces coinciding in their general meaning, and we can advance with a certain boldness.

The Björketorp and Stentofen pillars, for instance, help to confirm and explain each other, they are so similar in wordfall.

The Istaby and Berga blocks have their rare parallels in Scandinavian as well as in Old-Northern runics.

The Möjebro Runic Bild-stone as yet stands alone.

The Krogstad Runic Bild-stone is, as far as I can see, decidedly confirmed by the Tanum block, to which we shall come directly.

This Sölvesborg pillar has — at first sight — no fellow. Yet I cannot help thinking that we find the same *thought* elsewhere, tho every *word* be not identical. For words may often interchange.

For instance there are many nouns for *grave* or *tomb*¹, just as there are graves and tombs of many *kinds*, and one may be used here another there. Now the Tanem stone, Norway, to which we shall come shortly, bears only the runes reading:

MENIS LAU.

Here we have a mans-name in the genitive singular, followed by LAU, and this LAU can scarcely be other than the widely spread word our own familiar *LOW*, grave-mound, barrow. The meaning then is:

MENIS LOW (*grave-mound, barrow*).

But the stone here before us has:

ÆSMUTS RIUSIL.

Here also we see a mans-name in the genitive singular, followed by RIUSIL, not LAU. But this RIUSIL is also a noun, common the whole Northland over, signifying (our Old-English *HRUSE*) stone-mound, grave-mound, barrow. We can scarcely err then in translating:

ÆSMUTS HRUSE (*grave-mound, barrow*).

It is true that the Sölvesborg stone *adds* the words

N N. WROTÉ (*these runes*):

which the Tanem stone does not. But this does not efface the preceding likeness. We *may* one day find a block *with* the same addition. Any way, these concluding words are quite immaterial. We have scores of Runic Monuments, from all ages, in which no mention is made of either the Raiser or the Carver. Tho we have therefore no exact parallel to either the Sölvesborg or the Tanem stone, I yet look upon them as having the same flow of words. Quite identical inscriptions we may never find, so few of these pieces now remain to us. The wonder is that we have any at all. — And precisely the same thing holds good of the later (Scandinavian-runic) monuments. On these also we have *very many* and *variously modified* grave-formulas, some of them however only found two or three times, some in fact only *once*! We must therefore not lay *so* much stress on the mere rarity or frequency of the phrase, as at once to *condemn* a proposed reading merely because it may be strange or unique. A piece unique to-day may be matcht to-morrow, for we need not despair of fresh finds. And *every* find gives us something valuable, as to runes or phrase or language; something precious because it is new, or not less so because it is old — a second instance of what we may have met before.

¹ See the many such given at p. 46, and the remarks on the noun *Duwo* in the Word-roll. Every such word on the Old-Northern stones has not yet been found on the Scandinavian-runic, and the latter have terms of a like import which have not yet occurred on the Old-Northern. Many are common to both these classes of runic monuments, notwithstanding the greatest difference of clan and locality.

TANUM, BOHUSLÄN, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

As¹ all the world knows, Bohuslän abounds in antiquities, even now, in spite of centuries of destruction. The wanderer can still find there wonderful Rock-carvings, mighty Mounds, olden Stone-rings, Ship-settings, Kists, Grave-cumbels, Bauta-stones, Doom-rings, and so on, for which we need only refer to the pages of Holmberg² and Brusewitz³, as well as older writers. But, unhappily, few of its Runic monuments have remained to us. So much the more must we rejoice that *one* of these few is a colossal block, bearing an inscription in Old-Northern Runes!

This monolith, of whose former history we know nothing, was first found at the beginning of this century. At that time it was lying with other stones as a kind of foot-bridge or spong over a small runlet or beck on the farm of Kalleby Vester-gård, across the road between Kalleby and Trättlanda, in Tanum Parish. The nearest homesteads are Kalleby Vester-gård, Ryk, Trättlanda and Anräs. It is in a broad dale, on a kind of heath, about half a Swedish mile south of Tanum church. It was not made public till 1823, when it appeared in Stockholm⁴. The sketch is here of the smallest and poorest, and the last letter is so engraved as to be apparently omitted altogether! Otherwise the staves are substantially correct. Liljegren's text is only a few lines. He reads the carving:

"DRODISON HOCTINO MBO"

and translates:

"DENNA HALLKISTA HOJDINÄS (HÖDNÄS, HVEDNÄS) DÖDA MAN (eger)."

THIS HILL-KIST (stone-grave) HÖJDINÄS the-DEAD MAN (owns, has).

Liljegren supposes that the stone is broken at the top, and that the rising is therefore incomplete.

In his "Monumenta Runica", or "Run-Urkunder", 4to, 1834. (Tillägg till Svenskt Diplomatarium, Vol. 1, and printed separately in 8vo). No. 2064. Liljegren mentions this stone but does not hazard any reading, merely referring to his former work.

The next Runologist who mentions this monument is the learned Iclander Fin Magnusen, in his valuable "Runamo og Runerne", 4to, Kjobenhavn 1841. p. 344. On Tab. viii. fig. 3, he copies Liljegren's engraving, and he discusses the question in his text. Supposing two letters (OM) to be gone at the end, he concludes that the staves must be redd:

"DRO VILT ON HEIDINOM VÖ(OM)."

This he thus gives in modern spelling:

"DRÓ VELT ON (A) HEIDNOM VE(OM)"

and translates:

"STEENKISTE (Celle, Stue, Grav) VÆLTET PAA (ET) HEDENSK HELLIGDOMSSTED."

STONE-KIST (stone-grave) WELTED (cast, laid) ON (A) HEATHEN HALLIDOM-STED (Holy Place).

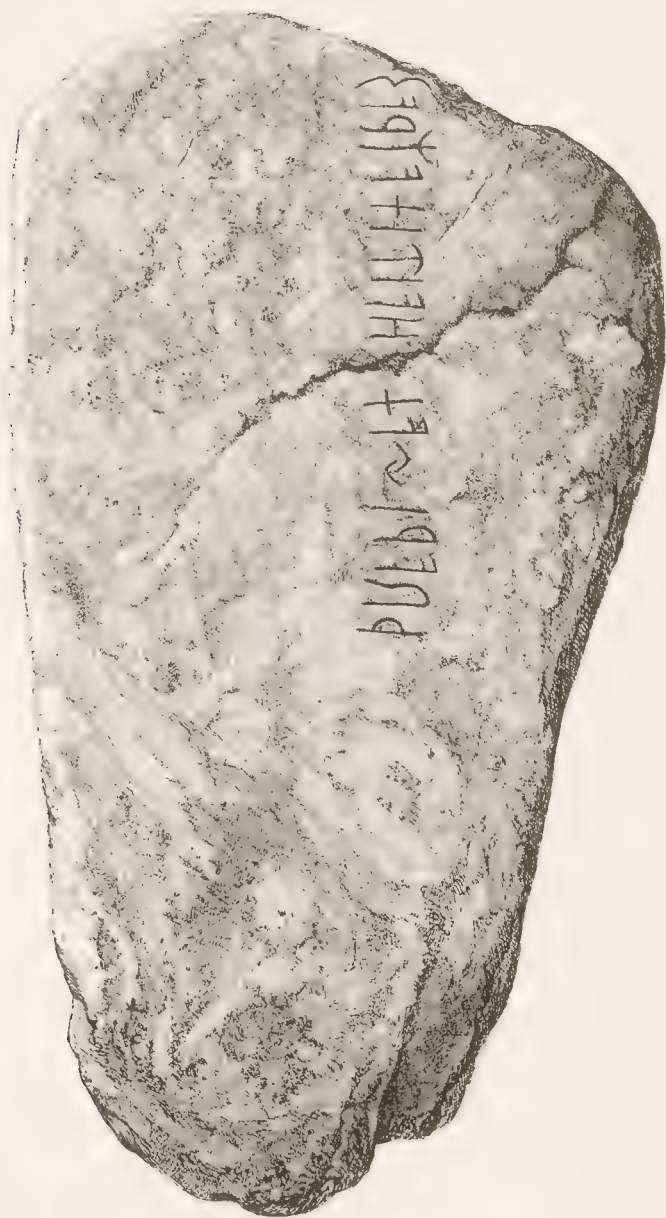
¹ In 1864 a prize was offered by the Royal Academy of Literature and Antiquities, Gotenburg, for the best explanation of this stone. The following paper — but in a more diffusive shape, many of the remarks there made being here found in their proper places — was forwarded anonymously, and to it the prize of the Society was awarded.

² Bohusläns Historia och Beskrifning, af Axel Em. Holmberg; 2 vol., 8vo, Uddevalla 1842-5. With plates. — Skandinavien Hällristningar, Arkeologisk Afhandling af Axel Em. Holmberg, 4to, Stockholm 1848. With 45 plates.

³ Historiska Minnen i Bohus-län, Vester-götland, och Halland; Teckningar och beskrifning af G. Brusewitz; 4to, Göteborg 1861-4. — Of this elegantly illustrated and valuable work 20 parts have already appeared, forming one volume.

⁴ Nordiska Fornlemningar, af J. G. Liljegren och C. G. Brunius; small 8vo, Stockholm 1823. — The Tanum stone is No. XLV.

*From a Drawing by the Swedish Artist G. EUSWITZ of Göteborg, and Casts of the inscription obligingly
forwarded to me by the Göteborg Royal Academy of Literature and Antiquities.*



The inscription, therefore, according to him, was carved by a Christian man, and commemorated Christian triumphs over Heathen ceremonies.

So things remained till 1861. At that time, requiring this piece for my forthcoming work on the Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England, I made a communication on the subject to the Göttenburg Royal Academy of Literature and Antiquities. I pointed out to them the great value of this venerable block, the risk of destruction to which it was exposed, the necessity for its transport to the Göttenburg Museum, and the favor which would be conferred on myself and on science generally if the Academy would be pleased to forward me a Cast or other really trustworthy copy of the runes — experience having shown me how little we can depend on former transcripts of monuments of this kind. The reply of the then Secretary, Mr. A. O. Heurlin, is dated Nov. 21, 1861, and informed me that the Society, powerfully assisted by the Lord-lieutenant Fähræus, had taken steps towards carrying my wishes into execution, and had found the stone, which was then lying exposed to every danger in a piece of scrubby woodland. Eventually, by a decision of His Majesty King Carl the 15th, the stone was handed over to the Academy as the property of the Göttenburg Museum. Repeated efforts have since been made to convey it thither, but have failed for want of deep snow. Its enormous weight¹ renders it unsuitable for transport in the summer except by sea, which would be too great a risk.

Seeing that the delay would be too long, and that accidents might happen to the block itself, the Academy in 1863 had a drawing of the monument made by Mr. Brusewitz, and in 1864 sent down an Artist (Mr. Notini), who made a perfect mould of the whole length of the stone as far as the runes run — the plaster slab taken therefrom measuring about 4 feet 2 inches in length and nearly 1 foot in breadth. To ensure accuracy and for the sake of mutual correction, the Academy obligingly sent me 3 fine Casts from this mould². Provided with materials so excellent, I have been enabled, with the help of my clever Artist, Mr. J. Magnus Petersen, to produce the above beautiful and most correct engraving. In connection with all this I have to acknowledge the repeated and sympathetic assistance of the Academy's present Secretary, Dr. Charles Dickson of Göttenburg, who has even insisted on paying the cost of the plate itself, as a contribution to Runic science. For this act of friendly generosity I hereby offer him my sincerest thanks.

Having thus traced the modern fates of this Inscribed Monolith, and procured a perfect copy of its writing, I now proceed to its elucidation.

But first an introductory remark or two. In undertaking a task so difficult we must lay hold of every circumstance, however apparently trifling, which may possibly aid us. As it may not be without influence on the final reading to remember that a certain stone now on Scottish ground (for instance, the RUTHWELL Cross) was raised in times when the land on which it now stands was *English* territory, English by colonization and in speech and culture and political connection; or that another now on Swedish soil (for instance, the BLEKING stones) was carved when that land was probably an old *Danish* possession; or that a third now in Denmark (for instance, the STENSTAD block) in fact was only a few years ago removed from *Norway* to its present resting-place; so we must not forget that the present *Swedish* Bohuslän is old *Norwegian* ground. Strictly speaking, therefore, the *Tanum* stone is most likely *Norse*. Hence we must not be surprised, should we find upon it a word hitherto met with only in the Norse-Icelandic dialect.

Next, the shorter the inscription the shorter is the context, and the less easy it usually will be to give an authoritative or likely interpretation. All our materials from these oldest days being so few, and mostly so meagre in length, we are often at a loss as to the exact speech-value of the words employed. Our chief help here is the use of a set of standing words, which may be called a "formula". These "formulas" have been manifold on the old monuments, and mutually explain and assist each other. As in modern English we call such phrases as

HERE LIETH THE BODY OF

or again, the common

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

or the so often used

BENEATH THIS STONE IS DEPOSITED

¹ It is nearly 10 feet long, about 4 feet 10 inches broad at broadest, and 9 inches thick.

² These I have since given to the Cheapinghaven Museum; one for preservation and public inspection there, the others to be forwarded to two of our great Museums in England.

a "formula", so we must keenly watch old Runic pieces for anything which may be a current set of words. Any apparent occurrence of a formula may lead us to take an expression in a particular sense, where we otherwise might be undecided.

Again, one immense hindrance in reading *all* the oldest carvings, whether Runic or otherwise, is, that the words are nearly always undivided. The *oldest* monuments and manuscripts seldom have point or stop or space whereby to mark the proper separation of the words. Hence, they not being in living and familiar languages, we are perpetually at sea. Sometimes it may so happen that we may divide the staves in *many* ways, and yet get a certain kind of meaning, more or less probable or possible. So on the Tanum stone; we may variously separate the letters, and yet obtain respectable renderings from some of the different letter-groups. But we *must* select *one* division. Only *one* can have been the real meaning of the rune-rister. In spite of all trepidation and difficulty, we *must* at last make our choice. Sometimes, as here, this choice is not easily made, one or other of the rejected readings not being in itself inadmissible. Small considerations will in such cases sink the scale on this side or on that.

Once more. I take it as an axiom that all true scholars have at last abandoned the old blundering impertinent shallow idea — that we are allowed to shield our ignorance by *altering* these monuments at our pleasure. We must no longer permit ourselves (except in cases self-evident, and these *few* instances are daily becoming *fewer* as our scholarship advances, so that we now can easily read what was formerly looked upon as "mis-cut") — to call *this* letter "mis-hewn", *that* one a "mistake", and the *third* a "slip" of the "incapable carver". If we once begin with this, there is no end to it. The wildest license is then allowable. People then forget all sense and modesty, and at last persuade themselves that — after 1000 or 1500 years — they know the obscure language and meaning of the writer, however costly and carefully hewn or written the monument, much better than he did himself! Either these venerable and precious carvings are to be followed, or not. If they *are*, then we must alter nothing, except for a cause absolutely self-evident, (and that will be rare indeed!). If they *are not*, then they are of no value whatsoever, and we had better break them up or melt them down for use as old stone or old metal. *First and last, we must respect the monuments.* Can we read them, well and good. Can we not, let us say so. Perhaps our successors may. But as for mangling and doctoring them into agreement with our own wild fancies and most imperfect knowledge (— *how* imperfect, all the really learned know but too well) — why the thing is ridiculous and unbearable.

Lastly. We must deal tenderly with the well-meant efforts of our foregangers. We may then hope a mild judgment from those who come after *us*. This class of remains was formerly but little studied. The runes were usually most incorrectly copied. The many peculiarities of the different Old-Northern dialects were then scarcely thought of, much less admitted. Everything was twisted into a barbarous "Icelandic", a *local* dialect *later* by many centuries than the monuments in question. And even the runes themselves were not always understood. The whole science was new. We stand on the shoulders of our foregoers, and have learned much even by their failures.

Since then, great progress has been made, just as *our* aftercomers will correct and surpass what *we* have done. Hundreds of *exactly copied* Runic inscriptions are now available; scores of Old-Northern (as distinguished from the later and provincial Scandinavian) Runic Alphabets and Inscribed Remains have been discovered; and men of distinguished linguistic talent in all the Northern lands have put their shoulder to the wheel.

To come, then, to the Tanum stone. The runes are Old-Northern, those letters which were common in Scandinavia from the oldest times, which are used on Scandinavian as on English monuments down to about the 8th century (but yet longer in England), which were carried by Scandian colonists to England in the 4th-5th age, and which are found *only* in the Old-Northern lands, England and Scandinavia. About the 8th century many of the old letters were gradually disused in the Scandian home-land, and the alphabet by degrees sank to the one usually known, of 16 (or 15) staves. This impoverished staff-row was necessarily little known in England, as the Romanized Christian civilization of that country so rapidly drove out the runes altogether, which gave way before the Roman letters. No runic earthfast monument of any kind, in older runes or in later, has ever been found in any Saxon

or German territory. They were confined to the Northern (Scando-Anglic) races. The above simplification of the alphabet in Scandinavia is only a process which has gone on everywhere. All the oldest alphabets are multitudinous. At last the letters became too few, and then new ones were added. In this way came the Stung or Pointed runes, later added to the Scandinavian Futhork.

Hence, to begin with, this alone gives us a limit, a starting-point. The Tanum stone cannot be *younger* than about the 8th century. But hereby the reading of Fin Magnusen falls away at once. He makes the monument Christian. But — besides his obtaining this result in the most violent way — there was no Christianity in the country for *some centuries* after it was carved, and, if Christian, it would have been inscribed with Christian symbols or a Christian formula. Liljegren's translation is not exposed to this objection; it only crumbles away from its own extravagance. He has even mistaken the value of half the letters, far more so than Fin Magnusen has done.

Next, the *character of the stone* may help to fix its date. We see at a glance how — like all its heathen compeers bearing the same letters — it surprisingly differs from the usual run of the blocks inscribed with Scandinavian staves. Here are no Worms, no Serpent-twists, no winding Dragon-figures, no fanciful decorations. The style is quite different. All belongs to another school. We have a rude block, rudely carved with a few letters. There are also no marks of transition, either in the treatment or in the dialect or in the introduction of runes peculiar to the later alphabet. Consequently, this is *NOT* a *transition-stone*. It is scarcely from the 6th, still less from the 7th year-hundred. We may safely fix it at the 5th. It may be much older. But it is best always to be prudent, not to decide too much. Somewhere about the 5th century cannot be too high a date.

We have thus come so far as to the probable if not certain conclusion, that this monument is in Old-Northern runes of an age not later than about the 5th century. But before we go further, we must invite the archæologist to a digression which is in fact no digression at all, but an important and necessary link in this chain of argument.

If we let our eye run over the Tanum stone, we shall see that one of its prominent letters is the rune Ψ . Now this stave is the key to this inscription, as it is to all those Old-Northern pieces whereon it occurs. The discovery of its true phonetic value — added to some other runic details — is the result of all my labors. For this rune is *NOT* a *consonant*, still less *M* as in the common Scandian Futhork, but always a *vowel*, and this vowel is *a*.

Of course this fact alone upsets all former attempts to read these olden inscriptions, which were based on taking Ψ as *m*. The difference is so great as to revolutionize everything. I cannot prove this here. It results from *every* Old-Northern monument yet discovered on which this character is found, some *THREE SCORE* in number, and *every* Old-Northern metallic or parchment staverow at present known to me. Still I would wish to give some short and popular evidence, and of a kind so plain and tangible that *everybody* (if possible) must at once admit its truth. For this purpose, for the moment passing over the now Swedish Tanum stone, I will take one similar piece from Norway and one from Denmark.

Let us first handle a Norse stone, the REIDSTAD block, also apparently from the 5th century, found in 1857 on the lands of Reidstad, Hitterön, Lister's Fogderi, South-Norway, now in the University-garden, Christiania. — The runes there are, in their normal shape:

I N D I T X F Y
I < P F S N I Y N I T B X
P R F I T F

which I read and translate:

IUDINGJA ICWÆSCNA
UNNBO
WREITÆ.
To-IUTHING I(II)CWÆSON
UNNBO
WROTE (these runes).

Now surely no one will deny that the above reading is quite plain and simple, and that it would become altogether meaningless by taking the first two words as

ICPINGEM ICWESUNM.

The next monument is still more decisive, if this can be. It is the VORDINGBORG stone, Sealand, Denmark, now in the Round Tower, Cheapinghaven. — The runes are:

†
 †
 † †

This I read and render:

ÆFT ÆDISL, FADUR, TRUBU
 KÆRDI BI ÆU ÞRUL
 H W.

AFTER (in minne, memory, of) ÆTHISL, his-FATHER,
 TRÛBU GARED (made) THIS THRUCH (stone-kist).

H doubtless stands for a mans-name beginning with H (for instance HAIRWULFR), and w for the usual WREITE or WRAIT, &c. (WROTE, carved the runes).

This is a *transition-stone*, probably not older than about the 8th century.

I am sure that no one, instead of

ÆFT ÆDISL FADUR

will seriously propose to read

ÆFT ÆDISL FMDUR.

Being now entitled to assume that the *Old-Northern* Y is really A, we will return to the Tanum stone, whose runes, about 6 inches high, are clearly cut, the 7th alone having slightly suffered from accident. The runes are reverst, as is so often the case in the oldest monuments. Let us first take the staves as they stand, in their normal shapes, beginning at the bottom of the stone:

† †

I begin by remarking that a flaw in the stone runs between the † and the H; hence the space between them. The Y is carved tall, with the head above the line, to *economize room*, the rister having nearly come to the top of the block and having no space to spare. In this way he saved the distance of nearly a whole letter. Noteworthy is also the form of the R. It often, as here, is only distinguished by a very slight inflection from the letter R (v).

As for the stone being broken and the inscription incomplete — no such thing. There is not the least sign of anything of the sort.

There being no doubt that f in the Old-Northern Runic Futhorc is æ (not o as usually in the Scandinavian); and that † is one of the many varieties of the NG-sign; and that the final stave is the olden mark for s; and taking it for granted that Y is the universal Old-Northern A; we shall have in Roman letters:

TH, R, æ, W, I, NG, æ, N, H, æ, I, T, I, N, æ, A, W, æ, S.

Now how is this to be divided? — The first stave-cluster that strikes us is THREWING. We stop here, because we cannot get further. Say THREWINGÆ, we cannot; we should then have the following N alone, as a word by itself, which is impossible; the next stave is H, but NH is nothing. Therefore EN is one word, and H begins the next. I take THREWINGEN, THR EWINGEN, THRE WINGEN, THREW INGEN, THREWI NGEN, &c., to be unheard of or meaningless. The first word is therefore THREWING. But this is quite what we should expect, a mans-name, similar to the *hundreds* formerly found ending in ING, ENG, ONG, UNG, &c.; we have just had on the Reidstad stone one example, the name IUDING. We of course commonly expect a name at or near the beginning of a Northern grave-

inscription; and here it is. We shall afterwards see that this *THREWING* is the name of the deceast.

Now a nominative requires a verb. Let us look a little further. The next letters that arrest us are the 3 last runes, *WÆS*. This *WAS* is the very verb we needed. Let us, for the present, take it as such. This gives us *THREWING WÆS*. Out of the 19 staves only 10 remain.

We begin again with the *ÆN*: — *ÆNH* is nothing, *ÆNHÆ*, *ÆNHÆI*, *ÆNHÆIT*, all are apparently nothing. The *H* is in the way. So we will stop at the *ÆN*. This is *ONE*, *AN*, *A*, the numeral which also became an article.

We have only *HEITINÆA* left. These letters are not without their difficulty, for they really admit of more than one separation into words which have significance in many ways. Let us divide them quite simply into *HEIT*, *IN*, *ÆA*, words which in other combinations might have various meanings. Here, in a *funeral* formula to some mighty chieftain, we cannot do better than give them a general *funeral* sense, — *HERO IN LIFE*.

HEIT, the Norse-Icelandic *HEITI*, is one of those many mythical or champion words which were formerly used as synonyms for *Sea-hero* or *Land-hero*. We know little or nothing of their origin (save a wild fragmentary legend about a couple of them), and they evidently are very old. They are commonly explained by the phrase — "this is the name of a famous Sea-king (or Viking or Army-chief or Champion); it then became used as equivalent to *Battle-hero*, *Sea-Hero*, &c., in general". If we now refer to Sveinbjörn Egilsson's valuable "*Lexicon Poeticum*", s. v. *HEITI*, masc., (for we will not go to more recondite sources, merely to appear learned), we shall see that this word, like scores of others, was taken from a real or supposed Sea-king, and was employed for *Warrior*; — *HEITA BLÁKR* signifies *Heiti's Black* or *Blank* (= *Horse*), and is a kenning or poetical synonym for a *Ship*, a *War-galley*, on which the *Hero* *career*ed over the waves. So *HEITA HRAFN* is *Heiti's Raven*, in like manner a *Ship*, a *War-galley*, on whose back the *Hero* *flew* over the billows.

This word has not yet been found in any dialect save the Norse-Icelandic. But, as has been remarkt, this stone is on Old-Norwegian ground. There is therefore nothing unreasonable in finding an Old-Norse word on an Old-Norse stone, just as we might find one peculiarly Danish on a Danish or English on an English piece, and so on. There can thus be little objection to — *THREWING WAS A HEIT* (*Sea-king, Hero*).

We have only *IN ÆA* left. *IN* can only be *IN*. — I would take *ÆA* to be the dative singular of the old noun signifying *life, time*, and of which we have the remains in such Old-Scandian words as *J. A, Å, E*, English *AYE, ever*; Old-Danish *EWÆ, ever-during*, (the modern Scandian *EVIG* is borrowed from the German); Old-Swedish *ÆFVE*, now provincially *ÅVA* or *AFVA*, N. Icel. *ÆFI, EFI, time, life*.

The *s* being older than *r*; or in other words the Scandinavian dialects having largely vocalized or softened the *s* into *r*, we now say *VAR* in Scandinavia, but in England we have still preserved the old *s*, — *WAS*. And on all the *oldest* runic stones and Scandian manuscripts we have *UAS*, not *UAR*. *IS* not *IR* (*ER, ÆR, ÅR*), and so forth. This form therefore agrees with the age of the stone.

Consequently we have:

DREWING ÆN HEIT IN ÆA WÆS.

THREWING A HEIT (Sea-king) IN AYE (his time, his life, while he lived) WAS
(= *These Runes were carved in memory of Throwing, the Nelson of his day!*)

This sounds unforced and natural, and is quite in the spirit of the old times, and of a locality full of the remains of those grim and gallant Sea-kings. The Tanum stone was thus raised over *THREWING*, a *Mighty Warrior*, whose name and sword had spread terror in all the neighboring lands.

And here may be pointed out a small dialectic peculiarity. As we have *HEIT* for the common *HEITI*, so instead of *THREWING* we should expect *THREWINGI* or *DREWINGI*; for these old patronymics usually ended in *-R* or *-I*, tho locally this *-R* or *-I* has often fallen away. This elision is one reason why I have not given the stone an earlier date. It is true we might fall back on the runic manner by which a letter need not be written twice, tho it was to be taken twice. In this way we might easily get *THREWINGÆ ÆN* and *HEITI ÆN*. But I doubt whether this way of short carving can be traced back to the *very oldest* times, and prefer not to have recourse to it. I only mention it to show that I have not overlooked it, and that we can always take it in this manner if it be judged necessary. Certain it

is that such shorter forms as HÆIT for HÆITI are found very far back, and in fact the shorter and the longer forms often existed side by side at the same time.

Should we take the I in IN twice, and thus read HÆITI_IN, we might translate:

THREWING ONE (he) HIGHT (was called) while-IN AYE (life) he-WAS.
(= In his life-time he who lies here was named Throwing.)

But we spoke of set terms. We have doubtless been struck by the uncommon IN ÆA, *in tempore, vitæ, ejus; dum vivit*. If I am right in my translation, this will be a formula. But, our monuments being so very scanty (for where one remains a thousand have been destroyed), it only occurs on one other, hitherto discovered, Old-Northern block, the KROGSTAD stone, Upland, — as old, I believe, as the 5th century.

This I have redd:

MWSYOUNGI SYOE IN ÆA.

MWSYOUNGI SE (= was-HE, hight-HE, was the decaest named) IN AYE (in his life, while living).
(= Mwsyoungi was the name of the Warrior lying here).

Thus the Tanum and the Krogstad stones appear singularly to illustrate each other, and I think no reasonable objection can be offered to the reading here proposed. At all events, as usual, I take the runes as I find them, altering nothing; everything is grammatically correct; and the archaic forms are exactly what we should expect at that early period — nearly 1500 years ago!

From its form, this block would apparently have been *top-heavy* if raised on its narrow end. It therefore probably stood supported also by small stones at its foot. Of this we have other examples. But, except in those few cases in which we have exact and trustworthy evidence as to how a previously undisturbed stone was first found, we can never be quite sure on a question of this kind. It may be that a heavy unwieldy and more or less shapeless block may occasionally have been dragged on to the grave, and there carved as it lay, without having been "raised" at all. Still all evidence goes to show that these stones were undoubtedly and customarily lifted up, in one way or other, either within or without the barrow; and certain it is that the phrase LET LAY (this stone) has never yet been found on any runic monolith, till we come to the Christian Middle Age.

This remarkable and undoubtedly genuine piece, whose inscription dates from the Early Iron Age, while the Axe itself may be many hundred years older, has been frequently figured. It was first engraved by Prof. J. H. Schröder, in "Iduna", Vol. 10, Stockholm 1824, 8vo, Tab. II, fig. 2, *a* and *b*, as an illustration to his paper, pp. 358-366, "Beskrifning öfver en forntida Stridsyx" (*Description of an ancient War-axe*). Here the runes on his copper-plate do not agree with those in his text, and both are incorrect, tho better than Bromell's copy, which is absurd. — Next it is given, the rune-side only, by Prof. N. H. Sjöborg, in his "Samlingar för Nordens Fornälskare", 4to, Vol. 3, Stockholm 1830, fig. 168, with a short text at pp. 163, 4. The runes are imitated a little better than by Schröder, but still faultily. — Sjöborg's engraving was copied by Fin Magnusen into his "Runamo", Tab. vii, fig. 2; and, in his text, pp. 581, 2, he recognizes in the two first runes * as a *vowel* and ð as ð. — Last and best, two views of this stone were given by Prof. Carl Säve in "Antiquarisk Tidsskrift", Kjöbenhavn 1852-4, 8vo, pp. 261, 2. His copy of the runes is nearly identical with my own, which is the result of my personal examination of the Axe when in Upsala in 1864.

The whole inscription is perfect; that is, there never have been more letters than those we now see. And the injuries they have sustained are not great. There is a very slight dint or damage on the upper right centre of the first stave. A small blow or hollow is visible at the right of the top of the second letter, but a mere accidental flake, and not touching the letter itself. A similar scathe or hollow affects the middle of the third rune, but the whole is still a plain 4. The left half of the 4th stave has a like slight injury. So the very middle of the bow of the 5th letter. The tip of the 6th is worn or broken away. The left top of the following bind-rune is also slightly damaged. The 1 is sound. The s has its head and foot a little injured. The last letter, 1, is not hurt. Thus there is no doubt or difficulty as to the actual contents of this runic risting. We have:

1st, ^æh; 2nd, h; 3rd, o; 4th, l; 5th, ð; 6th, ʌ (þ = n for þ = a, as so often elsewhere); 7th, the tie uk, or rather u and k written close, the right leg of the ʌ being carved across the v; 8th, i; 9th, s; 10th, 1.

Now as the staves are so plain, the only difficulty is in dividing them. But I think they divide themselves, so evident is the reading:

^æh o l d a ū k i s i.
 o w n s o l t h a t h i s - a x e.

Some 1500 years ago, this Upland Yeoman, this Sir OLTHA, carved his name on a curious Stone Axe he had found or bought or had given to him or inherited. That is all. Should these words be here deciphered correctly, the ancient forms of the letters and the archaisms in the language — the æ still left in æh, the ð for d in OLTHA, and the olden full-voiced ūkisi — will show that this piece is perhaps *one of the oldest* bearing these Old-Northern runes. Prof. Säve regarded it as an Amulet, stone pieces of this kind being occasionally still used as such all over the North. And it is very possible that such may have been the case. But, Iron still being scarce and costly, it may also have been used as a tool or weapon.

GOMMOR MEADOWS, BLEKING, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From WORMS Monumenta Danica, p. 219, and Danica Literatura, p. 67, as corrected by two other copies, both FROM THE STONE ITSELF, by PEDER SYV and BERTEL KNUDSEN. — See F. MAGNUSEN'S Runamo, pp. 441-449.

Unfortunately, this piece no longer exists. It was sent to Cheapinghaven, Denmark, in 1652, or thereabout, and perisht in the great fire of 1728. It was about 2 feet long, 2 feet all round, squarish, and inscribed on all the four sides. Liljegren in his Run-urkunder registers it as No. 2061.

The first letter in the first line was s, the same as the first in line 2. In Knudsen's copy it is very like the latter. That P. Syv thought them both *the same* is clear, for he has made them both n. — The 4th stave is meaningless unless we perceive, what is self-evident, that it is a little too short drawn, and was meant for a p. — The 8th letter should be r. In this, both Syv and Knudsen agree. — The 6th rune in line 3 was perhaps & on the stone itself, or it may have been more or less open at the top, as on the Reidstad stone in Norway. — As to the last rune in the first line, it was perhaps really so on the stone. Or one of the arms may have become obliterated. In either case it would stand for the usual F (f).

With regard to the FFF, which stand, thus, upright, in Syv's copy, as they would do when seen from the other side of the stone, they are, in my opinion, *initials*. The first would stand for the name of the friendly Rune-carver, well known to all at the time. The second would be most likely the beginning of his father's name, also then well known to every body. So we have on the Sunnå stone, Närike, Sweden (Liljegren No. 1064, revised by Carl Sæve):

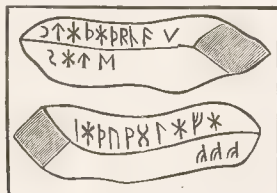
FRUMUNTR FISIULFI-SUN RITI STAIN,
FRUMUNT FISIULF'S-SON WROTE *this-STONE*.

and again on the Malsta stone, same province (Liljegren No. 1065):

FRUMUNT FISIULFA-SUN FADI RUNAR DISAR,
FRUMUNT FISIULF'S-SON FAWED (*made, carved*) RUNES THESE.

Thus for instance here F F would stand for FRUMUNT FISIULF'S-SON, or FRAISTAIN FRIDING (Frith's-son), or any other beginning with f. The third F would then be the verb, here the common FADI, 3rd sing. past, FAWED, smooth'd, carved, cut, wrote (*the runes*).

Contractions such as these abound on old Runic monuments.
Worm's copy, then:



should have given the Runes nearly thus:

Σ ↑ † † † † † † †
Σ † ↑ M
| † † † † † † † † †
| † † †

And this would signify, *STE* being a contraction for *STENA* and *DRLEF* for *DORLEF*, in the usual way:

ST^æ_n [NA] D^æ_n DRLEF S^æ_n TE I^æ_n DUWO L^æ_n F^æ_n.
F F F.

STONE THIS THORLEF SET BY the TUVA (mound, grave) of-LÆFL
F. F'S-SON FAWED (carved).

We are now familiar with * for æ. The reading and translation here offered are not very different from the version proposed by Fin Magnussen.

We cannot but be struck by the measurements of this block, somewhere about 2 feet long, a squarish form, each of the edges about 6 inches broad. This is a very diminutive size for a standing stone. In his *Literatura Runica*, Worm describes it as lying in the Gommor Meadows near Sölvesborg Castle, as undrest or rugged ("rudis"), and as purple-colored ("purpurei coloris"); but he does not say it was imperfect. In his *Monumenta*, however, he adds that it was *only a fragment*. He probably meant that the lower end had been broken off. It would seem to have been sent to Cheapinghaven (Trinitatis Kirke), at the command of Frederick III, along with so many other runic stones, in or shortly after 1652, doubtless by Niels Krabbe the Governor of Sölvesborg Castle. But it was not till 33 years after that it was examined by Peder Syv, and this scholar has left no memorandum as to its being whole or no, as little as Bertel Knudsen, who copied it in Bleking in 1623. Still we cannot but conclude that Worm was right, and that the stone had lost the greater part of its uninscribed length, as has happened to many such pieces. Else it could not possibly have been "set by the grave-mound", as the runes expressly declare it was, but must have been deposited inside the barrow.

KONGHELL, BOHUSLÄN, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

Found in 1864, 6 feet below the surface, in the gardens of Kastellgarden, the former Konungahella. Now preserved in the Old-Northern Museum, Stockholm, to which it was presented by Lieut. O. J. KILMAN. Engraved from the Original, most kindly forwarded to me for that purpose by the Riks-antiquary BROR EMIL HILDEBRAND, Chief of the Swedish National Museum.

KONUNGAHELLA (afterwards called Kongehelle, Kongahell, Konghell, Kongelf) was one of the most ancient, richest and most famous sea-towns in the whole North. Mentioned as early as the 6th century, in the 10th it has houses of stone, and in the first half of the 12th it boasts a population of at least 14,000 souls. In Christian times it had many splendid monuments, and numerous ecclesiastical and monastic buildings. This powerful port and city was situate between the present Gotenburg and Kongelf, in Bohuslän, now a Swedish but in the olden times a Norwegian province. At this spot is a promontory called Hisingen, made into an island by the waters of the Göta-Elf. The northern arm of this stream, *Nordre-Elf*, which runs west to Elve-fjord and so to the ocean, not far from Ytterby washes two small ilets, Ragnhildarholm and Munkholm. It is at this place, on the northern shore of Nordre-Elf, between Ytterby and Kongelf, that Konghell formerly stood.

What was the oldest name of this great commercial emporium, we do not know. Its common appellation — *the KINGS' HALL* — it obtained from its being the border-town where the Kings of Norway and Sweden, or of these lands and Denmark, so often met, as a safe and central point, at which they could discuss political questions and enter upon formal political acts. Its most flourishing age was during and after the Wiking period. But, like many other places, it fell before the fury of the Wends, and the other heathen Slavic pirates from the Northern and Eastern Baltic coasts. In 1135 it was attacked by a powerful Wendish fleet and army under King Rettibur, and — after a noble defence — burnt to the ground and its inhabitants slaughtered or taken as slaves. It was rebuilt indeed, and continued its commercial activity, but was again plundered in 1368 by the Swedish King Albrekt, and in 1502 by the rebel Herlof Hyddefat. At this time, too, much of its trade went to Gamla Lödöse and to Marstrand. In 1563, during the Northern Seven-years' war, it was entirely destroyed by the Swedes under Pehr Brahe, and was again fired in 1612 by Jesper Kruus. After this it was once more rebuilt, but was now removed to the shelter of the walls of Bohus Castle, and from that time has been called Kongelf. This modern Kongelf, however, has never risen to be more than a petty trading village.

The whole of that side of the Elf on which Konghell was built is at this moment of a considerable height, while the opposite strand is comparatively low and marshy. This raising of the soil has resulted from the perpetual rebuildings of the town on its former ruins, — just the same thing as at London, Rome, and elsewhere. Deep under the earth, on the site of the ancient city, are found fragments of hewn stone, remains of houses and so on, and any accidental diggings always bring to light tools, arms, coins, skeletons, in fact all sorts of antiquities of all ages. This is particularly the

case at the farm and gardens of *Kastellgården*, the chief site of the former town. This is now "Crown-land", but is let out for cultivation. Its present tenant is Lieut. O. J. Kilman. In a note to me, Mr. Brusewitz very properly insists on the necessity for making regular excavations on this estate. It would cost not a little, but great and invaluable antiquarian harvests would result. He adds: "Divers should also be employed to examine the Elf-bottom between Munkholm and Ytterby, for many sea-fights took place there of old, particularly in 1160, when the whole of King Inge Haraldsson's fleet, 30 vessels, were sunk or taken and the crews slaughtered."

Here, then, at *Kastellgården*, in September 1864, this curious wooden Staff was discovered. Lieut. Kilman wisht to make some improvements and lay down some drainpipes in his garden. His men had carried away 4 feet of the mould, and then dug 2 feet down into the soil below, to place a bed of cobble-stones. In this operation they came upon bones, ox-horns, quantities of hazel-nuts, a good deal of oak timber up to 18 inches in diameter. Particularly were found two large oaken beams, and from *between* these was taken out the Staff here described.

Some Swedish antiquarians have been led to assert

1. That it cannot be very old, for that wood cannot be preserved so long in such situations, at least not so freshly.

2. That it is of Birch, and therefore still less liable to last.

3. That it bears spots of blood, and that these could not have subsisted for so many hundred years.

4. That it also has marks of regular sword-cuts, and must therefore have been a War-club.

5. And that, besides the Runes, it is also inscribed with some Monkish letters — apparently the word MARIA. Consequently that it cannot be old.

As all these points are of great importance with regard to what this piece really is and the probable date when the runes were carved, and as I do not wish to lay stress on my own opinion (I being, it is said, not "impartial" enough), I have obtained the kind assistance and formal views of two famous and excellent antiquarians *not* Runologists *ex professo*, and of two "practical" judges, my experienced and skilful wood-engravers.

The first of these experts, to whose hands I committed the Staff for some days for his official examination, was Professor J. JAPETUS S. STEENSTRUP. His reply, dated Kjöbenhavn, January 4, 1865, is (in an English dress) as follows:

"It was' evident at first sight (as I explained to you at the time of its delivery to me) that the Staff could scarcely be of Birch, or of any other Leaf-tree, but rather of a Needle-tree, and of a kind with *firm and close texture* and of slow growth.

"For not even with a lens can we discover any spiral vessels in the wood, and these are also absent in all needle-trees; while the branches have evidently stood out on every side in a ring round the stem, as almost all kinds of needle-trees exhibit their growth. But these branch-circles have not been few, for you will find 8 to 9 such on this Staff only 35 inches in length. From this we should judge that the tree has not had any very strong growth *in height*. But as we also, especially at the thicker end, can convince ourselves that there are from 35 to 40 concentric circles of growth to an inch, we shall easily see that the tree has grown slowly *in thickness*. I would add that we might at first suppose, from the mere shape of the Staff, that it was fashioned from a young stem, which has only been slightly cut to give it its present form. But on the contrary, it is made of the *inner fast wood*, the so-called kernel, of an oldish tree. This undeniably results from the fact, that on several of the knots of the branch-circles we can count from 15 to 30 year-rings; so many years therefore, *at least*, were the branches old on that part of the stem which has here been used.

"As it has dried, the Staff has got some cracks. From these I have allowed myself to take out with a sharp knife some very thin shavings, all put together not so thick as a piece of paper, to examine them under a Microscope. The Microscope only confirmed my supposition that the wood is that of a needle-tree, but the special condition of the medullary rays and of the walls of the woody tissue, particularly the arrangement of the areolæ or circles in the walls of the cellules, which were very richly provided with spiral fibres, lead me to the certain conclusion that it is the wood of a YEW (*Taxus*), and there is scarcely ground for fixing on any other variety than that of our Northern Yew, the Idegran or Barlind, (*Taxus Baccata*).

"Now as the Yew is known to be an uncommonly fast, close and heavy wood, which better than most others resists foreign and injurious influences, — and as we have besides an article made out of the heart of this wood, — we here find *two* important *inner* factors united in answering the question whether such a Staff could for several or many centuries lie in the earth and yet keep so fresh a look as it has. In my opinion, and supposing no particularly hurtful conditions to be at hand, there is nothing in the way of such high antiquity. But we must also bear in mind one of the *good outer* factors or conditions connected with this question, the fact that the Staff was found between two oaken beams. We cannot but conclude that, lying prest-in between such oaken timbers, it has imbibed a part of the tannin, and thus increast its own antiseptic qualities. Probably enough, it is also heavier in consequence,

"With the exception of the line of Runes, which begins and ends with the same letter, carved with a very sharp knife from about 8 to about 10 inches from the thin end, I have not been able to find any signs of *intentional* or *regular* marks or scorings. Of *unintentional* there are many, and as some of these might be drawn into the dispute as to what was the purpose for which the Staff was made, I will say a few words about them.

"The whole piece is by no means finisht with the care and nicety which we recognize in articles of wood belonging to the Antiquarian Finds in the Danish Mosses. On the greater part of the surface we can even plainly see how largish pieces have been shaved off. At the branch-rings the wood has not been so easy to cut, and this has caused the circles of small nearly scraped-off chiplike marks, which produce an appearance as if something hard had been bound round the stick. The head has similar impressions, and of these many can certainly be traced to the hopping of the knife while scraping the wood smooth. Others, towards the top of the head, I have examined repeatedly without being able to determine whether the head was being spirally twined or no. — Mere accidental injury has made the deeper scores or cuts, such as the grooves or marks which go in an irregular zigzag. The latter would seem to show that the Staff had been dragged or drawn against something hard, but they do not resemble sword-cuts. The blows do not usually seem to be from a very sharp instrument, some of them even look quite new, perhaps from the spade when the Staff was taken up.

"The tip of the narrow end has been covered or protected, as we can see from the crust which has insinuated itself between such cover and its ground. This cover or ring, or whatever it may have been, has scarcely *fallen off*, but rather been *twisted off*, to judge from the spiral marks still visible. At all events it has not been fixt very firmly.

"The tiny spots of red, round the little knot in the first branch-circle, appear to me accidentally prest in, and to be of red ochre or red chalk or something such. Perhaps they date from the taking up of the Staff. I took an atom or two on the point of a needle, and submitted it to the test of the Microscope. It was unorganic, not blood.

"In conclusion I will add, that no one would think of choosing this kind of wood in the way we see here as a weapon, a *weapon of attack*. It is self-evident that the *position of the knots* — notwithstanding the hardness and toughness of the wood otherwise — makes the Staff *excessively brittle* if used to strike with."

The next reply, dated Kjobenhavn, January 19. 1865, is from the pen of C. F. HERBST, Archivary and Secretary of the Old-Northern Museum, and is thus in English:

"According to your request, I have minutely examined the remarkable wooden Staff found in the ruins of Konghelli in Sweden. That it is *very old* I think there can be no doubt; but, as it bears no ornament which might assist us in determining the date, I dare not give any opinion as to *how* old it may be. This is a question which you will probably be better able to answer than myself, for our only resource on this head must be the shape of the Runes carved with a very sharp fine-pointed knife on the Staff itself, at the distance of 20,4 centimètres from its thin end. For it is my opinion that these Runes are about as old as the Staff, at all events that they were inscribed before the Staff was deposited in the earth. Besides these Runes, I only look upon some particular strokes — at 16, 37,7 and 39,2 centimètres from the thick end — as of the same age. But they are evidently all made by accident while the Staff was being fashioned. The other marks and dints I regard as accidental injuries made by a pick or spade when the piece was exhumed. I am also fully persuaded that the scores which, at a distance of 16,2 centimètres, commence and continue in zigzag up towards the end, and which some persons have lookt upon as letters, are accidental. They have been caused by the friction

of a small stone or some other hard body when the Staff was taken up. The workman would seem to have grasped the Staff by the thick end, and to have twisted it backward and forward for a few moments before he could get it up from the place in which it was jammed.

"The marks are yet clear and plain of the way in which it has been finished. We see at once that shavings have been cut off and that then it has been scraped, during which process the edge of the knife has often hopped along the surface. The sharpness of these spores seems to show that the Staff has not been much used. I can see no signs of sword-cuts, or other proofs that this piece has been used in battle."

Lastly, I will translate the verdict of my artists, Messrs. Henneberg and Rosenstand, dated Kjöbenhavn, the 27th of February, 1865:

"Having been requested by Prof. Stephens to give our opinion as to how certain marks in the Konghell Runic Staff have arisen, we hereby declare our conviction to be that they have been produced by accidental pressure or friction, and have not been cut in with any instrument."

We are now better able to resume and decide the points in dispute, and shall not be very far wrong in coming to the following conclusions:

1. That this Staff may quite well have lain in the ground 10 or 20 centuries, notwithstanding its fresh appearance. We have many examples of wooden articles as old and as well preserved, found under circumstances not more favorable. The yellowish or darkish brown hue of the Staff shows that it has been strongly tanned, and this alone would vastly increase its hardness.

2. That it is not of Birch, but of Heart of Yew, one of the hardest woods known in Scandinavia, where it is at present very scarce whatever it may have been formerly.

3. That there are no remains of blood, and no signs that it has been used as a weapon of offence. In fact it is too brittle for that purpose, and much too light. It weighs scarcely 1 pound English.

4. That all the scratches and dints were made when it was fabricated, or have been accidentally produced afterwards.

5. And that it bears no letters of any kind save the 11 Old-Northern Staves. But these are cut so boldly and so freely, and with such careless certainty, that they betray a hand and head familiar with Runes. No *forgery*, even if he had known these letters (which have been disused in Scandinavia for 1000 years), *could* have carved the Runes on this Staff.

But we will now come to the Staff itself, whose finding was first communicated to me by the well-known artist and antiquary G. Brusewitz, Esq., of Gotenburg¹. This gentleman has rendered me every assistance and given me all the information in his power, besides forwarding me an excellent and elegant facsimile-drawing of the Staff and Runes, full size. All this he was fortunately able to do, as it was found on the estate of Lieut. Kilman, his own Cousin. For all these generous services, as well as for the loan of the Original Staff by the Riks-antiquary Hildebrand, I desire to give my humble and hearty thanks.

This piece, then, is of Heart of Yew, and has now a very dark color. It is 33½ Danish inches long. I give an engraving of it, 1-fourth the size of the original:



We are here immediately struck with the fact that both ends have a slight hole or indentation. That at the narrow end may perhaps have been connected with the ring or other metal (probably

¹ Mr. Brusewitz has given a short account of this find in his valuable and elegant "Historiska Minnen", whose first volume bears the title "Elsysse (Södra Bohuslän) Historiska Minnen", 4to, Göteborg 1804, p. 328, where he has also carefully engraved the Runic inscription.

silver) ornament which was once fixt here. The other, at the thick end, may have been produced when the piece was made. Perhaps it was steadied against a nail, and thus turned round and round as the artisan shaved and smoothed it with his knife.

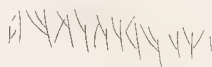
Next, we will take the disputed point as to the presence or absence of Monkish letters a couple of inches lower down towards the small end, and nearly opposite to the Runic carving. Even should such letters have been found, it would have been no argument against the antiquity of this piece. It would only have been another example, of which we have so many already, of words being carved on a very old object by some aftercomer, hundreds of years later than the piece itself. But as I am persuaded, along with my distinguisht friends Professors Steenstrup and Worsaae, Archivary Herbst, Adjunct Engelhardt, and all who have seen the Staff here, that these scratches are merely accidental, — and as I wish my readers to be clearly convinced that this is the case, — I have desired my artist to take an *Impression* of the place, and to engrave this without further manipulation. This he has done, and I now submit it to all eyes, reminding them that it is *nature-printing*, not a drawing. There can, therefore, be no disguisement or mistake. It will be observed that it is here necessarily upside down:



Now if any one will seriously declare that he here sees "letters", intentional staves, whether "Monkish" or other, why then "Othello's occupation's gone" and I have no more so say!

At last we come to the precious Runic carving. These eleven characters are, so to speak, as sharp and clear as the day they were first cut, another proof that the Staff cannot have been much used. Only in four places (the tip of the *p*, and the centre of the *k* and the two *u*'s), where the sharp lines meet in angles, a very tiny and shallow flake of the wood has chipt or fallen out to the size of a small pin's-head. But as the lines go *deeper* than this scarcely perceptible injury, it does not affect the letters themselves¹.

As in most of these *oldest* inscriptions, the Runes are here reverst; thus they read from right to left instead of left to right. They are:



11, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1
H F U K U U D F U A H

Both the *u*'s are upside down, as is so often the case with Runic characters.

As before, I wisht also in this case to get an *Impression* — of the clear plain Runes — and here, as in the facsimile of the Runes, without the pores and fibrous marks of the wood, and without the minute chips or dints in or near the characters. And, to be quite sure, I wisht this to be engraved as a photograph, not toucht by human hand. Surely nothing can be more cautious and trustworthy than this! My artist has carried out my wishes. Of course this reverses the Runes, so that they now

¹ All these wee chippings are in my opinion quite fresh, and have taken place since the exhumation of the Staff, probably from handling and the extreme and rapid drying of the wood. Possibly *others* may show themselves after some years, or those now there may spread or may go deeper. Hence the value of my nature-prints and facsimiles, taken in March 1865.

stand in their natural order, as they are redd, from left to right. But the reader can reverse them back again at his own option by looking at the above facsimile. They stand thus:

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11



H A U F D U Ū K Ū F H

The letters, then, are sharp and clear. Nothing can be plainer. What can they mean?

We see at once that there is more than one word, for HAUFDUUKUFH is nothing. But we are familiar with words ending in -INKI (-INGI, or, with the N elided, -IKI, -IGI). We therefore take the first group as — quite simply — HAUFDUUKŪ (= HAUFDUUKI, Ū standing so often for I). FH will remain, evidently a contraction.

Now HAUFINGI is quite a common Scandian word, still (N. I. HÖFINGI, Dan. & Norw. HØVDING, Swed. HÖFDING) universally employed for Head Man, Chief, General, Governor, &c. This, then, is the word before us. It is true that we have it no where in so old a form as here. The AU has everywhere become ū. But this is only a proof of the antiquity of the piece before us, a thing self-evident from its bearing Old-Northern Runes, which died out in Scandia as early as the 8th century. That the word has hitherto only been found in Scandinavia, does not trouble us. The monument before us has Old-Northern staves and is found in Scandinavia.

The FH probably stand for the well-known FUR (or FURI or FURIR and in many other forms) HARI, the old dative singular, a form which occurs on the Fjuckby stone:

IUFUR STURPI HARI.

IUFUR STEERED (*ruled, commanded*) the-HEER (*army, fleet, troops*).

The whole, then, will be:

HAUFDUUKŪ F (= FUR) H (= HARI).

The-[HEADING] (*Headman, Chief, Leader, Commander*) FOR (*of*) the-HEER (*army, navy, forces, troops*).

But this would make the Staff before us a *Staff of Command*, a Baton. And this I have no doubt it was.

We have before seen *physical* reasons why it could not be a Club. War-mace, which it in no way resembles. But everything points to its being a Baton.

Brusewitz says, *Elfsyssel*, p. 328: "A similar club is borne by William the Conqueror in one of the many representations of him seen on the Bayeux Tapestry, where it is his only weapon. And Bishop Odo has a similar piece, the appended inscription calling it (in the accusative) a "baculum", that is, a staff. This leads our thoughts to Snorri's words, in his account of Kongháll's plundering by the Wends: "Andreas prestr gaf Rettibur konongí refdi silfrbúit oc gylt, etc." Andrew, priest, gave King Rettibur a Staff, silver-fitted and gilt. (*Heimskringla*, af Snorra Sturlusyni, Sagan af Magnusi Konongi Blinda, Cap. 11)." But I think there can be no doubt that the object carried by William and his Brother is *not* a Club, but undoubtedly a Baton.

In all the multitudinous soldier-groups of the Bayeux Tapestry, only five figures are found not carrying Banner or Weapon, Shield or Sword or Axe or Hatchet or Pike or Lance or Bow or Dart or Club or some other kind of arms. *Five times* the personage is unarmed, bears *only a Baton*, a Staff of Command, and each time it is the Duke himself, William of Normandy, or his Brother, Bishop Odo, who were the two chiefs between whom the leadership of the Norman army was divided on the eventful day at Hastings. Let us examine these figures further. I use A. Jubinal's edition, engravings by V. Sansonetti, Imperial folio, Paris 1838.

The first is at Plate 6, where we see the Duke at the head of his troops marching against Brittany. M. Jubinal's illustrative text is, p. 27:

"La tapisserie nous montre ensuite Guillaume et son armée, se dirigeant vers le mont Saint-Michel; *HIC WILLEM DUX ET EXERCITUS EJUS VENERUNT AD MONTEM MICHELIS*. Ce fait est relatif à la guerre qui eut lieu entre Guillaume et Conan, comte de Bretagne. Ce dernier avait menacé l'autre d'entrer en Normandie; mais Guillaume n'était pas homme à attendre patiemment l'effet d'une pareille menace. Sachant que Harold était un hardi combattant, il l'invita lui et ses gens à prendre part à l'expédition qu'il projetait, et devançant son ennemi, il entra sur les terres de Bretagne. Guillaume de Poitiers, seul entre les historiens, a donné quelques détails sur cette guerre; mais la tapisserie est bien plus circonstanciée que lui. Elle nous représente Guillaume et Harold, marchant vers le mont Saint-Michel, qui est figuré par une montagne avec un château sur la croupe; ils sont en équipage de guerre, et ne sont plus suivis ou précédés d'oiseaux et de chiens comme auparavant."

Here M. Jubinal has *omitted* to point out that Duke William is *unarmed*, and only wields a *Baton*.

The second instance is on Plate 17, where William and his cavalry are galloping against the army of the English King Harold. Jubinal's words are, p. 28:

"A la planche xvii, nous le retrouvons à la tête de ses soldats, tenant une massue ou bien un bâton de commandement de la main droite, et s'avancant contre l'ennemi. Guillaume et le personnage qui le suit sont les seuls qui ne soient pas armés d'un bouclier et d'une lance; le dernier semble même porter une main de justice. Il y a pour légende au-dessus d'eux; *ET VENERUNT AD PRELIUM CONTRA HAROLDUM REGEM*."

Here the French critic rightly concludes that William bears a *Baton*, and his officer a Hand of Justice.

Example No. 3 is on Plate 18, where William is encouraging his soldiers previous to the battle. Jubinal's text, p. 29:

"Les deux partis après cela ne tardent pas, comme on le pense, à se trouver en présence. La deuxième colonne de notre planche xviii nous montre Guillaume haranguant ses troupes; *"HIC WILLELM DUX ALLOQUITUR SUIS MILITIBUS UT PREPARARENT SE VIRILITER ET SAPIENTER, CONTRA ANGLORUM EXERCITUM"*. Ici le duc Guillaume exhorte ses soldats à se préparer à combattre vaillamment et sagement contre l'armée des Anglais."

Jubinal has here altogether forgotten to point out *the Baton* in William's hand, altho it is here best either drawn or executed of any place on the Tapestry, so that it is an *exact counterpart* to the piece found at Konghell. The reader shall judge:



Fourthly, we have Bishop Odo with his Baton on Plate 21. The French text, p. 29:

"Pour rétablir l'avantage perdu par les Normands, il fallut que l'évêque de Bayeux se précipitât au plus fort de la mêlée, qu'il exhortât les fuyards à combattre de nouveau et les reconduisit à l'ennemi."

C'est aussi ce que représente notre monument. Audessous, en effet, de cette inscription: HIC ODO EPS. BACULUM TENENS CONFORTAT PUEROS, qu'il faut traduire par ces mots: "Ici l'évêque Eudes tenant son bâton de commandement (et non sa massue, comme on l'a dit) encourage les jeunes soldats (en non les enfants)"; nous voyons ce prélat, en habit de guerre, tenant son bâton et parlant à un cavalier qui tourne les dos à l'ennemi. Le bâton est tellement bien ce que nous disons, qu'on lit dans le *Roman du Rou.* à propos d'Eudes:

Un baston tenoit en son poing;
Là où veoit le grand besoing
Fesoit les chevaliers torner
Et la bataille arrester.

"Wace ne dit pas qu' Eudes combattit lui-même; il commandait seulement, et portait à la main le signe distinctif de sa charge."

Jubinal here properly accentuates the *Baton* in the hand of Odo.

Lastly, on the next Plate, No. 22, where Duke William, who is unarmed, raises his visor to shew his soldiers that he was not slain, he does this with his right hand, having moved his *Baton* — which is here very badly drawn or sewn — to his left.

Now it is clear that in all these 5 places we have the *Baton*, and the *Baton only*, no Club, and it is equally clear that the Konghell piece exactly resembles it in outward shape. How old the *Baton* is in Europe I do not know¹, but certain it is that it must have been centuries older than the battle of Hastings in 1066, where it is used as a well-understood symbol, a matter of course for a Commander on certain occasions.

I therefore judge that the Runic Staff at Konghell was not a Club, but a *Staff of Command*, a *Baton*, a piece in every way unique, whatever its exact date certainly by far the oldest of its kind in Europe, and opening a new chapter in the history of our popular antiquities.

But it has been said that the Runes are not Old-Northern at all, but Scandinavian!

To make this good, careless observers have dwelt on the marks at the beginning and the end. They have said that we have first a side-stroke, as an ornament, (1), then two dots as divisional marks, (:), and then an 1 at the beginning and end of the carving. Some have even said that the 1's also are only ornaments. Let us see.

Fortunately we have here a crucial letter, the Y. This, if Scandinavian, must necessarily be M. Let us first take the up-turned v's to be K's, and let us include the first and last mark: IMKFKUKUFI. Or, let us acknowledge the up-turned v to be really v: IMVFUKUFI. Or, let us take away the first and last score: MKFKUKUF or MUFUKUFI.

All impartial persons will admit that these 4 readings are either gibberish or contractions.

We know how many variations the Old-Northern type for H may assume, with a single middle-bar straight or slanting or a double middle-bar straight or slanting, and with such bar to the right or the left and cut more or less *thro*, — sometimes the *same* monument having this letter in *several* shapes. Remembering this, and casting a glance at the Runes on this Staff, we surely cannot hesitate to acknowledge that the first and last letter is here a plain elegant H. This is strengthened by the following (second) letter, evidently our Old-Northern A, and still further by the antique and characteristic Old-Northern U, — and clincht by the whole forming so good a meaning, antique in spelling and apposite to the object on which it stands. Negatively it is evidenced by the *reductio ad absurdum*, for no meaning at all results from any attempt to take the runes as Scandinavian.

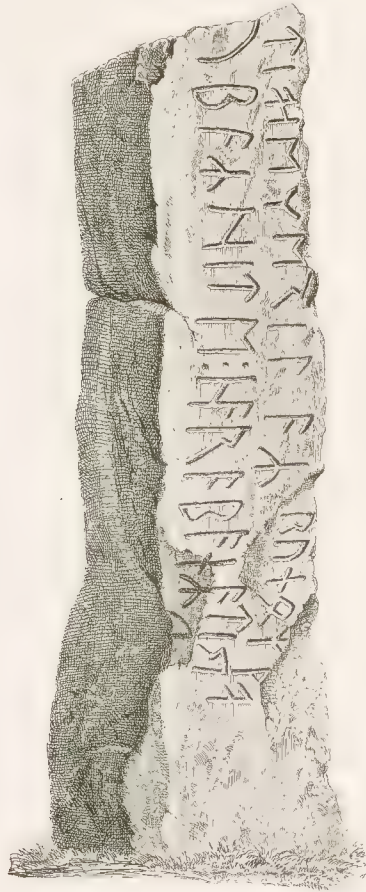
At present, therefore, all evidence goes to show that the Runes are Old-Northern, and that therefore the Staff itself is excessively old.

¹ The *Staff* (or *Baton*) and the *Sceptre* must not be confounded. The earliest Scando-Gothic Staff (if such it be, as is most likely, and not a *Sceptre*) which I can refer to, is that carried by a gallant and noble-looking but otherwise unarmed Gothic Prince or General, on a splendid war-steed, sculptured among the other figures of the Theodosian Column; thus from the last quarter of the 4th century. He was doubtless one of the Gothic "Kings" or Chiefs who, with their numerous and hardy troops, served under Theodosius the Great as his Allies or Auxiliaries. See the remarks of J. Malliot, "Costumes, Mœurs etc. des Anciens Peuples", 4to, Vol. 2, Paris 1804, pp. 171, 2. Plate XXI, fig. 1. This Gothic Staff is rather short, nearly straight (not tapering), and has a slightly ornamental head, whether so carved or a piece of metal fixt on we of course cannot say.

VARNUM, VERMLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

From a carefully colored Drawing of the stone, and a perfect Tracing of the Inscription full size, both obligingly forwarded to me by J. W. ALSTERLUND, M. A., of Christinehamn.



No Rune-stone has hitherto been found on the main of Vermland, and only a couple on the islands of that province. It was therefore a grand and agreeable surprise when this block was suddenly discovered on the homestead of Gårdsberg, Varnum Parish, one quarter of a Swedish mile from Christinehamn, and nearly as far from the shore of the lake Vänern's most north-easterly bay.

And this find was happily in time for my work.

Mr. Alsterlund thus describes, in a letter from which I translate the following extracts, the circumstances connected with its exhumation: — "Last November [1862] the Nämndeman [Juror] Karl Ersson of Gårdsberg commenced cultivating a stony mound in one of his fields near the highway. While thus occupied he turned up this stone, whose lower end was about 2 feet under ground, while a portion of the upper was visible. As the block is nearly 8 feet long, the yeoman Ersson thought it would make a good gate-post, and had it carried to his farm. But, soon after, he was informed that it was a Runic monument and ought to be taken care of. On this he at once carried it back again, and raised it on the same how, only a few feet from where it originally stood.

"The stone is of a reddish splintery granite, and has a remarkable crack on the one side. The mound would at first not be taken for a grave-low, as it now rises only a few feet above the level of the fields. But the Juror informs me that some years ago it bore a circle of large boulders, within which, to the east, lay a great slab-stone (probably originally a bauta-stone) which had been overturned, about 8 feet long and 4 feet broad. All these stones Karl Ersson has used for building. The Rune-stone was found within this ring, a little to the south-east. Tho the farm had been in Ersson's family for 3 generations, he had never heard a word of its containing any ancient monument. But he pointed out a spot a little farther to the north, where a similar stone-circle had stood, or at least the foundation of some building; all which had long ago been carried away by his neighbor.

"But all this makes it probable enough that these two rings are those mentioned by Fernow in his *"Beskrifning öfver Wärmeland"* (Göteborg 1773, 8vo, p. 50 and 145). He there speaks of them as existing on this same farm, which he calls *"Jarlberg now Jersberg"*, and asserts that Neri Jarl, properly Nerid Jarl, once lived there."

As Fernow knew nothing of this fine pillar, it must have been buried as early as his time, nearly 100 years ago. As it now stands, this inscribed stone is more than 5 feet above ground. The Runic side is 8 to 12 decimal inches broad, and 10 decimal inches thick on the one side and 7½ on the other. The runes are 2 to 4 decimal inches long, and for the most part deeply cut. Only at one or two places are they at all doubtful.

The top of the stone is unfortunately broken off. Many efforts have been made to find the missing piece, but hitherto in vain, and there can be little doubt that it has long since been carted away or destroyed. Should my reading of the carving be correct, we can easily restore, substantially and for all practical purposes, the wanting letters. Should I be mistaken, we are still at sea. At all events I do my best with the stone as it is.

I take it then that the carving is to be read from top to bottom, looking at it from the left, and that it consists of two separate sentences, the one — in honor of the deceased, and consequently on the best part of the block — beginning with the π and running on to the lower and sunken part, when it continues upwards, striking in at the $\epsilon\tau$, where the dots are placed as a guide: and the other — only perpetuating the name of the rune-cutter, and therefore placed on the lower and sunken and unfavorable part, and in like manner turning backward and going on to the dots. It is therefore read ploughing-wise, some runes being reversed. What is remarkable as to the staves is the \mathfrak{A} for \mathfrak{E} , which has not before occurred on so old a monument, and the double-runestaves $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{H}$ (twice) and $\epsilon\mathfrak{R}$. The uncommon \mathfrak{Y} , (for \mathfrak{V}) \mathfrak{K} , may be the Old-Northern \mathfrak{A} (\mathfrak{C}) upside-down. The last rune in $\mathfrak{W}\epsilon\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}$ is a bind-stave, two letters on one stave, the \mathfrak{A} above (belonging to $\mathfrak{W}\epsilon\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{A}$) and the \mathfrak{E} below (belonging to the name of the stone-carver).

With regard to the wanting fragment. In my opinion it has contained the very beginning and the end of the risting. In this case we must of course have recourse to the usual formulas. Nothing is more common than $\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{E}$ $\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}$ $\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{D}$ (variously spelt) and, when elevated to a husband by the wife, $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{T}$ or $\mathfrak{A}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{T}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}$ $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}$ (husband) $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{R}$ $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{O}\mathfrak{D}$ (variously spelt). As erected at a very early period we must expect very early forms, and the carving has probably been (accusative singular masc.):

STEINÆ DÆNSI RÆISTI

and at the close:

BUÆTE SINE KUBAN.

Should we suppose the stone and inscription to have been *shorter*, then DÆNSI and KUBAN have not been there. Of course other small variations, such as DÆNNE for DÆNSI, may be fancied, for I only speak of the general contents. I have come to this conclusion from ÆHEKER being a *female* name, and from the B and half the U being apparently the beginning of the usual BUNTA, BUTA, BUNTÆ, &c., in the accusative singular after ET. — I therefore suggest the following simple and natural and usual reading:

[Stæinæ þænsi ræis]TI ÆHEKER I LÆGE ET IHGÆ, B(U)ætæ sinæ kuþan].

RUNOA WERITE UGÆNÆBERÆH.

[Stone this rais]ED ÆHEKER IN LÆGE AT (to) IHGÆ (= INGI), BO[nde, = husband, her good].

The-RUNES WROTE UGÆNÆBERÆH.

We have here also a dialectic prevalence of *æ*, and of the elision of the *n*.

Should ET on this old stone have governed a Dative, IHGÆ will then be in that case, not in the Accusative, and the words in apposition must also be written in the Dative.

Since writing the above, Mr. Alsterlund has informed me that, after repeatedly examining the stone, he has discovered at the top on the right, just in the break, traces of another letter or part of a letter, in the shape of a carved indentation parallel with and nearly the height of the *τ*. It reaches down nearly to the top of the half *υ* in the line below. This will well agree with the right limb of *s*, which, in these old pieces, often has two unequal strokes (M, &c., instead of the normal *τ* or *ρ*), or one side longer than the other (H, &c.). I refer for this kind of *s* to several of the Bracteates, the Bewcastle Cross, and many stones, both in Sweden, Norway and Denmark in the common Scandinavian runes. But as the letter *s* does not occur in the words now left on the Varnum stone, and as letters are often carved in *different* ways on the *same* stone, nothing conclusive can be drawn. All that we can say is, there is nothing in the faint mark thus found before the *τ* which would make it impossible that the foregoing rune *may* have been *s*. If there had been found a trace of *þ* or *ð* or *R* or *Y*, or *Æ*, or any other letter whose right side is not a straight line, then it would have been fatal to my proposed reading.

The presence of *Λ* with the power here given to it shows that this stone is slightly transitional.

One general observation may here be permitted me. I have repeatedly said that we have Old-Northern stones only by units, Scandinavian-runic by hundreds, and that we must be cautious how we draw conclusions which a find to-morrow may overturn.

So here. Among all the Old-Northern stones yet discovered in Scandinavia (and how few are they all!) *not one* directly mentions the family relationship of the deceased, which, as well known at the time, it may often have been judged needless to point out. We have only *the name*, one word; or *N. N's GRAVE* (with or without the name of the Barrow-raiser); or *N. N. WROTE TO N. N.*; or other such expressions; and yet some of these Old-Northern risings are as long as others are short. Only the Tune stone, Norway, speaks (if my reading be right) of *THE HEIRS AND HEIRESSES*; while the Sigdal block, Norway, comes nearer, the Stone-setter announcing himself (if my combination be trustworthy) as *THE UNCLE* of the dead man. Now all this is in striking contrast to the majority of the Scandinavian-runic pillars, which tell us that the departed was the *FATHER* or *MOTHER* or *BROTHER* or *SISTER* or *HUSBAND* or *WIFE* or *FRIEND* or *WARCOMRADE*, and so on, of the raiser of the monument, — while others *do not*.

That all this is only from the absence and destruction of these Old-Northern memorials, I have no doubt. And should my construction of the Varnum piece be admitted, we have here at least one proof, for we then have the example:

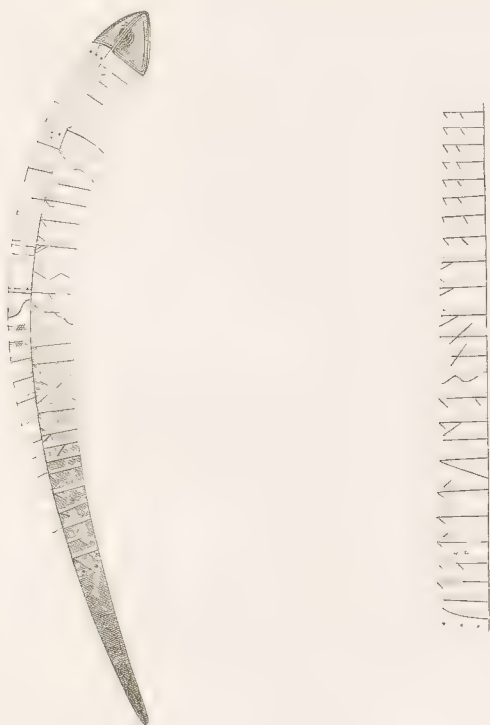
N. N. RAISED THIS STONE TO N. N., HUSBAND HER

Endless are the variations on stones with Mixt and with Scandinavian-runic. They give us *one word*, a name; only two or three words; or say (or omit) what was the tie of blood or kindred or friendship or private or military connection. And, like others, they may be very short or very long, and yet often the one apparently as old or as young as the other.

Once more, then; we must feel our way. We *must not* at once lay down the law — that no Old-Northern stone in Scandinavia ever announced the relationship of the Cumbel-maker to the commemorated dead. — The similar monuments in England show the like variations.

LINDHOLM MOSS, SKONÉ, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

Full size. From the original, now in the Museum of the University of Lund.

This is the piece engraved by Fin Magnusen in his *Runamo*, Plate 4, fig. 11 a and b. It is of bone, dyed of a dark hue by the moss-water, and was found in 1840 deep down in a turf-moss at Lindholm, Vemmenhög, Skoné, whence it came into the possession of Prof. Nilsson, who sold it, with the rest of his Museum, to the University. In June 1841 Prof. Nilsson obligingly forwarded it to Fin

Magnusen in Cheapinghaven, for his use in Runamo, and by him it was carefully copied for that work. I here re-engrave it from F. Magnusen's plate, but not without due control; for I sent a copy to Prof. and Librarian Berling in Lund, with a request that he would compare it with the original. This that gentleman was kind enough to do, and he announced in reply that the Runamo engraving was "quite correct". As we see in the drawing, this olden lave has been broken in two, but the pieces exactly fit and nothing has been lost.

We cannot be sure what this unique carving was intended to represent: but it looks like a Snake or an Eel. It would seem to have been an Amulet. This was also the opinion of Fin Magnusen. Can it have been worn or used for success in fishing? The runes, if I have hit their meaning, give no information as to the purpose for which it was made. Perhaps it was merely an ornament or plaything.

Both the sides or faces are covered with runes, one of which, the ^Λ (c) is very rare and highly interesting; perhaps the Y of the Varnum stone is this letter upside-down. In the first or lower line all the staves are wend-runes, and read from right to left. The 2nd line is redd from the other side, that is we must turn the other side to us; we then see that the runes here also are reverst, but notwithstanding this they are taken in their usual order, from left to right. The : and : are perhaps the usual i and e; but as this is not certain, I print them in (). These letters are not absolutely necessary and the dots may be ornamental. In this case the TT must be redd æTT, the æ being repeated from the foregoing word, in the same way as the H in GEAH and the B in HÆTE are taken twice, in the common later runic manner. To express this runic stave-doubling I make the letters *Italics*, and add a connecting loop. Thus GEAH_HÆTE_EC means that the H and the E is only carved once, but must be taken twice.

In the 2nd line a couple of the letters are repeated several times. This may have a mystical meaning, but more likely it is only to fill up the vacant space.

The runes are plain. Perhaps they may be divided and translated thus:

EC ERLEAS NI ILÆ.
 GEAH HATE_EC EI .
 I)UL(Æ_E)TT TUMBÁ ÁA Æ.
 I ARELESS (*honorless*) NE (*not*) HASTEN.
 GAY (*quick, sprightly*) HIGHT I (*am I called*) AYE.
 (I)ULÆ AT TUMBA OWNS-me AYE.

There is a place called *Tumba* in this same province of Skoné, not very far from where this piece was found.

As this is a good opportunity of showing how nearly allied all these Scando-Gothic dialects are, and yet how a particular word, originally in common, may have fallen out of use in certain landscapes at a very early period, I give the two first lines in this old Skonic land-speech, in Old-English, Norse-Icelandic and Old-High-German. Here we see that the root *LAN*, *to speed; hasten*, has not yet been found in Old-English or in Norse-Icelandic; nor ERLEAS in Norse-Icelandic, the nearest representative ÓERLEGR being a comparatively modern word; nor in Norse-Icelandic GEAH, for which other words are employed:

Old-Skonic. EC ERLEAS NI ILÆ.
 GEAH HATE_EC EI .
Norse-Icel. EK (ÓERLEGR) NÍ (SKYNDI).
 (FJÖRUGR) HEITI EK Æ.
Old-Engl. IC ÁRLEAS NI (FYSE).
 GEOC HATE IC Æ.
Old-High-Germ. IH ERLOS NI ILO.
 GAHI GEHEIZZO IH EO.

But traces of GEAH (GEIR AS A Proper Name masc.) have been found in the island of Gotland. See the Glossary.

As far as we can judge from the facts, only ignorance and barbarism have rendered this piece unique. For a somewhat earlier fellow *has* undoubtedly existed. In Vedel Simonsen's "Samlinger til Hagenskov Slots, nuværende Frederiksgaves, Historie", 8vo, Odense 1842, pp. 8-11, is an extract from the Traveling Journal of Professor Abildgaard¹, anno 1761, in which that artist gives a long list of various antiquities and fragments, of wood, bone, iron, bronze, silver, &c., found about the year 1750 in a turf-moss called the Kragehul, at Flemløse in the Danish island of Fyn. All the pieces mentioned by him are of the same kind, and apparently of the same style and age, as the similar objects taken out of the Danish Mosses from the Early Iron Age, and whose date is clearly fixed by Coins and other proofs — to about the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries after Christ.

Simonsen's extract begins: "Pastor Wichmand in Flemløse found about 9 or 10 years ago, when his people cut turf in a turf-moss called Kragehule just outside Flemløse, about 6 feet below the surface, a small Horn, apparently from a stag's antlers, about 6 inches long and 1 inch broad, pointed at the one end. It looked like a Shoe-horn, and had a sharp ridge along the centre. On each side of this ridge was a line of smallish runes, and several hieroglyphical characters. The letters were Old-Runic. There were also several figures engraved. Down at the point two eyes seemed to be cut, and above was a crown or helm with just such tags as are seen on the Othin-helm. — There was also found a thin flat Lid, 2 inches broad and 6 inches long, of reed or ash-tree, bearing 2 lines of runic staves and other figures; above the one column is also a little row of small runes over the large one, delicately carved".

Unfortunately Abildgaard has not appended any drawings, or even a copy of the runes on these two remarkable objects. But the first was evidently a similar piece to that now before us. The size and shape was the same. We have even the same "ridge" and "eyes". The runes are expressly said to have been Old-Runic. But the Kragehul piece was evidently more decorated. Both were of *bone*. Were they a kind of eyeless crooked Bodkin, for making holes in cloth?

Unhappily, not only these two remarkable runic pieces, but all the others enumerated in Abildgaard's list, are *lost*. Not a trace of them remains in any known public or private collection. They have shared the fate of *thousands* of other objects from the Danish Mosses in early and later times, all thro the middle age and down to *this very day*; — they are found the one year and destroyed the next, to the infinite grief of the archæologist and the historian, to the infinite loss of those scientifically arranged and Museum-boarded art-remains which constitute *the only* oldest annals we possess of our Northern forefathers. All such antiquarian Turf-fields should at once be officially examined. The expense is a trifle compared with the precious results. The diggings by Herbst and Engelhardt have abundantly shown that these Mosses are literally the Herculaneum and Pompeii of Scandinavia. But they are Sibylline leaves in the book of our Prehistoric Folk-story; a few summers more — and nothing of them will be left.

See KRAGEHUL MOSS, further on, under Denmark.

¹ This manuscript is now preserved in the Archives of the Old-Northern Museum. Cheapinghaven.

WEST-THORP MOSS, SKÅNE, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

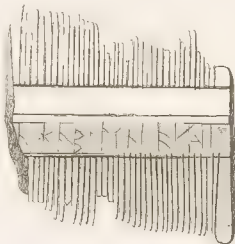
Full size. From a drawing of the original, in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Stockholm, kindly forwarded by BROR EMIL HILLEBRAND, Keeper of the National Antiquities, Sweden. The woodcut finally corrected from the Comb itself.

This Comb, of bone, probably the tooth of the Walrus, was found in 1823 deep down in a moss at West-Torp. Vemmenhög's Härad, Scåné, Sweden. It is very brittle. When found, it came into the possession of Dean Bruzelius, but was afterwards, with the rest of his fine collection, purchased by the Swedish Government for the Museum in Stockholm, where it now remains.

When it came into his hands, Bruzelius copied the inscription in a letter still kept in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven. Fin Magnusen exactly engraved this in his Runamo, p. 585. Instructive in its very defects, I here give this first transcript, printing it from the block used in Runamo, obligingly furnished me by my friend Mr. H. H. J. Lynge, of Cheapinghaven:



We here see that the first stave, beginning on the right, is correct. The stroke on the second is wrong, it belongs to the following τ , of which it is the right arm. Stave 6 has 1 side-stroke, not 2, and is τ , as is also rune 8. The rest are substantially correct. The staves are not reverst, but are notwithstanding to be read from right to left. The $*$ is the usual u . The ∇ (k) and the \mathfrak{h} as o belong to the Scandinavian Futhork, and this piece is therefore overgang (transitional).



There being, as usual in these oldest carvings, no marks of division, we must group the letters as best we can. I take them as follows:

IIT HIUK UNBO^uU.

IIT HEWED (carved, made) for-UNBO.

The mansname UNNBO also occurs on the REIDSTAD stone, Norway.

Combs have often been found, even of the *very earliest* periods. Now and then they are double-toothed, like the above; the older kind have only one row of teeth. But they have seldom any mark or decoration. One remarkable specimen of the ornamented class is given in *Archæologia*, London, Vol. 15, p. 41, found in the ruins of Ickleton Nunnery. It is carved with female figures (Nuns?) on each side.

Inscribed Combs are excessively rare. Of those *with Runes* I only know of one other example¹, found in England in 1851, together with a second Comb without any letters. These two pieces were picked up in Lincoln, in fenny soil, just where the Great Northern Railway Station now stands. They belong to Arthur Trollope, Esq., of that city, by whom they were forwarded to Prof. Worsaae for his inspection, when he visited England in 1852. This distinguished antiquarian has most kindly placed in my hands the Drawings and Rubbing which he then made, and I have great pleasure in laying them before my readers as a precious illustration of the far older Swedish and Danish Runic Combs.

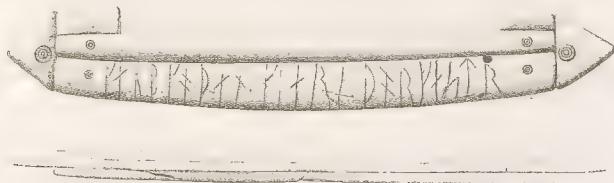
As we perceive, the teeth of this Dano-English piece are gone: they have been placed between the two side-pieces, and the whole has been held together by nails of copper or bronze. The inscription, both Runes and Dialect, shows that it was a *Scandinavian* Comb. Probably it belonged to one of the Danish or other Scandinavian troopers who swarmed into Northern and Middle England in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries.

The other but uninscribed Comb, which is about one fourth larger, likewise of bone, has also lost its teeth. Instead of Runes, it is covered with somewhat simple carvings, chiefly hatch work or straight lines, or else small rings with either a point or a second ringlet inside. Sometimes the rings and line-work are intermingled, so as to form a kind of diamond-pattern.

SCANDINAVIAN-RUNIC BONE COMB.

LINCOLN, ENGLAND.

Engraved full size.



The words are quite plain, and are divided by double points, as is the prevalent usage in later carvings. They read:

KAMB KODAN KIARI ÞORFASTR.

COMB GOOD (*this good comb*) GARED (*made*) THORFAST.

The omission of TH in the verb (KIARI for KIARÞ) is linguistically highly interesting, and would seem to show that the maker was a Jutlander, in which province this slurring of the TH, as of R before TH, is especially prevalent, and has been so even in very old times².

The Comb is extremely tender. The side-mark in the M (the second rune) is probably a slip of the knife. But it *may* be a bind-rune (U and M), in which case the word must be redd KAUMB; this however is not likely.

¹ A third has lately been dug up from the VI moss, Fyn, Denmark, which see in its place.

² So, without mentioning the examples in Jutlandish manuscripts, we have such on Jutland Runic monuments. Thus on the Bekke stone, KAÞU ÞURÐIAR HAUÐ, *they-made* (KAÞU for KARÞU) *Thyre's how* (grave-mound); on the Giesingholm stone, ÞUAB KAÞI ÞYNI OAUÐ, *Thaath made* (KAÞI for KARÞI) *this* (grave-jaunt); on the Hesselager Censer, MESTER IAKOB GORÆ MIK, *Master Jacob made* (GORÆ for GORÞÆ) *me*. Drawings of the Bekke Runic stone are in the Danish Old-Northern Museum; the Bronze Runic Censer is in the same Museum; the Giesingholm Runic Slab is now in Trinity Church, Cheapinghaven. So also on the Horne stone, N. Jutland, we have KAÞI for KARÞI. This slurring of the TH is found in Shakespear's WHE'R for WHETHER, and in some few other English words.

TJÄNGVIDE, GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

From drawings by himself, made in 1844, kindly communicated by Prof. CARL SAVE.

This ancient stone IN RELIEF has been twice before engraved, but not so correctly as Prof. Sæve desired, the complete drawing made at the time for the engraver's use having been unaccountably lost in the printer's office. It was sketched by Prof. Sæve in 1844, by Intendant P. A. Sæve in 1845, and again in 1846; but after it was dug up and exposed to the air the block had taken great damage from sun and rain and frost, so that the second and third copies were far from equal to the original rough and hurried sketches. These last Prof. Sæve has placed in my hands, and they are here faithfully worked up by my artist, so as to give the best available idea of the stone when first seen in 1844. The first published engravings were in "Runa, Antiquarisk Tidskrift, utgifven af Richard Dybeck", 1845, Stockholm, 8vo, p. 82, plate 3 (issued to the subscribers in 1846) and Plate 4 (the runic part separately), as illustrations to the valuable article on this monument written by Prof. Sæve ("Tjängvide-stenen") from p. 83 to 93. It was engraved a second time for Prof. Sæve's more detailed account ("Ålskogs-stenarne på Gotland") in "Annaler för Nordisk Oldkyndighed", 1852, 8vo, Kjøbenhavn, pp. 171-207, Plates 5 (the Ålskog stone), 6 (the Tjängvide stone) and 7, a, (the same, runic section). To both these papers by Prof. Sæve the reader will refer for further details and much interesting episodic information.

The stone before us was found in 1844 on the ground of a homestead called Tjängvide, in Ålskog Parish, in the bay of Ljugarn, south-eastern Gotland. The only a fragment, its length is 5 feet 8 inches, its greatest breadth low down about 4 feet 6 inches, and its thickness about 1 foot. It is of a loose grayish Gotlandic limestone, a tolerably even slab, especially at the upper carved part, being unsmoothed except by the hand of nature, such tolerably even natural flags of the native limestone not being uncommon in Gotland, especially near the sea. But it of course has various risings and hollows on the surface, and these have been skilfully made use of by the artist, who has slightly cut away the background so as to produce A CARVING IN RELIEF. The characteristic round head is found on many other of the oldest stones in Gotland, and the whole has doubtless had the shape common to pieces of this peculiar Gotlandish class. The Runic Band at the upper part to the left, which was quite illegible at the very first — for the stone is more and more worn and dim the farther we go to the left — has probably run down the left side and under the ship, so as to join or meet the comparatively clear Runic Band on the lower right. The letters here were tolerably deep, but apparently not carved in the usual way, rather rubbed-in with a sharp iron instrument. They were uneven and thin, and, as Prof. Sæve distinctly warns and informs us, there were several chinks and cracks in the stone with which the staves might sometimes be confounded. The block was in its present broken state when first buried with the other building-stones, so that it was most likely some 5 or 6 feet longer when it stood on its heathen cairn. At the same time the mason cut away the piece now absent on the right, to make it fit the better in the wall in which it was placed.

The way in which this heathen pillar was found is very singular. The honest and not uneducated yeoman Jacob Tjängvide wisht to make a cellar near his house. So he began to dig into a mound of stones and gravel in his garden-plot. But the lower they came, the plainer it was that they had hit upon an old bank and wall, and at last they reached regular brick-work, the foundations of a hitherto never suspected ruined and abandoned house. However strange it might be, here it was before them, the site of a former building. Many large stone blocks and pieces had been used in constructing this ancient edifice, among them this Runic Pillar, perhaps put out of sight on purpose by a Christian house-builder. As soon as he saw the carvings, Master Jacob took it out very carefully, for it cost him great additional labor not to injure it. He set an example many of his "betters", both private persons and corporations and governments, have not yet learned to follow. It is now covered with a wooden lid, and is piously attended to by the intelligent farmer and his family.

By comparison with the other Gotlandic pieces of this class, it is pretty certain that the lower part of this stone never was inscribed. The wale-knot has doubtless gone all round the upper carving. The field above has at the extreme right an Eight-footed Horse (reminding us of the mystical Sleipner of the Great God (w)oden), his long tail tied with ribbons, as is still the custom in Gotland on high-days and holidays. What is held by the small figure [?] (w)oden on his back, and whether the something placed behind him is a saddle, we cannot make out. The steed tramples on some kind of worm or dragon. Above the horse is a man with some nondescript half-worn piece, which Prof. Sæve thinks may have been a Harp. Farther to the left are other figures, one of them apparently

offering something (? a Drinking-horn) to the rider [? (w)ODEN] or his steed. At the extreme left is — perhaps — a Dog.

The lower compartment is a noble Wiking-ship, with one oar or steerer, shrouds and ropes, and a large sail. The mesh-like lines are *cut in*. Prof. Sæve supposes them to have been either checkers, a woven or added ornament, or else a net, perhaps of thin strips of hide, on the wadmal or woollen sail — in case sails of hemp or flax were as yet unknown in Scandinavia — to give it sufficient strength and taughtness. Where the net-lines cross, nothing is cut away on the stone, which may imply knots. When the block was first seen, traces of yet another downhanging rope could be spored, as well as the head of a 7th man; perhaps, as the room permits, the visible crew consisted of 8 men in all. The knee at the bottom of the mast may mean that, when necessary, the mast could be lowered or taken away.

The first stone with raised figures found in Gotland was the *Habblingbo*, which see.

In 1850 P. A. Sæve found in this same parish of Alskog another raised slab, which had been a good deal cut to fit and had then been laid down in the floor of the Church. See the engraving in "Annaler" for 1852, Plate 5. We have there a battlescene, — a fort or fortified harbor with ducks or some other water-fowl on one side to typify sea, — a Hall or station with two men, — and a triumphal procession, a horse drawing a 4-wheeled car with 2 men in it, with an Egyptian-like cartouche or oblong label or frame containing indistinct figures above the horse, a strange gigantic bird or beast, and several other figures.

Again in 1861 the same gentleman dug up another Bild-stone in relief, nearly 12 feet high, at Lärbro in North-Gotland. Below is a War-ship with a similar checkered or net-covered sail to that on the Tjängvide stone, and with a crew of 10 men. Above are figures with swords, a steed and its diminutive rider, &c. Above these again are other figures, among them once more the striking and remarkable Horse with 8 feet. Yet higher on the block are several men with and without weapons, a man fighting a goblin, a 4-footed horse, birds, a banner, &c. Other similar Bild-stones in relief have been since found¹. All these blocks and fragments should be carefully collected and preserved, and should be faithfully engraved in a class by themselves, for each one largely illustrates the rest.

The Runic Inscription on the stone before us, tho only the last bit of the whole, hangs together and gives a definite meaning. What makes it so precious is not only that it has ' for s, so rare in Gotland, but also two Old-Northern letters, X for g and Y for a. That this Y is here and can only be A is clear, for such a combination of consonants as SMFR is utterly impossible. Thus the stone is from the close of the Old-Northern Runic period in Gotland. As the staves are not boldly cut but only deeply scratcht-in, and otherwise are not so distinct as we should wish, Prof. Sæve was doubtful whether it ever could be redd. But it did not strike him that it contained Old-Northern characters, and hence his ingenuity was at bay. Tho we are hampered, as usual, by the absence of divisional marks, I yet take it that most of my readers will admit that we have here the words:

¹ One, dug up at Sten-kyrka in North-Gotland in 1863, is very remarkable. It has the same round head and general character, but the lowest part, containing the inscription (if it ever had one) was broken off and used in a fireplace! P. A. Sæve came too late. His drawing has been copied for me by his brother. There are 3 distinct compartments of *relief-carving*. At the top are some 8 or 10 indistinct figures. Below them, 9 men seem to be entering (by a ladder) a War-galley, on board of which are 5 or 6 men. All the rest of the stone, below the above, is taken up by a large ship with a *checkered sail* and some 10 or 12 figures on the deck, as usual holding ropes and weapons. But there have in fact been 4 stories of ornament, for there are remains of figures *above* the 8 or 10 men. The whole is cut very shallow, and has suffered very much.

Some of these round-headed stones — a class of monuments as yet only found in Gotland — are very old. In 1844 was dug up at Sten-kyrka in Gotland, 6 feet under ground, a kist made of slabs whose overlier or cover was in the same way covered with a number of half-obliterated figures in relief. Its surface had everywhere the spores of *Lichen Calcivorus*, an undeniable proof that the block had long stood in the open air before it was used as building-material for this comparatively later grave-chamber. Another Gotland stone of similar shape, still bearing half a dozen doubtful runes, is in the church at Gauthem. This temple was built in the 13th or 14th century, and even then the stone was only looked upon as mere old building-lumber, for it has been cut nearly square and used in the wall, between an arch and pillar.

1. R, I, I, ↑, I, = RISTI;
2. I, ↑ (perhaps originally ↑), I¹, I, I, F², = STINLE (or STANNIO);
3. I³, V, ↑⁴, I, = IFTI;
4. X, N, D, I⁵, V, I, R, h, D, h, R. = GUDIFIRUDUR;
5. I, I, = SI;
6. I, I, = IS;
7. I, V, h, I, V, I⁶, R, N⁷, D⁸, I, I, = IKUIFIRUDIS;
8. Y, R, V, I, I V⁹ (or VR); ARFINK (or ARFIK).

This reading is so much the more probable as Prof. Sæve himself, without the help of the Old-Northern staves, thought he could read — as he tells us in his text — at least:

RISTI STAN IFIRUDUR

SI for SA is no very surprising form, as little as the archaic GUDIFIRUDUR and IKUIFIRUDIS for GUDFIRUR and I(N)KIFIRIDIS. Scarce is ARPINK (or ARFIK), the usual word on these Runic monuments being ARFI; but we have it again at Engeby, Upland, (IRFYK), at Tuna, Södermanland, (IRUUIK), and probably at Djulefors, Södermanland, (? ARFINK):

Should all this be so, we read:

..... RISTI STINLE IFTI GUDIFIRUDUR. SI IS IKUIFIRUDIS ARFINK (or ARFIK).

.... RAISED this-STONE AFTER GUTHIFIRUTH. SI (he) IS IKUIFIRUTH'S ARF-TAKER (heir).

As many words, perhaps several names, have stood on the stone before we come to RISTI, we cannot be sure that GUTHIFIRUTH was the only or chief person to whom the block was raised. And SI may refer to the missing name just before RISTI, and may have nothing to do with the name GUTHIFIRUTH. — This is all that the runes now left tell us about this heathen runic monument, probably the very oldest yet found in Gotland. It is No. 121 in Sæve's *Gutniska Urkunder*. Gotland has a *couple of hundred* runic stones and inscriptions, but they are nearly all comparatively modern, — for its native limestone is not granite, its early Christianity doubtless wilfully destroyed the heathen monuments, and its commercial and agricultural activity would not spare olden remains. — See SÆDING, *Laivide, Sanda* and *Habblingbo*.

A late find shows that these round-headed grave-stones can be traced back in England to the 11th or 12th century. The tower and dwarf-spire of Helpston Church, Northamptonshire, were erected more than 500 years ago, when the church was largely rebuilt. Among other materials were used *scores* of the monumental stones that had accumulated round, and perhaps in, the old edifice, together with many architectural fragments. The tower rapidly decaying, it was taken down in 1865, when these ancient remains were exposed to the view of the curious and have since been taken care of. The sepulchral slabs were roughly but boldly carved IN LOW RELIEF. Many were clearly from the 13th century, others from the 12th, and a few apparently from the 11th. The former were chiefly coped, to be placed over graves or stone coffins. Among the latter were two small *circular shafted head-stones* ornamented IN LOW RELIEF on both sides. — See Notes and Queries, London, Oct. 7 and Nov. 25, 1865. pp. 285 and 441.

¹ The crooked side-mark looks like one of those cracks in the loose stone of which Prof. Sæve has spoken in his text. As we have plainly Y for A at the end of the line, it is not likely that we should here have A for A. If both these characters were really here employed for A, they may have exact two modifications in the sound of that vowel.

² We cannot know whether F is here æ or o; but as the stone is Old-Northern, and in the older alphabet F is o, F is doubtless here æ as usual.

³ There is a faint dotted mark across the I in Sæve's drawing. If the stone really had ↑, it could scarcely be other than A; but this is very unlikely, and I take the letter to have been I.

⁴ By the help of cracks on the stone, the evident ↑ I have become much disfigured.

⁵ There is again a dotted mark, on the left of the stave, certainly an impossible barbarism. It was only a crack. The I is plain.

⁶ The lower part of the I is worn away.

⁷ This v has evidently had the same shape as the first v in this word.

⁸ I take it to be self-evident that this stave was really (barring cracks) only D.

⁹ The 2 last letters are not clear. But the meaning is the same however we restore them.

Observe also the varying forms of the R, and that we have here the Scandinavian V (x) not the Old-Northern < (c).

RÖK, EAST-GOTLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800-900.

The oldest printed Drawing of this stone (the first side only) known to me, is the small woodcut in Curio No. 46, anno 1660; the next, of the same side, is the somewhat larger wood-engraving in Bautil, No. 913. Of course neither of these is correct, but they are better than might have been expected. This is the side imperfectly redd, but not translated, by Liljegren, No. 2028.

So things remained till June 1843, when the Rev. C. Hedmark, the Priest of Rök Parish, during the removal of the Church Corn-magazine, got a sight of the other side of the stone as it stood in the wall. He took the opportunity to make a largish drawing of both sides, for it now came out that both bore runes. This drawing was never publisht, but transcripts circulated among Runologists. Unfortunately he was foolish enough to build the stone up again in the wall of the church-porch. He even unwittingly turned the newly found side inwards, so that no one could control his copy of that fresh inscription. Facts have since shown that he was *tolerably* correct as far as he went, tho he drew all the runes stiff and straight, quite contrary to their real form.

In August 1861 Intendant P. A. Sæve had an opportunity of visiting this monument, and made a new and exact drawing of the side visible, the one already printed, which of course gave some invaluable corrections. A transcript of this was in the most friendly way sent to me by his brother, Professor Carl Sæve.

But in the mean time, having recognized Old-Northern runes in the manuscript copy of the other side, and being now more and more convinced of the absolute necessity of procuring a fresh and trustworthy drawing of the whole stone, I sent a petition to the Royal Swedish Academy of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, begging the powerful assistance of that learned body. I also drew attention to the opportunity which would thus be afforded of removing the block to a more suitable place, where it could be seen on every side. Riks-Antiquary B. E. Hildebrand, the Secretary, gave the weight of his influence to my prayer, and the Academy entrusted Intendant P. A. Sæve with the task. It was an arduous one. That gentleman had already workt very hard, required rest, and the season was advanced. It was now the end of September 1862. But he sacrificed every thing to science, got out for Rök, and spent many days with his gang of men in getting the stone out of the wall, in removing it to an open space not far off, in raising it there, and in taking measurements and copies. The difficulties were very great, as the block is so enormous, as fresh runes were now discovered on the top and edges, and as infinite care had to be taken lest a single one of these precious letters should be endangered or defaced. But at last all was triumphantly effected, and the result is now before

my reader's eye¹. All thanks to the Swedish Academy for its generous help — it insisted on doing all this at its own expense — and to Mr. Sæve for his untiring zeal and his care and talent as a draughtsman!

As it now towers at the western end of Rök Churchyard, in the Hårad of Lysing, this monument is one of the most remarkable in the world. It is of granite, greatest height about 13 feet, greatest breadth about 4 feet 8 inches, thickness 18 inches above, 16 inches below, and 8 to 9 inches in the middle. It is a book of stone, containing about 760 Runic letters. Notwithstanding its great age, it has suffered but little injury, perhaps from its being so early removed from its heathen grave-mound to the shelter of a Christian building. — I may as well add here, that Prof. C. Sæve has made an exact copy of this block on linen, the full size of the stone, which he will be happy to show to any antiquary visiting Upsala.

Three lines on this remarkable piece are in Old-Northern runes. But they are apparently, as well as the Tree-runes, only initials or contractions or some kind of secret writing, as they make no sense. But all the rest is in the usual Scandinavian staves. I therefore requested from Prof. C. Sæve the favor of a paper on this monument, together with his reading of the carving. He kindly promised this, and I have long been patiently expecting it. But my learned friend has since then been several times dangerously ill, and has not yet had leisure to edit this stone for me. However unwillingly, I must therefore myself undertake it. The language is so old, the meaning so doubtful, the absence of points so great a stumbling-block, that I have more than once been tempted to publish it without any translation. However, I rely on the generous indulgence of my readers, and shall be thankful for any correction. Should Prof. Sæve's version arrive in time, I will add it to my own.

Several of the runes are uncommon, particularly the *m*. The rare *b* is plain. The *e* is remarkable, perhaps the earliest instance of its occurrence on any stone. The *l* for *s* is familiar to us. The *j* is always *r*, but not always *r*-final. Apparently *h* does not once occur among the Scandinavian runes.

I take it then that we have here two separate inscriptions, that is, that the resting on the front and its northern edge has no direct connection with that on the back, tho they are apparently from about the same time and may well belong to the same ruling family or clan. I also think that we are to begin with the long lines; starting with the first on the left and taking them all in order, next passing to the two horizontal lines below, and ending with the staves on the north-edge. Supposing this to be admitted, — and again reminding the reader that the runes can be separated in many ways but that we *must* divide them some how, let the task be ever so difficult, while a *slight* difference in the grouping may *greatly* modify the sense —, I propose the following as the reading of

THE RUNES ON THE FRONT.

AFT UAMUD STONTA RUNAR DAR.

NUARIN FADI, FADIR, AFT FAIKION SUNU, SAKUM UK MINI DAT E UARI AR UALRAUBAR.

UARINT UA: DAR SUAD, TUALF SINUM, UARIN UM-NART. UALRAUBR BAÐ PAR SOMO ON OUMIS U-MONUM.
DAT SAKUM ONAR TEU UAR.

FUR NIU UALTUM ON NURDI-FIARU, MIR E.

RAID-KUTUM AUK TUM MIR, ON UPS AKAR RAIDI, AURIKR, EIN, DIRMUDA STILIR, FLUTNA STRONTU E.

RAID MARAR SITIR NU KAR URO; KUTA SIN-ULS SKIAKI-IUB FATLADR, SKATI MAR REKA!

¹ As a contribution to the antiquities of their country and to the heavy expenses of this work, my costly wooden blocks were generously paid for by the following Swedish gentlemen in Stockholm and Upsala:

Baron Rud. Cedersjöm, Ph. Dr., first Secretary in the Foreign Office, Stockholm, Chamberlain;

Prof. Olof Glas, Med. Dr., R. N. O.;

Baron Joh. Nordensfalk, Ph. Dr.;

Archbishop Henv. Reuterdahl, Th. Dr.;

Prof. Carl Sæve, Ph. Dr.;

H. P. Tamm, Student.

To these favorers of Science I offer my hearty thanks, in my own name and in that of my readers.

From Drawings by Intendant P. A. SÄVE, and a Paper Cast forwarded by the Royal Swedish Academy



FRONT.

RIGHT EDGE.

of History and Antiquities, Stockholm, thro its Secretary the Riks-Antiquary ERIC E. HILJEBRAND.



BACK.

BACK EDGE.

AFTER UAMUTH STAND RUNES THESE

NUARIN FAWED (carved them), his-FATHER, AFTER his-FEY (fated, by destiny death-doomed) SON, for-the-SAKES EKE (and) MINNE (for the sake and memory) THAT AYE WARE (that alway may last, continue may ever) the-AR (ore, honor, fame) of-the-WALE-REIVER (spoil-taker, conqueror).

UARIN he-WOOG (slew); THERE SWAND (sank, fell), with-TWELVE SINE (his) (= in the midst of his twelve champions) UARIN MOST-BRAVELY. The WALE-REIVER (victor) BODE (gained) THERE SOME (glory) ON OUMI'S U-MEN (among the chief men, great captains, of Onni). THAT for-the-SAKES (for the sake of that, on that account, even therefore) ON'S TIW (the Sea-goddess' champion, a gallant sea-king) he-WAS.

He-FOOR (marcht thro with fire and sword, ravaged) NINE WALDS (fylke-kingsdoms, earldoms, folklands) ON the-NORTH-COAST, MERE (illustrious) AYE.

To-the-REID-GOTHS (the men of East and West Gotland) he-EKED (increast, enlarged) DOOM (power, dominion), MERE (illustrious) ON UB'S ACRE (on the field of the Terrible-one, on the plain of the Sea-god, the wide-spreading Ocean). RED (swept, shook), ILE-RICH (iland-mighty, lord of the iles), ONE (alone, sole-governing), that-THORMOOLY (most daring) STILLER (subduer, ruler, sovrän) the-FLOATERS' STRAND (the shore of the shipmen, the dry land of sailors, the home-land of vikings, = the billowy deep) AYE (alway).

In-his-CAR of-the-MERE (his sea-galley) SITTETH-he NOW at-REST from-UNROO (disquiet, = free from all his labors); the-GOTHS' SIN-WISE (wonder-wise, most wise and wary) SKAW-BEAR (ness-bear, promontory-bear, = mighty galley-chief) is-FETTERED, that-PRINCE of-MERE-RECKS' (sea-swayers, ship-heroes, ocean-rulers)!

Rather more freely and modernly turned, this would be:

AFTER UAMUTH STAND RUNES THESE

NUARIN, HIS FATHER, CARVED THEM AFTER HIS FATE-DOOMED SON, FOR THE SAKE AND MEMORY THAT EVER MAY LAST THAT CONQUEROR'S GLORY.

UARIN SLEW HE. WITH HIS TWELVE CHAMPIONS UARIN SANK THERE, FIGHTING RIGHT GAL-LANTLY. HONOR GAINED THERE THE VICTOR AGAINST THE CAPTAINS OF OUMI. BUT THEREFORE WAS HE ON'S TIW (= the Sea-goddess's champion, a hero fearless).

NINE KINGDOMS RAVAGED HE UP ALONG THE NORTH-COAST, ILLUSTRIOUS EVER.

ON UB'S ACRE (= the Seakings' field, the foam-flowered Ocean) WIDENED HE, FAMOUS, THE RULE OF THE REID-GOTHS. ILE-RICH, SOLE-SWAYING, THAT GREAT-HEARTED SOVRAN AYE SHOOK AND SWEPT THE SEAMEN'S STRAND (= the vikings' land-realm, their billowy home, the wide-spreading water-fields).

NOW IN HIS SEA-CHARIOT (his proud war-ship) SITTETH HE FREE FROM CARE; FETTERED IS NOW OF THE GOTHS THE WARY-WISE SKAW-BEAR (Sea-king), THAT PRINCE OF SHIP-HEROES!

The rune for A is here *ʀ*, but in one place, in the word DURMUDA, it is *ʀ*, for there was no room to carve the arm on the other side. The letters are here often cut once, but taken twice, as is so usual on these monuments.

There are several dialectic peculiarities:

B for F: — ualraubar, ualraubr, iub.

E for A and I: — E, Ein, teu.

I (— Y) added: — faikion, iub, skiaki.

O for A (and U): — faikion, monum, on, onar, somo, stonta.

U for F (or W): — teu.

As distinct archaisms we have ON, with the N, and STONTU and SUNU both with the final vowel still left.

Of course should my reading be seriously faulty some of the above characteristics may disappear, for the words can be divided and understood in a hundred ways. So difficult is the whole and so doubtful is my combination, that I will add a line or two or some of the expressions.

NUARIN is a mansname not found elsewhere, and therefore strange. But I cannot see how else it is to be redd. We might take the line-wall on the left as *ʀ*, and read IN UARIN; but we should then have the same name (UARIN) for the father of the deceased and for the king slain by UAMUD, which is

so unlikely as to be almost impossible. Or we might separate the word as NUAR IN (= *Nuar but, but Nuar*) which is, I believe, unexampled on runic pieces, and which would also give us a name as strange as the one we wish to avoid. I therefore take NUARIN as it stands.

SAKUM, dat. pl. fem., here with ellipsis of FURIR; plural emphatic; Norse-Icel. FYRIR SÖKUM, (FOR THE SAKES, for the sake, for, on account of, THAT).

MINI, dat. s. neut., MINNE, memory, remembrance. With FURIR understood.

DAT, ac. s. n., ~~WHAT~~, governed by (FURIR) SAKUM.

UALRAUBAR, gen. s. m., of the WALE-REIVER, the spoiler of the WALE, the fallen on the battle-field, = the Conqueror, battle-hero. This word does not, I believe, occur elsewhere, but there are many compounds of a like kind. — UALRAUBR, lower down, is the same word in the nominative.

UARINT, Proper Name, ac. s. m., and UARIN, the same mansname, nom. s. This name is not uncommon in the old North, as well as in Old-German. I take the NT to be = N, a sharp N, thus there being a kind of internal declension, NT in the accusative and N in the nominative. So on the still remaining Gåsinge stone we have the name SUIN in the accusative, but SUIT (- SUINT, the N elided = SUT) in the nominative, the same process but here reversed.

SUAP, I take to be the 3rd pers. sing. past of [SUINDAN]. This verb has not before been found on any old Scandian monument. It is the O. Engl. SWINDAN, SWAND, SWUNDEN, the Ohg. SUUNTAN, SUANT, SUUNTANER.

UM-NART also occurs here (adverb) for the first time. I regard it as compounded of the intensive prefix UM (very, most) in the usual way, and of NART, bravely, whose adjective we have in the forms HNAR, KNAR and NAR.

BAP, 3 s. p., BODE, gained, acquired.

SOMO, ac. s. m., SOME, honor, glory. The N. I. nomin. is SOMI, ac. SOMA. In the long runic inscription on the Hällestad stone, Skåne, in the concluding verses, the word SAM is used for *honor-stone*, grave-mark, funeral block:

SATU TRIKAR
IFTLE SEN BRUDR
SAM O BIARIK,
SAUDAN RUNUM.

SET DRENGS (*gallant men*)
AFTER SIN (*their*) BROTHER
this-SOME (honor-stone) ON the-BERG (hill),
all-SOWN (carved, covered) with-RUNES.

UMIS, gen. s. (? m.), I take to be a Place-name. Perhaps it is UMI, the district now called UME-Å, in Norrland, Sweden.

U-MONUM, d. pl. m., U emphatical prefix, for which we might also write UM-MONUM, doubling the M. Thus U or UM great, MONUM men. I have not seen this word before. It answers to the O. E. UN-MAN, a hero. — Should the preceding s be taken twice, we shall have SU-MONUM, sea-men, vikings.

ONAR; g. s. f., ON'S, the Sea-goddess'. UNN (N. I. UNNE) was the daughter of Ægir (Neptune). The word is used in a multitude of kennings (poetical synonyms) connected with Ocean and War. The particular ONAR TEU I have not met with before. Very few such old kennings occur on runic stones, which are usually comparatively modern and Christian. But we have, for instance, DRUTAR DIAKN, Nålberga, Södermanland, *THRUD'S THANE, the War-goddess' chieftain, — the noble warrior*; and DRUTAR NISBIURN, Löfsund, Södermanland, *THRUD'S NISBIURN, the War-goddess' Nisbiurn, = the gallant Nisbiurn*. In like manner, UTI ÆLI TUNP, Transjö, Västernorrland, *IN ALA'S DIN, in the Sea-king's clatter, = in the shock of the battle-ships*. So FULKS KRMR, Hamra, Södermanland, is the-GRIM (Woden, Chief, Prince) of-the-FOLK, = the Folk-hero.

TEU, n. s. m., TIW, god, demigod, hero. — ONAR TEU is therefore ON'S TIW, the Sea-goddess' champion, a daring wiking, a bold warrior. The N. I. has n. s. TIFL.

NURMI-FIARU. If the first word were undeclined, we should expect NURDR or NURD; if declined, NURPRI. — FIARU might also signify *far-off, afar*. — The meaning, however, is apparently clear, expeditions northwards, probably to the Gulf of Bothnia and the coasts of Finland.

RAID-KUTUM, d. pl. m. RAID implies connected shires, mainland. The Rök stone is in the ancient folkland EAST-GOTLAND. This and the adjoining WEST-GOTLAND seem, therefore, the country intended.

UBS, g. s. m. Must be a name. I take it to be the mythic name of a war-god or battle-chief, of which we have scores in the oldest Scandian writings. But this one is found nowhere else. It seems to be left in the N. I. UBBI, wild, UBBLEGR, terrible, horrid, fearful. UBS AKAR would then be a kenning in the common way for *the Sea-chief's field, the briny deep*.

RAIDI, 3 s. p. Governs an accusative. The N. I. form is REIDA, REIDDA, REIDT.

DURMUDA, n. s. m. def. From the emphatic DUR, daring, and MUD, mind, soul. I have not observed this compound elsewhere.

STRONTU, ac. s. ? m. STRAND, shore, land. The N. I. STRÖND is fem. Many feminines in Scandinavia were once masculines. This word was perhaps once STRAND, gen. STRANDES, masc., as in Old-Engl. and Old-Germ. In like manner RAND, usually fem., is masculine in Gotlandish (C. Säv). If masc., STRONTU has retained its antique final vowel in the accusative: if fem. it has kept the old v.

RAID, d. s. (? f.). The N. I. REID, f., a car, chariot, has the dative sing. REID, REIDO and REIDU. — RAID MARAR, in his Sea-car, his Wiking-ship. It is likely enough that this war-chief was really buried in his own war-vessel, over which the barrow was raised. Of this several instances have been found.

KAR, n. s. m. This Scandinavian adjective for *quiet, at rest, still, remaining*, usually has the digamma (KYAR, KWAR), but this u, w, v, is in some dialects elided, as here. The common N. I. adj. is KYRR or KYR. The N. I. had also a noun for *repose, quiet*, and this also has slurred the v. Thus in "Brudstykke af en gammel norsk Kongesaga", in "Samlinger til det norske Folks Sprog og Historie". 4to, Vol. 2, p. 312, Christiania 1833, we have: "Maugnus konungr sitr nu i Danmorco með curð oc með fullu fripi", and again: "með curð oc rau". This is the usual N. I. KYRD, f.

SKIAKI-TUB, n. s. m. SKAW-BEAR, ness-king, mighty battle-chief. In N. I. SKAGI, skaw, cape, and UFR a bear. But this last obscure word also signifies a kind of bird. The meaning would be the same. I have not seen this compound elsewhere.

It will be observed in how many interesting points this ancient dialect differs from the later, and equally provincial, Norse-Icelandic.

We now come to the still more difficult

RUNES ON THE BACK.

1. All the upright lines in Scandinavics, beginning below with the first line on the left; and excluding the outside left line, in Old-Northern staves. These 9 lines in Scandian runes are taken the one after the other:

DAT SAKUM. TUALFTAE UAR EISTR. SIK-RUNAR_RITU ITU OK ION. KUNUKAR TUAIR TIKIR, SUAD(a)N LIKIA.
 DAT SAKUM. DRITAUNTAE UAR IR. TUAIR TIKIR KUNUKAR SATI_INT SIULUNTI FIAKURA UINTUR.
 AT FIAKURUM NABNUM BURNR;
 FIAKURUM BRUDRUM UALKAR;
 FIMR DULFS,_SUNIR ERAI-DULFAR;
 FIMR_RUKULFS,_SUNIR EOISLAR;
 FIME ARCD, SUNIR SKUNMUNTAR;
 FIMA IRNARS,_SUNIR NUKEKSE.

The rest of this last line is so damaged that it can scarcely be made out. The remaining staves seem to be:

SAINISSNAINEUARSLIL.

Some of the above letters would doubtless be different, if the stone were not broken. Then follow in large runes:

FTIRFRA.

All these doubtful staves I will not attempt to read.

The last rune in the first line is a tie, \mathfrak{A} (R) and \mathfrak{h} (V). In line 2-3 the word \mathfrak{SUADN} is apparently written short, for \mathfrak{SUADAN} . At the beginning of line 5 only the arm of the \mathfrak{V} is carved, the stave being taken from the side-line. The 14th rune in the line above gives this letter verest, as \mathfrak{V} . In the last line the word \mathfrak{FTIR} is a contraction; if for $\mathfrak{FLAUSTIR}$ it may refer to the ship in which they were buried (if they lay in the grave), or to the ship-setting of stones raised around the grave-mound (if they lay in another land and were here only commemorated).

Here we have OK (eke, and), on the other side UK. — \mathfrak{INT} is an example of the sharp N ($\mathfrak{NT} = \mathfrak{N}$), as in Danish. — In \mathfrak{NABNUM} we have B, otherwise F. — \mathfrak{RITU} is the 3 pl. past; yet we have \mathfrak{SATI} , not \mathfrak{SATU} . — \mathfrak{BURNR} , with the nom. R-mark, is very ancient; see the \mathfrak{BARANR} of the Barnspike Rock. — Such words as \mathfrak{FIMR} and \mathfrak{SUNIR} have the nom. R-mark; tho we have 4 names with the older nominative mark as S. And yet we again have \mathfrak{UAR} , not \mathfrak{UAS} . — So \mathfrak{FIMA} and \mathfrak{FIME} , both the adjective (\mathfrak{FIMR}) in the nom. sing. masc. definite form, appear to be used promiscuously. Other proofs of the local dialect being in a flux might be pointed out.

I propose to translate:

Of-THAT for-the-SAKES (for this reason, truly, = IN MEMORIAM). — (After 11 heroes, but) the-TWELFTH WAS EISTR. SIG-RUNES (victory-runes) WROTE ITU EKE (and) ION, KINGS TWO ILLUSTRIOUS, SO-AS (wherever) those-fallen-men-LIE

Of-THAT for-the-SAKES (= IN MEMORY). — After 12 heroes, but) the-THIRTEENTH WAS IR. It-was-when-those-TWO ILLUSTRIOUS KINGS SAT IN SIULUNT FOUR WINTERS.

AT (to) FOUR NAMESAKES (four warriors all called) BURN;

FOUR BROTHERS of UALK;

the-SKILFUL (= good soldier) THULF, SON of-ERAI-THULF.

the-SKILFUL (= good soldier) RUKULF, SON of-EOISL;

the-SKILFUL (= good soldier) ARUTH, SON of-SKUNMUNT;

the-SKILFUL (= good soldier) IRNAR, SON of-NUKEKSA.

Only 12 names are here given. That of the 13th is doubtless on the stone, among some of the many crypt-runes.

Thus this is a commemorative funeral-roll of 13 officers, fallen during the 4-years' campaign of kings \mathfrak{ITU} and \mathfrak{ION} in $\mathfrak{SIULUNT}$, probably $\mathfrak{SEALAND}$ in Denmark.

Should \mathfrak{SUADN} (= ? \mathfrak{SUADAN}) be admitted, it is not "from the German", and — the Scandinavian alphabet having no D — \mathfrak{D} is here used for D (= \mathfrak{SUADAN}).

The use of the preposition \mathfrak{AT} , in the sense of *in memory of*, followed by a *dative*, is excessively rare and antique in Scandinavia, where it otherwise governs an *accusative*. It is curious to see the familiar change of case in this list. First we have the *dative*, and then suddenly all the rest are *nominatives*, as tho by a kind of elliptical — *and so also comes, and then was*.

The unaccented vowel-sounds -R, -A, -E in \mathfrak{FIMR} , \mathfrak{FIMA} , \mathfrak{FIME} , are evidently nearly or quite identical and promiscuous.

\mathfrak{TIGIR} , n. pl. m., Illustrious. We have the N. I. \mathfrak{TIGGI} , \mathfrak{TYGGI} , a prince, and several derivatives; but I have not seen this adjective before.

$\mathfrak{SIULUNTI}$, d. s. (? m.). Probably the Danish island now called $\mathfrak{SEALAND}$.

$\mathfrak{FIKURUM}$, d. pl. m., \mathfrak{FIKURA} , ac. m. FOUR. — Such olden forms of this numeral have never before been found in Scandinavia.

2. The three lines of runes, chiefly Old-Northern, which frame-in the last risting.

a. The horizontal row below; they must be lookt at from the upper part of the stone, otherwise they appear to stand on their head:

S, D, G, W, M, O, G, a bind-rune (either \mathfrak{LE} or \mathfrak{UE} or \mathfrak{ITN} or $\mathfrak{IT\mathfrak{E}}$), a bind-rune (either \mathfrak{DAI} or \mathfrak{DT}), N, F (or a double-F), D, D, H, O, D, R (or Y or OE), NG, G, O, L, D.

b. The upright line on the extreme left:

G, D, O, D, R (or Y or OE), NG, G, O, L, D, NG, N, D, G, O, \mathfrak{AE} , N, D, R (or Y or OE), H, O, S, L, NG.

Of these two lines I can make nothing. Some letters (O, D, Y, NG, G, O, L, D) follow in the same order in both rows. I take both lines to be either contractions or crypt-runes, some kind of cipher.

c. The top flat line, like *a* redd from the top of the stone; or, if we prefer that expression, carved upside down:

I, A, I, U, N, U, I, L, I, N, I, S, D, A, T, O, O, K, O, O, S, S, S, YÖ.

Are these also initial or cryptic letters? Or, if we are to make a guess, may we read

IA, IUN ULIN; IS DAT O OK O; OSS SYO.

YEA, IUN is-WALEN (*betrayed, slain*); IS THAT OH EKE (*and*) OH! a-CRY (*lament, tumult*) is-THAT!

3. The line A, above the *c* last mentioned. The first stave, I, if there, is taken from the side-line:

I, R, T, R, O, K, I, U, I, L, I, N, I, S, D, A, T (or I), R, E, F, D, R, E, I, S.

Here we again are tempted to find the somewhat parallel letter-groups:

UTROKI ULIN; JS DAT REF-DREJS.

The line B, above A:

A, I, R, F, B, F, R, B, N, E, N, F, I, N, B, A, N, T, F, O, N, E, N, U.

Both these lines are in Scandinavian runes. I do not attempt to read them.

4. The Tree- or Twig- or Branch- or Palm-runes. Of these there are three groups:

a. The line above No. 3;



b. The group on the top of the stone;



c. The staves on the south-edge.

This particular kind of Crypt-runes has obtained its name from the resemblance of the letters to Trees, Twigs, &c. The simpler sort are not hard to decipher. They depend on this principle: — the Scandinavian stave-row usually consists of 16 letters, which may be variously divided, into 2 or 3 or 4 or more groups, mostly into 3, thus:

1. F. U. D. O. R. K. — 2. H. N. I. A. S. — 3. T. B. L. M. O.

The last letter may also be R-final.

Now suppose, using Tree-runes, that we wish to write the word IK (i). We perceive above that *i* is the 3rd letter of the 2nd group, and therefore mark , where the two arms on the left announce the 2nd class, the three on the right the order of the letter in the class. So *k* is the 6th letter of the 1st class; we therefore write . Thus we get IK.

But this method often appeared too easy, and others were adopted — to most of which we have not yet found the key. I have hit upon one, of course a very simple affair when known. It merely consists in reversing the order of the groups. We begin with the last, now become No. 1, go on with the middle as No. 2, and end with the first, now No. 3. Writing IK according to this method, *i* is still the 3rd letter of the 2nd group, and therefore ; but *k* is now the 6th stave of the 3rd group, and therefore .

As far as I can see, none of the common keys can unlock the Twig-runes on the Rök stone. In whatever order we take the alphabet-groups, 123, or 231, or 312, or 321, or 213, &c., we still get letters apparently making no sense. They are therefore initials or contractions, or else they must be redd after some system as yet undiscovered.

It will be observed that, in addition to the Twig-runes, *a* closes with *d* added on to the last long stroke and with R (₁) carved separately below; and that *b* has, separately cut above the Palm-runes, the letters BI, A, and L.

I hope that some ingenious rune-smith will soon favor us with an interpretation of all these mysteries.

Meantime, parallels are very instructive. Of these Tree-runes I am able to give 2 remarkable — and, fortunately, also readable — examples among the Runic scribbles on the walls of the antique underground stone-house in Scotland which in long after-centuries was made use of as a stronghold and retreat by successive generations of Scandinavian vikings. I refer, of course, to the now famous Maeshowe in the Orkneys, and copy from the *set of casts* presented by James Farrer, Esq., to the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. The original stones have suffered from the air, since these fine casts were taken. The first of these blocks is Mr. Farrer's

Who the fair Lady (or Widow) Ingeborg was, we cannot tell. She may have taken refuge in this stone-castle for a time. As the long passage to the central chamber is at its entrance only 2 feet 4 inches high, afterwards increasing to 4 feet 4 in height and then to 4 feet 8, every visitor — even a Lady — must have *louted low*. Hence I take the word *LUUTIN* in this its common sense. But the word, in another sense, also means shaggy, hairy, woollen, skinclad, &c. Many rich or flashy women were doubtless from time to time in the Pirates' Castle, as Prisoners, Refugees, or Mistresses.

The second of these curious slabs, exactly copied from the cast, is Mr. Farrer's

MAESHOWE N° 18.

Here engraved in the same way by Mr. PETERSEN, 1-4th of the full size.



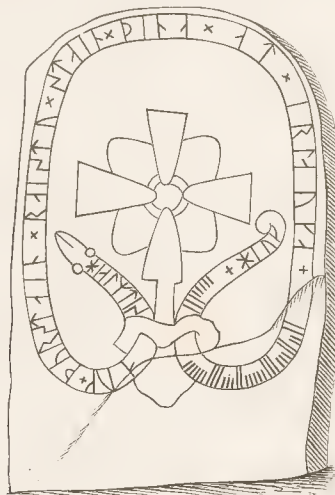
In this carving the Tree-runes commence the inscription. There are two fanciful variations of the letters. The first group has the class-arms upward, the second has the class-arms downward and at the bottom of the staff. We should at once guess that this will announce two different words; and this is the case. Taking the runes in the same *reversal* order we have:

3rd stave of 3rd class	=	P;
" " " 2nd "	=	I;
5th " " " "	=	S;
4th " " " "	=	A;
5th " " 3rd "	=	R; thus = MISAR;
" " " " "	=	R;
2nd " " " "	=	U;
" " " 2nd "	=	N;
4th " " " "	=	A;
5th " " 3rd "	=	R; thus = RUNAR.

To make all this clearer, I will also give a monumental specimen of this latter variety of these fanciful runes. This is the stone at

ROTBRUNNA, UPLAND, SWEDEN.

Copied from GÖRANSSON'S Bantil, No. 646, as amended by the more correct transcripts in Buré's Copper-plate, and in Buré's Ms. Sveonum Runæ No. 169.



This stone is No. 774 in Liljegren, who could neither read the secret nor the common runes. As here given there is apparently no error of any kind. The body of the inscription is in the usual staves; then we have the name of the carver in Ice-runes, and then the word *HIUK* in common letters. The Ice-runes are redd in the same way as the Bough-runes on the Maeshowe stones, namely backward. The 3rd group is class 1, the 2nd is class 2, and the 1st is class 3. Thus

2nd staff of 2nd group = N;

3rd " " " " = I;

5th " " 3rd " " = R;

3rd " " 2nd " " = I;

6th " " 3rd " " = K;

5th " " " " = R; . NIRIKR.

Thus the whole resting will be:

HALMTIS AUK ÞURSTAIN RAISTU STAIN ÐINA AT IRLAUKA. NIRIKR HIUK.

HALMTIS EKE (and) THURSTAIN RAISED STONE THIS AT (to) IRLAUK. NIRIK HEWED (= carved the runes).

Should the name IRLAUKA be a masculine from a nominative IRLAUKR, it will then be an instance of the antique vowel-ending in the accus. sing.

I need not add, that the Rök stone is by far the oldest monument on which these curious Tree-runes have hitherto been found.

VÅNGA, SWEDEN.

From ILLJEGREN'S "Fullständig Bantil", Manuscript in the Archives of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, Vol. 5. Kindly communicated by Prof. CARL SÄVE.

Of these two stones we know nothing, nor can we depend on the correctness of the transcripts. But they are too striking and valuable to be altogether omitted here, the above being the only Runic collection in which they have been preserved. I therefore give them as I find them. They were copied by a Hr. E. Junggren in 1791, and his text and drawings are as follows:

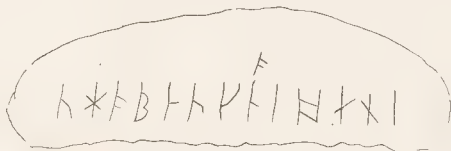
"Nedanstående-Figurer befinnas på en gråsten å norra sidan i nedersta afdelningen af Wånga kyrko-torn, som til kännarens granskning öfverlemnas, neml.:

The figures below are on a greystone in the north-side of the lowest compartment of Wånga church-tower, and are here submitted to the examination of the curious:



"aftagne d. 28 Maji 1791 af E. Junggren
men oriktigt

Copied the 28th of May 1791 by E. Junggren
but incorrectly



a hobauk nio iani"

Prof. Sæve remarks on the above: "Properly speaking, we can scarcely have any confidence in the first inscription, especially as "incorrectly" has been added. But whence did Hr. Junggren get the Old-Northern rune 8 73 years ago, unless he saw something of the kind? — Nor do I know which Wånga is here intended, for we have 4 Parishes of this name, 1, in East-Gotland; 2, in West-Gotland; 3, in West-Gotland, 1½ Swedish mile from Ulricehamn; 4, in Skåne."

It is clear that the first of the above stones, which perhaps were both in Vånga Church-tower, is in reverst runes and is redd from right to left. It has 2 if not 3 Old-Northern runes, < (c), ǫ (o) and ʏ (a). The staves are:

KLUCORUA

and may be divided:

KLUC O DUA.

KLUC OWNS *this-TUVA* (*grave-mound*).

This at once reminds us of the

STONE THIS THORLÆF SET BY the-TUVA (*mound, grave*) of-LÆVI

so undoubtedly carved on the lost Gommor block.

But, as the block is not authentically before us, I will not dwell upon it.

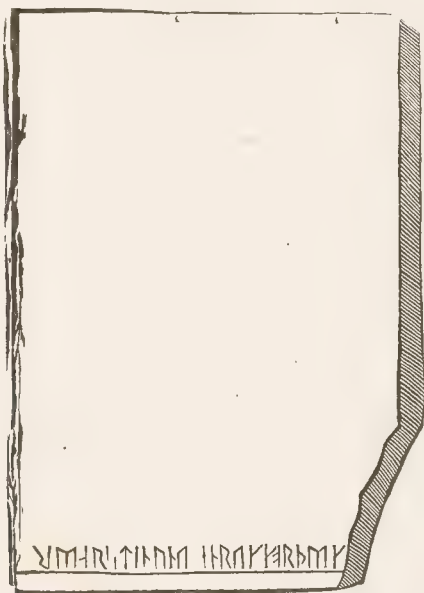
The second stone is not easy to make out. It contains only one O. N. rune, the ʏ (u).

Should the above monuments have really existed in something like the form given above, they have every appearance of extreme antiquity. At all events we should always give *all that we know* respecting olden Runic memorials now lost or injured. To give only what is left, or not to complete a piece now broken when our materials enable us so to do, is unjust to ourselves, to science and to the public. All are aware that we cannot depend upon early drawings or engravings, sometimes not even upon those of our contemporaries, nay even *our own* may not be faultless; but that is no reason for ignoring and suppressing monuments which have existed. Quoting our sources, we can only give them for what they are worth. It is unreasonable to demand of a general reader that he should know of the scores of manuscripts and scarce books in which such remains are preserved; very seldom will he be able to see a small fraction of them. But these old copies — the originals having been accidentally rediscovered — have sometimes turned out substantially correct; others can be redd with tolerable certainty by a person familiar with these remains. Even those given in a shape helpless and barbarous are instructive from the nature of the mistakes, and at all events announce to us that such a runic piece was once in being in a certain land. They become at least a runically important topographic and statistical fact. But of course it is very easy and agreeable to turn our back upon all lost monuments, and to handle only those pieces or fragments which actually stare us in the face!

When restoring from old transcripts an ancient inscribed block now incomplete, but which was whole when such copies were made, we can distinguish the original actually before us from what is taken from an old drawing or memorandum by pointing out in our text the parts or letters which we have thus added, or by engraving them in dotted lines, or by printing them in ink of another color. But to do nothing of the kind, and to give the public a more or less *broken* stone or other carving instead of (when we can) a more or less *perfect* one, is insufferable. It would not be permitted in publishing Classical or Oriental remains, and should not be borne in reference to our own. If we have not time or inclination to do a thing well, — we are really quite at liberty to leave it alone.

MÖRBYLÅNGA, ÖLAND, SWEDEN.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1200-1250.

Exactly copied from the woodcut in GÖRANSSON'S Bantil, No. 1073.

Flat slabs, like the one here before us, are of course far later in date than standing stones. It is also clear that this is comparatively modern, in fact a transition-piece, from its bearing only *one* of the old Runes, altho this one is twice repeated. In both instances this letter (ε) has an uncommon form, the middle stroke being prolonged downwards.

The first letter can only be κ. A fanciful shape is often given to this stave. The 5th character was originally on the stone the usual ʏ (s), the middle stroke being worn away or unobserved by the copyist. The last stave, ʀ (ε), either stands for the common word KUMΛ, or the ʏ, M, L have been on the piece of the stone broken off.

The two names, CHRISTINA and HENRY, also show that this stone belongs to the Christian middle age.

By the scale markt on Göransson's woodcut, the Mörbylånga piece was about 6 feet 11 inches long by about 4 feet 9 inches broad.

I engrave this slab as I find it in Bautil. No other or better copy can now be gotten. This transcript seems substantially correct. As lying in a churchyard, the stone could not expect to escape all kinds of injury from both idle hands and busy feet. The Parish Church of Mörbylånga was rebuilt in 1811, and this slab was then *altogether illegible* ("alldeles oläslig"), as we are assured by the antiquarian and runologist the Rev. A. Ahlqvist¹, in his History and Description of the Iland of Öland.

The words then are²:

KEARSTIN UNU. ENRUK KORDE K

KEARSTIN (— *Kerstin, Kristina*) UNŪ. ENRUK (— *Henrik, Henry*) GARD (made) this-KUMBEL (grave-mark).

And with this mere handful of Old-Runic monuments — more precious than fine gold tho so few — I take leave of the *Swedish* province of our common Northland. They are, summed up:

STONES.	BROOCHES.	AXES.	STAFFS.	AMULETS.	COMBS.
1. Björketorp.	1. Etelhem.	1. Upsala.	1. Konghell.	1. Lindholm.	1. West-Thorp.
2. Stentoften.					
3. Istaby.					
4. Berga.					
5. Möjebro.					
6. Tanum.					
7. Gommör. (Lost.)					
8. Varnum.					
9. Tjängvide (Overgang).					
10. Rök (Overgang).					
11. ? Vånga. (Lost.)					
12. ? Vånga. (Lost.)					
13. Mörbylånga (Overgang).					

Thus in all only 18 pieces, running from about the 4th to about the 13th century. Still it cannot but encourage students of the Far Past to bear in mind, that exactly *one half* of these remains have been either discovered or identified as runic *since* I began the composition of this work. Let us therefore hope and trust that *the last* Old-Northern runic "find" has *not yet* been made on Swedish ground!

Farther on, in the chapter headed BRACEATES, will be brought together all the inscribed golden pieces of this class known to exist. Several among them — including the costliest of them all, the golden Alphabet-roundel — have been dug up in this our Olden Swithiod.

¹ Ölands Historia och Beskrifning, af Abraham Ahlqvist, Ph. Mag., Kyrkoherde i Runsten Församling. 8vo. Vol. 2. Calmar 1837, p. 218.

² If we should take KEARSTIN as equal to KEARSTINE, or some such form, in the dative singular, and UNU to be also in the dative (nom. UNA), we might read:

TO-KEARSTIN UNA — ENRUK MADE (THIS TOMB)

N O R W A Y.

IN MINNE

OF

THE RUNE-SMITHS OF NORWAY;

WITH MANY GREETINGS

TO

PROF. SOPHUS BUGGE.

OF CHRISTIANIA.

TUNE, SMÅLENENE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200-300.

From Photographs, and from a Rubbing taken by Prof. P. A. MUNCH; the whole carefully checked and corrected from the stone itself by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE, Christiania; afterwards again compared with a fine Paper Cast forwarded by Lector O. RYGH, of Christiania. — Drawn and chemityped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.



This is the most precious rock-memorial bearing Old-Northern Runes now known in Scandinavia. Not only is it perhaps the oldest, but the length of its inscription and the antique character of its word-forms give it a marked advantage over those other stones which might otherwise come into competition with it. It is also very fortunate that it has escaped so well. Only a few letters have disappeared, and these, by the help of a little thought and criticism, can be restored with an approach to absolute certainty. The block is of red granite.

Tune Church was built by SAINT OLAF, who died in 1030. His craftsmen brought together blocks and stones for the church-yard wall. Among these was this Rune-stone, doubtless dragged from some neighboring Cairn, some even then *old* heathen Grave-mound, which it decorated. Standing thus in Tune church-yard fence, it remained for more than 8 year-hundreds. But by the efforts of the Norwegian Society for the preservation of the National Antiquities, and the generous consent of the land-owner on whose ground it abode, Hr. Lindemann, it was in 1857 removed to Christiania and placed in the Botanical Gardens of the University. Thus, from the very entrance to Christiania Frith — for it stood in Moss Fogderi — it has traveled a considerable distance up north, and will doubtless now be carefully protected from wind and weather, as well as the wicked hands of the thoughtless or wilful spoiler.

This monument rises 6 feet 7 inches, and at its widest part is 2 feet 4 inches broad. I need not say that the copies given of it by Worm¹ and his successors were absurdly incorrect, and consequently that all the learning devoted to them was a mere waste. It was first made public in a more trustworthy shape by Professor P. A. Munch in 1857, in "Almuevennen" for July 4, Christiania, 4to, with one woodcut; in his "Runestenen fra Tune", 4to, Christiania, with 2 woodcuts founded on Rubbings²; and again in 1857, in the "Aarsberetning" of the society aforesaid, Christiania, 8vo, with 2 lithographs, founded on photographs, and still more correct than the woodcuts. In these communications Prof. Munch successfully translated about half the text, commenting thereon with his usual talent. The late Professor Uppström made some remarks on Munch's reading, in "Nova Acta Regiæ Societatis Scientiarum Upsaliensis", 4to, Upsaliæ 1858, pp. 381-9; but he did not add anything material. For information on former attempts see Runamo, p. 485. But, thanks to the kindness of my friend Sophus Bugge, I have now the pleasure of giving copies *absolutely perfect*, at least so far as mechanical skill and a sharp eye can secure perfection in these matters. Having thus obtained a real and unbroken text, I have been enabled, as I hope, to translate the whole of this venerable and invaluable Rune-pillar.

I would take the Northern side first, which is hewn ploughing-wise; first line from above downward, 2nd line (Reverst Runes) from below upwards.

On the Northern side the block has suffered at the tip, where the last word should stand. After the remains of a mark which can only be R, the stone is broken away. But the word here, as universally or nearly so elsewhere in the like formulas, was of course RÚNES. This, in accordance with the very archaic dialect otherwise exhibited on this monument, was most likely RÚNES. But if the s were already vocalized it may have been RÚNEA, RÚNAR, or RÚNA, &c. On this side, the IGE are closed staves and the HÆ a Bind-rune.

Next the Southern side. This is also carved *Oxgang-wise*, Βουνοροδοός, 1st line right on from below upwards, 2nd line (Reverst Runes) from above downward, 3rd line (also Wend-runes) from below upward.

On the Southern side there are three weak places. The first is the Proper name LIA; the stone is injured here, but not materially; the Y (A) is plain. Next, the last stave in ÆRBINGW, the P (W) is not quite clear, but so nearly so as to leave no doubt. Lastly, the stone is broken just where the verb in the infinitive *should* be found and, in my opinion *really occurs*. But even here we are not helpless. Fortunately one whole stave and fragments of all the others remain. The word usual in a place of this kind is SETA, and the spores left exactly agree therewith. Of the shaft of the s only a tiny trace is left. Next come the leavings of two straight strokes, which are evidently the legs of the M (E).

¹ In his Danica Literatura, 4to, 1636, p. 68, and p. 66 in the folio edition of 1651; a different and altered woodcut in his Monumenta, p. 478. For some corrections see Runamo, pp. 488-490.

² This is properly an overprint. The whole article, text and woodcuts, had previously appeared in "Illustreret Nyhedsblad", fol., Christiania, June 28, 1857, pp. 180-2.

Thereafter the lower shaft of ↑ (τ), and lastly a nearly perfect Υ (Λ). — The sr in the 1st line are *closed staves* (letters jammed close together), and the dæ in the 2nd line are *tied* (a Bind-rune).

After this ingress, which I could not make shorter, I come to the epitaphs. I propose no change, find no "mis-rising", no "blunders by an ignorant workman", and would divide and translate:

ECWIWÆ

ÆFTER WODURIDE, WITÆI GÆHELEIBEN,

WORÆHTO R(un)es).

ÆRBINGÆS INGOST, LIA.

ÆRBINGW NODU, INGOA, DOHTRIA,

DELDUN (SET)A WODURIDE STÆINÆ.

ECWIWÆ

AFTER (*in memory of*) WODURID, her-WISE (*noble*) LOAF-FELLOW (*companion, mate, husband*),
WROUGHT (*carved*) these-RUNES.

The-HEIRS INGOST and-LIA,

the-HEIRESSES NODU and-INGOA, DAUGHTERS,

DEALED to-SET (*shared in setting*) to-WODURID this-STONE.

In both these inscriptions † (the later Λ) is used for N, a Runic peculiarity or elegance often found on very old Runic monuments.

ELDER was a title and an office in the oldest times, and a very young chieftain might be an ALDERMAN. So in England the WITA was a member of the WITENA-ge-mot, the Moot or Assembly of the Witas, the Free Parliament of those days, and the pl. nom. WITAN signified the Grand Council, the Chief Rulers, the Nobility, &c. In the oldest Runic monuments WITA &c. would seem to be often used in the same sense, and I have no doubt that it signifies above, not *Wise* but, NOBLE, ILLUSTRIOUS.

As the Northern side of this monolith is so much finer than the other, and as the staves there are carved so much larger and bolder, it would seem that this was the first and principal surface. In other words, the chief actor in this memorial sarsen (natural block or boulder) appears to have been ECWIWÆ, the widow of the deceased. But the same runic "hand" prevails on both sides of the stone, and both may have been carved at the same time, or the one very shortly after the other. On neither side have we the letter M. We therefore cannot see how it would have been carved to distinguish it from D, which is here given by the shankless M — either M or D as the context may require.

In my translation I had, with Prof. P. A. Munch, taken GÆHELEIBEN (LOAF-FELLOW) as equal to *Brother-in-arms, Comrade*. But, when reading the last proof, Miss Maria Meinert suggested to me that ECWIWÆ might be a fem. name and GÆHELEIBE simply *HUSBAND*, when we should have the whole family; WODURID, his Widow ECWIWÆ, his sons INGOST and LIA, and the daughters NODU and INGOA. I take it that this is self-evident, the old story of the Egg of Columbus, and at once adopt so happy a hint. It is true that we have no other example of this meaning — in Mæso-Gothic GAHLAIBA has the sense of *comrade, fellow-soldier*. But this is no argument. As I have said so often, the old dialects have had thousands of forms and words and meanings of which we now know nothing. — Should this be the true signification, it is a powerful confirmation of my translation of the Varnum stone, Sweden (p. 218).

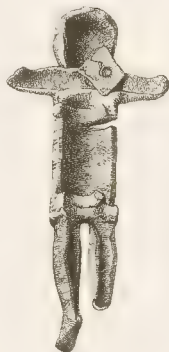
If my reading be correct, we have here the most hoary archaisms. — the prefix GÆ and a nasal noun acc. sing. masc. in N (GÆHELEIBEN), a verb in the past tense 3rd pers. sing. ending in o (like the Gallehus Golden Horn) instead of i (WORÆHTO), a strong noun masc. in the nom. pl. ending in s (ÆRBINGÆS), with an equally remarkable nom. pl. fem. noun in w (ÆRBINGW), and a striking and decisive past tense 3rd pers. pl. ending in N (DELDUN) — with the comparatively modern form of an infinitive ending in A (SETA), and not in AN, as we should naturally expect. The whole might at first sight be mistaken for a stone carved in Northumberland, in our venerable Old North-English dialect. In fact it strikingly reminds us, in spite of the difference of time, of the lines carved on the Ruthwell Cross. — ECWIWÆ is a well-known Scando-Gothic womans-name.

Thus in the folkland and at the time when this monolith was raised, daughters inherited as well as sons; whether equally or not, we cannot say.

FRÖHAUG, ROMERIKE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

Full size. From Drawings and a Photograph, made immediately after its discovery, kindly forwarded by Lector OLAF RYGH, Keeper of the University Museum, Christiania. — Drawn by Lieut. A. P. MADSEN. Engraved on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND



Many Old-Northern inscriptions have of late happily been found on more or less *fast* objects in Norway, but hitherto none on small pieces. In Denmark, where so many jewels and other inscribed minor things have been discovered, all the stones &c. bearing these runes are overgang. Not one has yet been found *only* in the Old-Northern letters. But we need not despair of both lands eventually offering materials of either kind. This is already the case in Norway. A small figure has just (November 1865) turned up there, risted with the Olden staves.

This remarkable object is the bild of a man, of Copper (or perhaps of Bronze, for it has not yet been analyzed), apparently an Amulet, worn for good luck in battle. It is not quite perfect, having lost the ends of both arms and of one foot. Its length from the crown of the head to the toe-point is 75 millimètres; the distance between the ends of the arms is 40 millimètres. The inscription also is not complete. It consisted originally of 4 letters, but the last of these, that to the extreme left, has been nearly destroyed, rubbed away by the finder to see whether the metal was gold!

But I continue in the words of the excellent old-lorist Olaf Rygh, who has allowed me to translate his letter to me describing this interesting piece:

"It was found on the grounds of the homestead *Frøhaug*, in Udenæs Sogn, Nis Prestegjeld, Romerike, on the west of the river Glommen, about 2 Norse miles from where it flows into the lake Oieren, 5 Norse miles north-east of Christiania. This freehold was formerly called *Freyhof*, and

consequently has once had a temple dedicated to the god Frey. The remains were discovered by a ploughman, the plough grating against them. They were carefully collected by the land-owner, Christen Frøhaug, and by him were given to the University Collection. The find was as follows:

"1. A "Kettle" or dish of Brass or Bronze, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high and about 10 inches across the mouth, considerably bent. Is of very thin metal, and was filled with burnt bones.

"2. A double-edged iron Sword, bent so as to lie 5-double.

"3. A Lance-head of iron, with a double-edged blade and a sharp ridge along the middle of the blade.

"4. Fragment of a second iron double-edged Lance-head. The original shape cannot be distinctly made out.

"5. An iron Spear-head, with barbs.

"6. Piece of an iron Shield-boss.

"7. The fastenings of a Shield-handle, of iron.

"8. A Knife-blade of iron.

"9. Fragments of a Rand or Edging of bronze, with the nails still left. I cannot say to what they have belonged; they seem too small to have been attached to a Shield.

"10. Some hemispherical hollow Buttons of sheet bronze, of three several sizes, all of them with nubs of bronze on whose ends are small rivet-plates of iron. Judging from the length of the nails, the substance on which these Buttons were fastened must have been about $1\frac{1}{2}$ line thick, and was apparently a Belt, perhaps of leather.

"11. The above-mentioned COPPER HUMAN FIGURE, which had evidently been riveted as an ornament on the object (? Belt) to which the Buttons belonged. On the hollow back are two pins, cast in a piece with the rest, and on the one is still a rivet-plate of iron, of the same form as those on the Buttons; the other pin, the lowermost, is broken off. The bild is convex on the front and concave on the back; the right foot and both the arms are gone, and it is also broken across the breast. All these are old breakages. The runes would seem to be read from right to left. The first stave on the right is φ . The little stroke on the right of the circle is plain, but somewhat weaker than the other runings, for it is accidental, the sharp instrument having slipped down a little lower than was intended. On the left of the circle, lowish down, is a small slanting scratch, faint and fortuitous. The second rune is quite plain. The third letter is \boxtimes . The upper horizontal stroke is somewhat weaker than the lower, but I think there is no doubt about it; the dotted lines may, I think, be made out. The last stave, on the left, was scraped away with a knife before the piece was sent to the Museum; I cannot say positively, but I think there are traces of a stave here. It is not sure that the runes were carved when the figure was made; they may have been engraved much later.

"When found, these remains lay on the top of the burnt bones in the bronze vessel. The whole was covered with a stone, which to the finder looked like a tile. The soil where it lay has been cultivated from the oldest times, there was no stone-setting round the Dish, and the earth near was like the rest of the field. But still there may have been, doubtless has been, a barrow here. Cultivation has gradually cleared it away, tho not till now have the grave-remains been reached. About 100 paces farther off are a whole group of small grave-mounds, and about 500 paces away is a large burial-hill.

"As far as I can see, all the objects lying on the Dish have been placed on the bale-fire. The best preserved among them — they are mostly much damaged by rust — seem to bear evident marks of cremation, besides which among the charred bones were many small lumps of melted glass, probably of a glass cup which had been placed on the funeral pyre. This, in my opinion, is the explanation of the fact that on the Figure and Buttons are no traces of the substance on which they were fixed, which would have been the case if they had been deposited unburnt.

"I have no hesitation in classing this hoard with the Runic pieces in the Danish finds from the Early Iron Age. The iron weapons have the same form as those from the Danish Mosses. Sword No. 2 is the same in shape as those in Engelhardt's "Nydam Mosefund" Pl. VI and VII; Spear No. 3 answers to those in the same work Pl. X, especially to Fig. 1; Spear No. 5 resembles that on Pl. XI, Fig. 25; Umbo No. 6 is like that in Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager" No. 339, from Allesø Moss; Knife-blade No. 8 is nearly the same as Pl. XV, Fig. 8 in "Nydam Mosefund", and, like that, has dotted ornaments, tho not exactly of the same pattern; Shield-handle No. 7 resembles in form

"Thorsbjerg Mosefund" Pl. 8, Fig. 9, only that on the Frøhaug piece the two nails (with semispherical heads) are still left.

"Another peculiarity connecting this and other Norse grave-finds on the one hand with the Danish Moss-finds on the other, is the evidently wilfully-injured condition of the pieces before they were deposited; compare Thorsbjerg Mosefund pp. 15, 16, and Nydam Mosefund pp. 5, 6. That a Sword is bent double and Spears bent, is common enough in other Norwegian grave-finds; but I have not hitherto seen any Umbo so violently wrenched as the one found here; it is literally turned inside out; what was originally convex is here concave, and its upright point is bent to the very edge.

"On the other hand this hoard is identical with most of the other Norse grave-finds from the Early Iron Age. In these, as here, the burnt bones are chiefly deposited in a dish of bronze; the weapons have the same form; and the manner in which they are laid down is the same — always supposing that Frøhaug was originally a grave-mound.

"This whole find appears to me highly interesting as confirming the conclusion that the Older Runic inscriptions are from the same time and the same people as the Antiquities and Graves from the Early Iron Age; we had before proofs from Denmark and elsewhere in the North, we now have them also from Norway.

"As to the COPPER (or Bronze) FIGURE, I know of no parallel instance from any Norwegian find. It is true that it somewhat resembles the small Bronze bild (from a grave-hoy on the farm Rise in Opdal Præstegjeld, South-Thronhjelm Amt) described by Prof. Keyser in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed* 1842-3, p. 172, copied on Pl. VIII Fig. 2, which has also been nailed fast as an ornament, and whose size is nearly the same. But the style and workmanship are very different, and the Rise piece is undoubtedly from the later Iron Age. This is clear from the shape of the haft on the Sword which is swung before, and from the style of the ornaments on either side of the head (but of which we get a very imperfect idea from the engraving); besides which, it was found together with an oval bowl-shaped Brooch of brass, resembling those in Worsaae's *Oldsager* Nos. 419-422."

If it had not been for the words "but of which we get a very imperfect idea from the engraving", as to the style of the ornaments on either side of the head, I should have copied Prof. Keyser's drawing of the interesting Bronze bild found at Rise. But I am everywhere anxious, as far as in me lies, to give engravings altogether trustworthy. I will, however, translate the learned Professor's description of this piece, l. c. p. 172:

"The BRONZE FIGURE on Tab. VIII, Fig. 2, which is preserved in the Cabinet of Antiquities at Christiania, is a thin plate of carved and embossed work, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and where broadest about 1 inch, with no due proportions and very fantastically ornamented. The head, which is quite *en face*, is surrounded with a ring, perhaps intended to represent a Cap tied under the chin, and from this ring expand on each side broad but short wings or ears adorned with engraved work. The face is beardless. On the breast is a square, which, in spite of its extraordinary size, probably represents some kind of Brooch for the bosom or waist. Lower down, and seemingly suspended in two bands or straps fastened to the Belt, hangs slantingly in its sheath a short and broad Sword, whose haft perfectly agrees with the hafts of Iron Swords found in our heathen graves. The figure is covered with a long kirtle which reaches to the feet, and which is everywhere decorated with carved lines arranged in lozenges, the whole ending below with a border. Arms or Sleeves there are none; but the ornamental work on each side the cloke, from the shoulders to the feet, looks as if meant for either Wings or a wide and side (long) Cloke. Most likely these ornaments should be taken for Wings, the nether part being really very like feathers laid over each other. In the scorings of all the ornaments are yet the remains of gilding, and the whole form of this piece, in connection with the two nail-holes — one on each side the feet — would incline us to believe that it was an ornament originally nailed fast to some object on which it was to appear as if *sitting*. Accordingly the legs, from the knee to the foot, are rather prominent."

From the engraving it is not easy to see what the pillow-like object behind or on each side the hair or cap or helm was intended to represent. The square decoration a little below the neck looks rather like a Breastplate than a Brooch. Both Sword and Sheath are old-fashioned, and hang athwart over the belly, from the right breast just below the ?Breastplate to past the left thigh. The legs are given but no feet. It does not seem to me to be represented standing. If pagan, this figure may

be that of a warrior: if Christian, perhaps that of St. Michael. However this may be, it would seem to have been fixt on a Belt, like the piece found at Fröhaug.

If we now turn to the runes. The first (reading from right to left) is \mathfrak{F} , a very rare variety of the \mathfrak{s} , and nearly the same as the \mathfrak{F} of the Sigdal stone. The second is \mathfrak{F} , here reverst (\mathfrak{F}) as are all the letters, altho this only influences the shape of this one: that it is the usual Old-Northern \mathfrak{x} is self-evident.* Next comes a nearly perfect \mathfrak{x} , which is merely the usual Old-Northern \mathfrak{x} (6) in an ornamental frame. Lastly was a 4th stave, now nearly obliterated by the knife of the finder. It may have been \mathfrak{i} or \mathfrak{F} or \mathfrak{Y} . Rygh from the distance of what is left of the staff from the 3rd rune, judges that it must have had an arm on that side (and therefore on the other), and consequently must have been the letter \mathfrak{Y} .

These letters give us $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}$, or $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{s}$, or $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}$, probably the latter. But all would mean the same thing, the two former perhaps in the nominative VICTORY, the latter most likely in the dative, FOR-VICTORY. It is almost impossible to suppose that on *such* an object and on *such* a place should have been carved the name of the owner, ($\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}$ or $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{s}$ or) $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}$. There can be little doubt that the piece before us is an Amulet, a Victory-token, probably the image of some war-god. This is in accordance with the custom of bearing similar pieces for this purpose in the oldest¹ as in later times, and would seem also to result from the figure itself; for I think that the head bears a "Kettle" or skull-cap, close-fitting helm, and that body-armor covers the breast and stomach.

Looking then at the figure as that of a War-god, and as an Amulet worn for luck in battle or as a charm against wounds and death, I read:

$\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}$ (? \mathfrak{a}).

For- $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}$! (= for-Victory!)

It is true that this word has usually \mathfrak{i} in most of the old dialects, not \mathfrak{x} or \mathfrak{e} . But many word-smiths have conjectured that the earliest form may really have been the \mathfrak{e} (or \mathfrak{x}). Certain it is, that the oldest Scando-Gothic names known to us into which this word enters — the $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{st}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{s}$ (= $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{s}$, $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{t}$) and $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}$ ($\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{r}$) of Tacitus in the 1st century after Christ — have the \mathfrak{e} not the \mathfrak{i} . But here, as elsewhere, the floating dialects may have had a floating vowel, \mathfrak{x} or \mathfrak{e} or \mathfrak{i} , the one as old as the other. — As for $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}$ instead of $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}$, I need not add that \mathfrak{a} (or \mathfrak{x}) is the characteristic dative-mark of strong masculines of this class in the very oldest Scando-Gothic tungs. We have this dative in \mathfrak{a} again on the Reidstad stone, p. 256, ($\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{ng}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{a}$ $\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{c}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{u}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{a}$), and elsewhere.

Should we make the word to be the dative of $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}$ or $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}$ "the son of (w)oden", and translate $\mathfrak{To}\text{-}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{i}$, the meaning in fact still comes to the same thing.

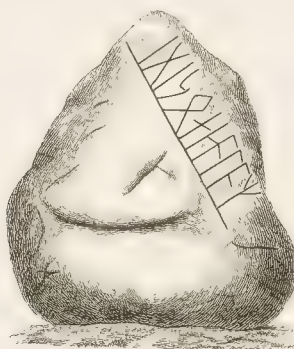
(While reading the last proof of this sheet, a note from Lector Rygh has reached me, dated Jan. 19, 1866, announcing that this piece is — as was to be expected — of BRONZE. He says: "You will have remarkt that I was doubtful whether the Fröhaug piece was of Copper or of Bronze. The strong red color of the metal seemed in favor of the former. The question could only be decided by a chemical analysis, but I durst not sacrifice so large a bit of the figure as this would require. So I thought it would be sufficient to analyze one of the small Buttons which have been used in the same way as the little bild (doubtless on a Belt), and whose metal has exactly the same hue. Accordingly I have had one of these examined, and the result is that it is *Bronze*. The proportion of Tin is not large, which explains the red color, but yet too considerable to be merely accidental. There was not time for a quantitative analysis.")

¹ Besides the well-known LIFE-STONE (against wounds and death) and $\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{r}\text{-}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{o}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{e}$ (Victory-stone), the Northmen used talismans of many other kinds, particularly small figures of Gods and Men, Rings, Pendants, &c., a custom which Christianity modified but did not do away with. These things were worn on their weapons or armor, or on the person in a small bag, and often accompanied them to the tomb. Runic formulas were frequently inscribed on various objects for the same purpose, as in later days were short prayers and the names of Saints in Latin letters. In the Early Iron Age Gnostic Gems and ornaments were sometimes made use of in the same way. — See also the remarks of W. F. R. Christie in *Urda*, 4to, Vol. 1, Bergen 1837, pp. 45-66, "Den Rotlandske Steenring"

STENSTAD, THELEMARK, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

Of this monument I am able to give two different views. The first

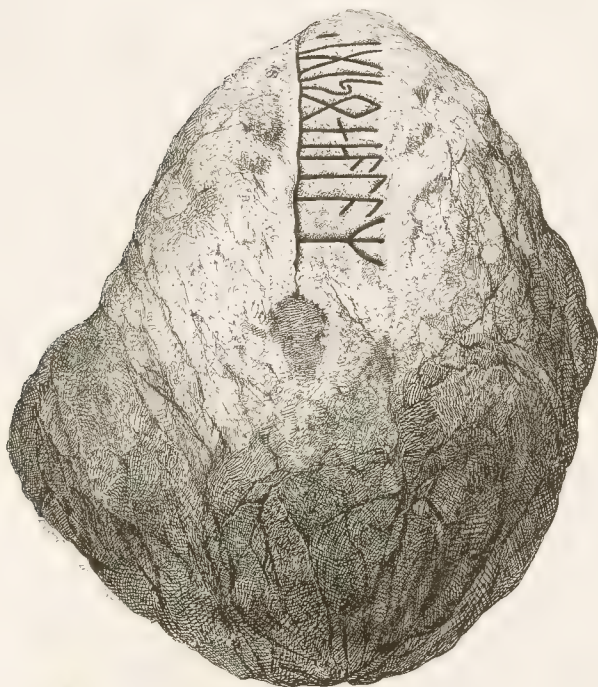


is copied from Fin Magnussen's *Runamo*, Plate 13, Fig. 5. I had it re-engraved at a period when it was doubtful whether I should ever have an opportunity of visiting the original block, which as here seen is drawn from the extreme left and is in substance correctly given.

But since then, in July 1864, I have been able to examine the stone itself, in company with my artist, Mr. J. Magnus Petersen. To give variety, I directed that gentleman to make his sketch, which is extremely accurate, from the right centre. We can thus examine it from two points of view. I have not thought it desirable to give the useful but very tasteless pedestal 3 feet 3 inches high, on which the stone has been raised.

The block is roundish in form, greatest height about 23 inches, greatest width about 20, and greatest thickness about 24. It is quartzose in structure, of fine grain, a kind of greyish Norse marble, and is the only Runic piece of that material which I have seen or heard of. This alone would have led us to suspect that it was of Norwegian origin. But it has usually been regarded as Danish. Fin Magnussen was the first to identify it as a Norse monument. Since then, the Archivary Herbst has disinterred from the archives of the Old-Northern Museum and communicated to Councilor C. F. Wegener two letters from the Baillie Samuel Thornsøhn, dated Oct. 22. 1781 and Feb. 23. 1782, detailing the facts connected with this stone. From this source Councilor Wegener has ably elucidated the question in "*Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*", Kjobenhavn 1856, pp. 182-84, where also the stone and pedestal are engraved on a very small scale¹. See also the *Annaler* for 1855, p. 371, for Rafn's reading, and *Runamo*, p. 395, for Fin Magnussen's.

¹ The engraving is copied into the Norse "*Illustreret Nyhedsblad*", Christiania 1859, Febr. 13. fol., p. 34. with a short text.



The fact is, then, that this piece was found in 1781, in a Cairn in Holden Parish, and was sent over to Denmark the year following by the Baillie Samuel Thornsohn, of Lower Thelemark, as a gift to the Hereditary Prince Frederik, who placed it on a pedestal on Juliane-høi in the grounds of Jægerspris, a Palace in Sealand, Denmark. It was discovered not on but *inside* the Barrow, 2 feet below the surface. Beneath it were 3 flat stones, the two standing as sides while the third was an overlier. In this kist lay 4 glazed pots or urns of several sizes, full of ashes and bones and charcoal, together with a small cast golden ring, a round wooden (? birchen) pail with a handle of bronze and thin narrow bronze bands or hoops, 4 small beads of stone or burnt clay, a kind of brooch not further described, and fragments of a small iron sword, with a piece of bronze probably used as a fastening for the sword-belt. At the bottom of one of the urns was a piece of cut glass, which refracted the rays of a candle. All these things were sent to Cheapinghaven at the same time. Of course they cannot now be traced.

The runes are about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, plainly and sharply cut. Here also we have † as N. The HÆ is a monogram. The staves read from left to right. They are preceded and announced by a short stroke, opposite the center of the first letter. I divide them thus:

IGING ON HÆLÆ A.
IGING ON (of) HÆLI OWNETH (this grave).

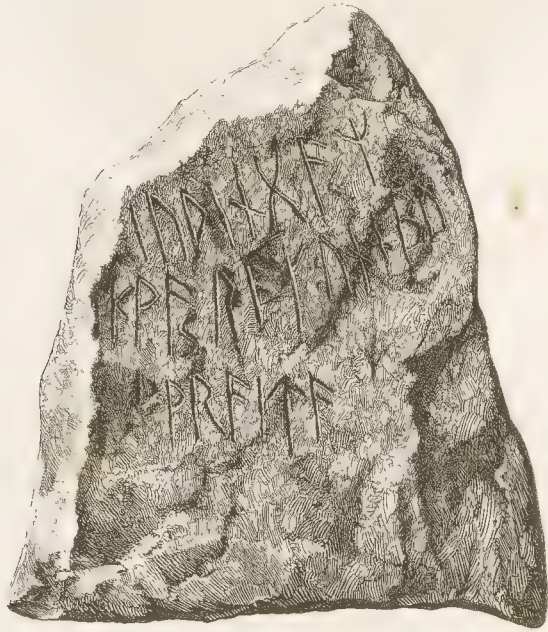
It is not for me to identify the place here named. But several localities called HALI, HELI, &c., are mentioned in old Norse documents, and there may well have been a homestead of this name also in Thelemarken.

As 4 Burial-urns were found inside the kist, this may have been a family grave.

REIDSTAD, LISTER, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500

*From Rubbings, a Paper Cast and a Photograph, kindly forwarded by Prof. SOPHUS RUGGE, of Christiania.
Drawn and engraved by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.*



Found in the year 1857¹ by a ploughman earing a field on the lands of Reidstad, Hiterön, Lister Fogderi, Lister and Mandal Amt, South-Norway. This stone has been carefully removed to Christiania, and is now raised on a garden-plot near the University. Its greatest height and breadth is about 2 feet, its greatest thickness 8 inches. There are runes only on one side.

This inscribed sarsen was first hit upon by Hr. Vaage, and a rough sketch by his hand was politely communicated to me by Prof. Unger. But since then other excellent materials have been pro-

¹ Not in 1847 or 1848, as stated in Nicolaysen's "Norske Fornlevninger". Part 2. 8vo. Kristiania 1863, p. 287.

vided me by Prof. Bugge, who has also repeatedly compared my Artist's drawing with the original monument, ameliorating any slight imperfection. In this way, as in the similar case of the Tune stone, has been obtained as I hope entire and minute accuracy.

The block in some places has suffered, as all can see. I would particularly point out that in the first line, after the \mathfrak{D} , there is a flaw close to the left top of the \mathfrak{I} ; and that there is another still greater damage in the 2nd line, between the \mathfrak{N} and the \mathfrak{A} , so that the \mathfrak{N} (\mathfrak{t}) at first sight looks like an \mathfrak{A} (\mathfrak{f}), while the left arm of the \mathfrak{A} (\mathfrak{Y}) is partly gone. Towards the end of this line the \mathfrak{B} , in my opinion, is plain tho injured. The very tip of the following \mathfrak{o} (\mathfrak{x}) has partly scaled away or else has never been deeply cut; the same letter was perhaps open at the top on the Gommor stone, in fact such slight variations or scathes are common in runes as in our own handwriting and on modern monuments. Time has a sharp tooth. That this last letter is \mathfrak{o} (\mathfrak{x}), tho the legs are long and straight (\mathfrak{g}) as often elsewhere, cannot be doubted as far as I can see.

There is little to be said with regard to the runes. In the 1st line the bow of the \mathfrak{D} grasps the whole stave (\mathfrak{D}), as often. At the beginning of the 2nd line the \mathfrak{ic} are *closed* (carved close, so as to touch), as occurs so frequently with runic letters. Under the 3rd stave, the \mathfrak{x} (\mathfrak{f}), is an \mathfrak{s} , written small to save room, for that the letter is really \mathfrak{s} there can be no doubt; diminutive letters, mixt with larger, are found repeatedly on old monuments; the following \mathfrak{u} is, as often, so carved that it might be taken for \mathfrak{r} . It is also noteworthy that in this line we have the \mathfrak{N} in two variations, as \mathfrak{t} and as \mathfrak{t} .

It will be observed that at the very beginning of the second line, close to the edge, is a short mark apparently cut in. Should this dwarf line — which cannot be a letter — have been ^{intentional}, I take it to have been a divisional mark *before* the name $\mathfrak{icwæsuna}$, like as the 2 dots directly *after* it.

With this introduction — and premising that I take the first 2 words to be the name (in the dative sing. masc.) of the deceased warrior, the 3rd to be the name (in the nominative sing.) of the friend who raised the stone and carved the runes to his memory, and the 4th to be the required verb (in the 3 pers. singular past) — I would read quite simply:

$\mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{D} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{X} \mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{Y}$
 $\mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{k} \mathfrak{p} \mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{Y} : \mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{t} \mathfrak{B} \mathfrak{g}$
 $\mathfrak{p} \mathfrak{x} \mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{f}$

IUDING EA ICWÆSUNA

UNNBØ

WRÆITTE.

To-IUTHING ICWÆSON (= Ingwæson) UNNBØ WROTE (these runes).

(= Unnbo inscribed this stone in memory of Iuthing Ingwæson.)

As on some other runic pieces, the carver of this block has cut the letters \mathfrak{N} and \mathfrak{G} (\mathfrak{t} and \mathfrak{X}) separately, instead of using the double-rune \mathfrak{S} (\mathfrak{NG}), or some other of the many variations of that Old-Northern type. But it is not therefore sure that he was ignorant of this universal Old-Northern \mathfrak{NG} -rune, or, as it has been exprest, that "it was not in his Futhorc". On the contrary, it was most likely merely a matter of taste or local custom, as when we write \mathfrak{ks} instead of \mathfrak{x} , \mathfrak{ph} instead of \mathfrak{f} , and so on. At all events the fact is worthy of being pointed out. Similar instances occur in England as well as in Scandinavia.

A Norwegian friend has declared that the last 5 staves of the 2nd line cannot be redd UNNBØ, because this would give us "a union of consonants (\mathfrak{NB}) unknown to Scandinavian monuments". I answer, first, that I do not care for such a-priori rules, but only for what really stands on the block; and next, all I can say is — "so much the worse for the monuments" —, as this so-called "rule" only proves how comparatively *modern* these "monuments" are. The whole is only the result of the more or less universal slurring and nasalizing and falling-away of the \mathfrak{N} in the later Scandinavian dialects, of which I have spoken in the Introduction. The common mansname UNBEGEN in Old-English, and the as common UNBERT in Old-German are authority enough for UNNBØ in Old-Scandinavian. Besides which we have this same name again (spelt UNBØ), as far as I can see, on the West-Thorp Comb, Sweden.

ORSTAD, STAVANGER AMT, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

*From a Paper Cast and a Photograph, kindly sent me by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE, Christiania. Drawn by
Lieut. A. P. MADSEN, on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*



For the recovery and preservation of this monument we have to thank the exertions of Prof. Bugge, by whom it was obtained for the Christiania Museum in 1865. The following account,

the result of his minute enquiries, I have here with his permission brought together from his pencilings on the spot.

In 1855, or thereabouts, the yeoman Tobias Torgerson Orstad, of Orstad Farm in Sokkendal, Stavanger Amt, dug away a round "Houg", about 6 fathoms on every side, on a bank close to the river. He began to dig at the lower part; and at about the level of the ground, inside the How, he found "a square grave set with stones on all its 4 sides" — that is to say, a grave-kist — in whose center stood a high Pot or Urn, at first whole and full of ashes but which afterwards was broken in pieces. Near this cruch or pot lay heaps of "Sabres" (as the peasant called the iron Swords), perfect when taken up but crumbling away when exposed to the air. Besides these, were half a score "Bills" or iron Axes, and several large Beads of white glass, of which only one (rather small) was left and came into Prof. Bugge's hands. It was also rumored that a man of bad character, who had been present when the barrow was cleared, had found some gold which he sold to a village goldsmith for 30 Norwegian specie-dollars. Above the Urn, but resting on the side-stones, was a slab so large that 3 horses could not drag it away. Just at the edge of this slab, and outside the western end of the kist, stood a Runic Stone, fixt about the depth of a foot in the earth, so that the lowest line of runes was entirely hidden. The inscribed side faced the Urn. The finder supposed, from this position of the carved block, that it contained the name of the deceased. Round about the whole group was a considerable pile of cobbles and small stones, which on the one side lay quite close to the Rune-bearer. This was shortly after flitted by Master Tobias to his potato-cellar, where it did good service as a roof. But Tobias meant everything for the best, and at Prof. Bugge's request willingly replaced it by another slab, and the Runic Pillar is now in Christiania, properly taken care of.

This block is about 3 feet 9 inches high, 2 feet 7 broad below, 5 inches at the top and 4½ inches thick, and is of light-gray granite.

Prof. Bugge was convinced of the intelligence and trustiness of the finder, and does not doubt the correctness of his statements. In fact he was a respectable man, and had no earthly motive for misrepresenting what he had done.

From the above it will be seen that the lettered sarsen could not possibly have sunk down from the top of the Hoy, but was deliberately planted firmly in the ground close to the Burial-urn, when the grave-kist was made and the barrow thrown over it. This is therefore a decisive instance of the funeral block having been placed *inside* the tomb.

Whether from the sour earth or from accidental friction or other damage during the removal of this slab, the runes have here and there suffered. This is especially the case with the lowest line, which has been for nearly 1500 years in contact with the soil: the two first letters are very indistinct, and the last is doubtful and broken. Still it might have been worse. The two upper lines can be well made out, and the third may be redd with at least tolerable certainty notwithstanding its injuries.

Apparently there is nothing exceptional in the shape of the letters, save perhaps that we should not have expected so simple a form of \bar{u} (Λ) on so old a stone. As will be remarkt, there are several accidental dints or small holes at the end of the 2nd line, and Prof. Bugge thinks that the vowel may have been \bar{u} (Λ) not \bar{u} (Λ). I need not observe that it is often very difficult to distinguish between this dotted and undotted \bar{u} , as also between \bar{r} (κ) and \bar{r} (e), \bar{l} and \bar{t} (ϵ), &c., on the later Scandinavian-runic stones. Copyists seldom agree where the piece is much worn, so readily may a flaw or weathering or dint or injury on the surface be mistaken for a really hand-made intentional "sting", and *vice versa*. As to the letter before us it is of no great consequence either way, but I think that the point in the Λ is evidently regularly carved and the stave therefore Λ . And this thinner vowel we should expect if my reading be admitted, for the \bar{u} will then be the nominative-ending of the name $\bar{S}ERELU$ (= $\bar{S}ÖRL$). In the last line the down-stroke on the bar of the \bar{h} seems carved, not accidental.

$\bar{æ}$ is a favorite vowel-sound in the folk-talk on this block.

So surprising a distance between the undermost row of runes and the foregoing lines, I have never before seen. The Peace-formula was thus in direct contact with the Genii of Mother Earth, in whose bosom her child was asleep. I therefore judge that the first two lines stand by themselves, take each as it meets us — looking upon each as a Proper Name — and translate:

H I F I X F Y
 Z F R F I A

Y R F P H F R (F)

HILIGÆA
 SÆRÆLŪ.

A R E W H E R (Æ).

To-HILIGÆ (= HILGE, HELGE)
 SÆRÆLŪ (= SÖRLI, = 'carved these runes').

OWES (owns, hath, enjoys) - he ROO (rest) HERE!
 (= Here rests he now in peace!)

In accordance with the information sent me from Norway, I have hitherto followed Bugge in calling this the *Årstad* stone. But that learned gentleman now thinks that it had better be named the *Orstad* stone, as it is spelt in the Terrier and in Munch; for the old name is *Ornstadir*. See Munch, *Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge*, p. 157, and *Diplom. Norvegicum*, Vol. 4, *passim*.

This, like every other of my translations, is tentative. I assert nothing, only suggest. We must feel our way, and every analogy is welcome. — Thus, only confining ourselves to the monuments already given and to the approaching Tomstad stone, we have a goodly array of nouns all — apparently, probably, almost certainly — in the *dative singular*, and all ending in *Æ*. We have:

Björketorp, BERUTA,
 Möjebro, LÆGINIA, FRÆWERÆDEÆ,
 Krogstad, ÆA,
 Tanum, ÆA,
 Lindholm, TUMBÆ,
 Frøhaug, SÆG(Æ),
 Reidstad, IUDINGÆA, ICWÆSUNA,
 Orstad, HILIGÆA,
 Tomstad, WÆRUA.

As *Æ* and *Á* are nearly the same, so *Æ* and *Æ* are mostly only local colorings of the same vowel. From times dim with antiquity down to our own age, we have this *Æ* and *Æ*, *Æ* and *Æ*, *Æ* and *Æ*, fluctuating in all our manuscripts and in all our provinces. Accordingly, other examples of this same *dative-ending* might be added from these olden runic pieces, only with the narrow *Æ* instead of the broader *Æ*.

All these congruing forms cannot surely be "mistakes" or "misreadings" or "accidental". They are rather precious remains of a long bygone stage in our Northern mother-tong.

BELLAND, LISTER, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From Drawings and Paper Cast, kindly forwarded by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE, Christiania.

This stone, irregular in shape, is about 5 feet long, 3 broad and from 9 to 10 inches thick. As far back as is known, it has lain as a spang, or foot-bridge, over a beck dividing the farm of Belland, along the reach of the dale, and is known under the name of "Oustegars-Bruna" (Østergårdsbroen, Eastgarth-bridge). It is in nearly a right line between the farmsteads of Hans Belland and Bernt Nielsen, in Oustad Sogn (Parish), Lyngdal Præstegjeld (Cure), Lister and Mandal Amt (Shire). As the inscribed side was upward, the ruins have suffered from tramp, particularly the first letter, and for the same reason the surface exhibits many flaws and scratches.

The following sketch, by Student H. C. Kielland, is a view of this sarsen as it now meets the eye of the wanderer:

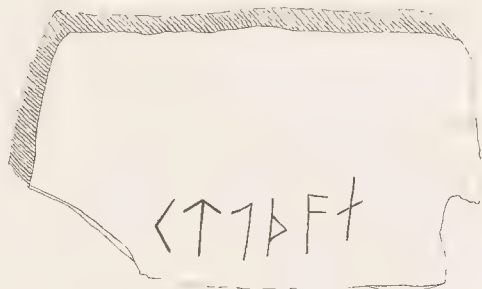


Some years have past since this monument happened to be observed by a scientific man. Somewhere about the summer of 1850 was it first remarkt by the Civil Engineer Kielland, who sent his transcript to Christiania. But it afterwards was lost sight of. Nicolaysen lookt for it in vain, and it was not till April 1865 that Mr. H. C. Kielland, brother of the Engineer, fortunately added this piece to his treasure-trove. He at once drew the general view, as given above, made a tracing of the runes, and again figured the block itself. All these he communicated to Lector O. Rygh, and to his kindness and that of Prof. S. Bugge I am indebted for the information and drawings here given. To be quite sure, and as the two sketches have been made from a slightly different point of view, I here engrave both the outlines so obligingly forwarded me.

A.

ENGINEER KIELLAND'S DRAWING.

1850.



B.

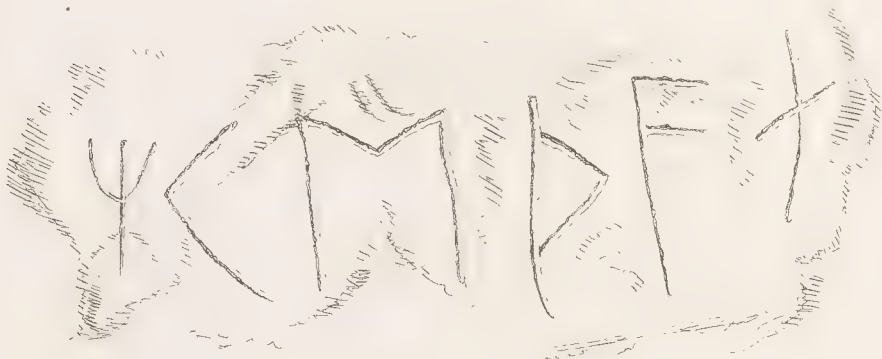
STUDENT KIELLAND'S DRAWING.

1865.



As we see, both these drawings are essentially identical, the variations in the runes being only such as arise from the difficulty of determining whether a mark is hewn a little longer or shorter, and so on.

These being all the materials available, and there being no hopes of getting better, I of course had them engraved. But I was not satisfied. The runes were evidently meaningless, and I could scarcely believe that so short a resting was contracted. So I implored Prof. Bugge to seek out the stone. And he was fortunately able so to do in the summer of 1865, on his runic tour. He procured a photograph of the rennil and its overlier, which I need not here repeat; but, owing to the position of the inscription, of course could not get a sun-picture of the runes. But he carefully took a fine Paper Cast, and this he placed in my hands. The result is — that the former copiers had not observed the first letter — it being faint and damaged from the feet of passengers — and that they had taken a plain break or flaw or scathe in the stone (on the left top of the M) to be a part of the stave, thus getting their ↑ 1 or ↑ 1 (or M), whereas it is only M. To make this quite clear, I have let my artist engrave on wood, with great accuracy 1-third the size of the original — the Paper Cast before him — this perfect "Rubbing". The result is, that what formerly made no sense is now full of meaning, and thus we have another example of the necessity for being exact and of getting Casts and other such really trustworthy facsimiles, if possible, when we approach olden inscribed pieces:



There is now no difficulty. The block before us is doubtless a funeral stone from the early heathen time, as are all others of the same character; and, like so many of its peers, it has been dragged from its cairn and devoted to a "useful" purpose. Its short runic inscription is valuable in

three respects, — as being only the name of the deceast, that noble simplicity which strikes us so much when found on ancient or later grave-stones Classical or "Barbarian", the full-sized < (c), instead of the more usual smaller figure c, — and the mark þ for N, as so often on the oldest monuments, instead of the usual ð. That the opening stave is ʏ (A) seems to be certain, as far as I can judge from the paper cast sent to me. But the marks are shallow and broken from the flaws at this part, and from the continual tramp of passengers' feet. Before we can be fully satisfied, we must wait till the stone itself can be sent to Christiania and again examined. Should it reach that capital in time, I will communicate the result in the Addenda.

What, then, is the name of the warrior here commemorated? It is clearly

ʏ < M Þ F þ

A C E D E N

A C E T H E N.

I have not seen this compound (of ACE, *driving*, *car*, and DEN, a *thane*, a *chieftain*) before. It might be modernized as CAR-THANE, CARRIAGE-CHIEF, and was doubtless given to him on account of some splendid or singular vehicle in which he delighted to drive, at a time when such luxuries were comparatively scarce and costly. And this is so much the more likely and so much the more interesting, as we know that the *Horse* came into Scandinavia together with the *Runes* (written letters) and with *Iron*. Hence the predominant new "folk" or clan-group of highly civilized Colonists, settling among the richly gifted but horseless Bronze-peoples, would be proud of their noble steeds — one source of their war-like superiority and rapid success, for Iron-armed Cavalry among a Bronze-armed Infantry was the same as the Spanish Musqueteers and Culverin-men among the brave and disciplined but helpless cohorts of Montezuma and his Aztecs. Nothing more natural, then, than that some Lord of many Chariots, or some owner of a "Waggon" more than usually graceful in peace or terrible in battle, should inherit or acquire the appellation CAR-THANE. It is quite in harmony with this that the War-steed itself is carved on the Møjebro stone, and that the Horse plays so important a part in the decorations of the Early Iron Age. On the oldest Rock-carvings from this period (the famous "Häll-ristningar" in so many parts of Scandinavia, especially in Sweden) we have both "Blonk" and Car in abundance; in the oldest Moss-finds we have splendid Horse-trappings, as well as the Horse itself and Wheels from the Waggon they had drawn: on the venerable and magnificent Golden Horns (Gallehus, Denmark) we have the Palfrey as a familiar ornament. The Golden Bracteates exhibit the same fleet and fearless animal; on the oldest Gotlandish stones we have the Steed repeatedly, sometimes even the symbolical or mythical Charger with 8 feet; on the oldest Scandinavian-runic blocks also the Horse appears. Thus there can be no doubt that an epithet (AKE, *car* or *driving*) so characteristic as not to be unworthy of THU(NO)R himself, the mighty Mace-God, the foe and victor of all Giants and Goblins, AKE-THOR, would not be refused an Earl or Folk-leader who may have rejoiced in some kind of newly introduced on-rushing vehicle. — But even should these remarks be called far-fetcht, and whether this be the meaning of the word or no, the runes are clear, and they can only be the name of the departed. A word of 6 letters cannot be a sentence. And tho AKETHEN is a mansname which we have not seen before, it is quite in accordance with hundreds of others from the oldest known Scando-Gothic period.

This stone seemed to Prof. Bugge to be of granite.

TOMSTAD, LISTER AND MANDAL AMT, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From a Photograph and a Paper Cast, kindly forwarded by Prof. SOPHUS BUGGE, of Christiania. Drawn by Lieut. A. P. MADSEN, cut on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.



Found in Mandal Amt, 1852, as we learn from the following letter, now in the Museum-Archives, Christiania. It is from the learned Norwegian Priest Johan Fritzner to Prof. R. Keyser.

then Guardian of the Christiania Museum. I translate from a transcript for which I have to thank Prof. Bugge. It is dated Vanse Rectory, Sept. 18, 1852:

"When I last spring had the pleasure of sending you some old-laves for the University Collection, I mentioned in the accompanying note that I had just heard of a find on the homestead Tomstad, which had brought to light among other things an ancient Rune-stone. Since then I have had an opportunity of examining the spot itself, a long since ruined grave-barrow, and have thereby come into possession of some things found therein which I now have the pleasure of sending you. They are a Spear-blade, and 2 round Cakes of burnt clay. These latter have not only a hole thro the middle, but also, at the side thereof, on the one flat, a peculiar hollow. It is said that fragments of a third similar Cake were dug up at the same time, showing altogether the same form. But these bits were lost, as were two pieces of iron, from the description probably the blades of a Shears, similar in shape to the Shears still made in this country for farming purposes, but the Bow of which had rusted away. The finder had laid down the Rune-stone as the upper slab in the steps to his house, and it was first some time afterwards that the written characters were observed. But not only is it difficult to get any meaning out of them from the stone being apparently broken off in the middle, but the letters are such that most of them I do not understand, while others are plain runes. I enclose a sketch of the stone, which I hope is tolerably correct, tho I am not very clever in such things, and the marks themselves were not quite clear, at least when I examined them."

The antiquities here alluded to are now in the Christiania Museum, as is the drawing of the stone itself. Prof. Bugge was so obliging as to send me a copy of the latter, when I straight recognized our Old Runes. I immediately requested him to visit the stone, take a Rubbing and Photograph, and remove the block itself to Christiania. All this his zeal has enabled him to do, and I and my readers now reap the fruit of his untiring exertions.

Lector Rygh informs me that the measurements of this sarsen are: Length, taken at the center, about 2 feet 3 inches; Breadth, about 1 foot 6 inches; Thickness, about from 5 to 6 inches. The whole stone is rough and wild. What now remains is evidently the upper half; the lower part, including the commencement of the risting, is lost. To show this the better, I have added the base, but *dotted*. The only peculiarity is, the mark of division (3 dots) between the two words.

What has been the inscription on the stone? From its general look and size and the arrangement of the runes I am quite convinced that the block has never borne more than 2 or 3 words. But we can come still nearer. The last word, which is whole, is a mansname in the dative (WÆRUA). The foregoing word (of which onlyÆN is left) has clearly been a mansname in the nominative. We had a similar mansname in the nominative, ending in N, on the Belland stone (ACEDÆN). Thus the whole may have been

....ÆN WÆRUA.

And this would seem the more probable. But if the missing piece has been very long, — that is, if the pillar has been very tall, — there may have been an additional word. In this case it was doubtless *the verb*, probably the usual WRÆITE. We should then have

WRÆITEÆN WÆRUA,

just as, only with the verb *last* instead of *first* (which is quite immaterial) we have on the Reidstad stone in *this same Shire*:

IUDINGEA ICWÆSUNA UNNBO WRÆITE.

As proper names ending in N are uncommon, and as the Belland stone (which bears only the name ACEDÆN) is in *this same Shire*, it is even not impossible that the whole name on the Tomstad stone may have been {ACED}ÆN, who thus, ere he himself died, may have raised this block to his friend or kinsman WÆRU. But I dare not speculate further and will simply propose, reversing the runes, which are all turned back and therefore redd from right to left (or from below upwards), what stands on the stone:

....ÆN WÆRUA

WRÆITEÆN WÆRUA

(WroteÆN to-WÆRU.

As to the shortness of the formula. We have many stones on which only one word has been inscribed, the name of the decessat. On others, only another word or two has been added.

The nearest approach to this Tomstad carving, as far as I can remember, in case it bore 2 names, one in the nom. and another in the dative, is the *Odensholm* stone, Skåneella Socken, Upland, which exhibits a single row of runes between narrow lines forming the continuation of a circled Cross. The words are:

Þ O R Ð R . þ B þ R þ .

Ð O R Ð R A B A R A .

T H O R T H t o - A B A R I

But there is a break on the stone, and there *may* have been an additional word or two. This block has not yet been re-found, and I only know it from a drawing by Lars Bure.

Nearly allied, and quite perfect, is the ancient pillar at Runnbotorp, Daga Härad, Södermanland, copied by the Rev. Axel Wætter in 1856:

Y I K I N N . þ N N . þ þ R þ .

K I S L A U K A U K Ð O R Ð .

after - K I S L A U K E K E (and) T H O R T H .

(= *To Kislauk and Thorth was this stone raised.*)

Some future find may supply us with an *exact* parallel to the at present unique form on the Tomstad stone. My translation must not be rejected merely because I have hitherto discovered no other *entirely* similar instance. Another such may turn up next week, or next year. *WERU* is a well-known Scando-Gothic mansname.

In the above remarks I have gone on the supposition that the Tomstad stone was taken out of the barrow whole, but that part of it had been destroyed ere the above half came into the hands of a runologist. The fact however may be otherwise. This stone may have been only a bit from the beginning. That is, it may have belonged to an older grave-mound, and may have been removed thence to aid in building the Tomstad kist. We have many examples of a similar employment of older materials in later sepulchres. Should this have been the case — and it is possible, not probable — it will only affect the age of the runic memorial. The Tomstad monolith may then be a century or two older, but otherwise it will make no difference in my reading.

In the same way, owing to the dimness of the scanty information available to us, we cannot tell whether the stone was originally placed *on* the barrow or *within* it; and, in case it originally belonged to a yet older low, whether it was used as a part of the tomb or was an overlier of the chamber or had been placed under the urn.

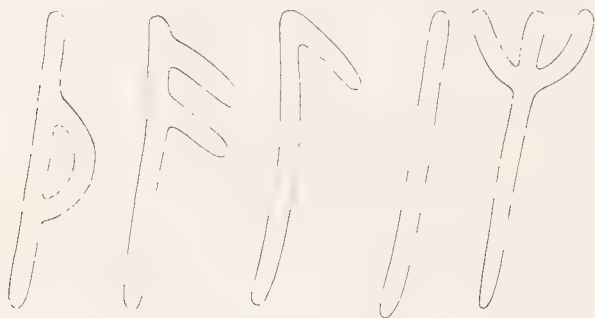
We can draw no conclusions as to the age of this piece from the staves being carved in one long perpendicular line. This is indeed a mark of great antiquity, but not necessarily of the greatest. — The Tomstad block is, as far as I can learn, of horn-blende granite.

BRATSBERG, TRONYEM, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

As far as I can learn, this monument, stated by Klüwer to have been of graystone, is lost or destroyed¹. Bratsberg Parish is 4 or 5 English miles from Tronyem. We have 3 independent copies of the inscription, all of them agreeing with each other. These I shall give in their chronological order.

A. *A Rubbing of the staves, taken by the exact and zealous Danish antiquary M. F. ARENDT, May 2, 1806, and now preserved in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven.*



This engraving, which most accurately follows the original, has already appeared in F. Magnusen's *Runamo*, p. 498. It is here repeated *from the same wooden block*, for which, like as for the similar Berga pieces, I am indebted to the courtesy of Hr. H. H. J. Lynge, of Cheapinghaven.

It will be observed that Arendt's drawing, if we may call his Rubbing by that name, is dated, in his own hand, *May 2, 1806*.

B. *Letter of Rev. J. H. DARRE, Parish Priest of Kløbo, dated the 17th of Dec. 1810, and now preserved in the same Museum.*

This intelligent clergyman first describes another immense Cairn, with a regular grave-chamber, opened in the same high ground by the Yeoman J. H. Bradsberg, who was moving his homestead to this bank and was clearing the ground for this purpose. He then continues²:

¹ In 1864 Lector Rygh visited Bratsberg farm, if possible to rescue the stone. The people there told him that it had been walled-up in one of the out-buildings many years ago; but no one could tell where. One old man, who said he had seen the stone, thought he could remember that the slab had been broken in pieces before it was thus used.

² "Den anden Gravhøj, hvis Omkreds stødte til denne, var besat med idel Kuppelstene. Den havde ingen egentlig indvendig Grav, eller Hule, men i dens Centrum en horizontal Aabning, dækket med to maadelig store og fladagtige Stene. Denne Høj

"The other Cairn, whose outer circle toucht upon the former, was heapt with cobble-stones. It had no regular internal grave or chamber, but in its center was a horizontal opening, covered with two tolerably large flattish stones. This How was still larger than the former, its diameter being at least 60 feet. Within it was found a Spear, about 10 inches long, but the haft for the weapon is nearly consumed. In shape this Spear was like a common swordblade, but somewhat thicker and rather higher on the flat part. Just such spears are still used by the Finlaps. At the eastern edge of the barrow was a square stone, about 22 inches on every side, and about 3 to 4 inches thick. A couple of hands-breadths were visible of this block above the surface, and on this part was the following inscription, in Runes nearly 3 inches high:

ᐱ ᐢ ᐣ ᐣ ᐣ

The Spear and the Stone are taken care of by the finder, Joen Hansen Bradsberg."

Here the runes are given upside down.

No date is mentioned for the find, but it is distinctly stated that the stone was 22 inches square, and was some 8 or 10 inches above the ground, it having probably partially sunk.

C. *The whole slab, copied from KLÜWER'S Norske Mindesmærker, p. 44, Pl. 10, Fig. c.*



Klüwer's text is only half a dozen lines, but contains several errors. He says the stone was found in 1810, and was 3 feet square. According to him, fragments of an urn were also discovered.

On the whole, we have now a very good idea of the Mound and its Runic stone. The staves are plain, and I read:

ᐱ ᐢ ᐣ ᐣ ᐣ

THELI OWNS (this grave).

There is of course a possibility that this is one word, in the dative sing. masc., in which case it will mean

To - THELI.

But the former reading, which gives a formula often employed, seems preferable.

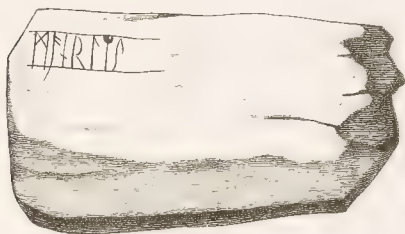
Should the word be in the nominative, we shall have the name

THELIA

var noget større end hin, og dens Gjennemsnit i det Ringeste 30 Alne. Her fandtes et Spyd, omtrent 10 Tommer langt. Førstet for Spydstagen er næsten forteret. Spydets Dannelsen ligner en almindelig Kaardkluge, dog noget tykkere og mere ophøyet paa det Flade. Just saadanne Spyd brugte endnu Finlapparne. 1 Hoyens Öster Kaut stod en firkantet Steen, hvor Linje omtrent 22 og Tykkelsen 3 til 4 Tommer. Et Par Haandbred af samme ragede frem over Jorden. Paa bemeldte Dec. fandtes følgende Runer indgravede — ᐱ ᐢ ᐣ ᐣ ᐣ — omtrent af 3 Tommers Længde. Spydet og Stenen ere opbevarede hos Finderen Joen Hansen Bradsberg." — Archives of the Mus. of Nor. Ant. Portfolio "Trondhjems Stift".

WEST TANEM, TRONYEM, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From KLÜWER'S Norske Mindesmarker, p. 103, Plate 29, b.

Klæbo Parish, in which this stone was found, is a few miles south of Tronyem. Klüwer gives the following account of the block, which I copy without change or abridgment¹:

"Near the homestead West Tanem, at the foot of a high hill, are several kemphows. Two of these were leveled by the owner in 1813. In one of them, which was 28 to 32 feet in diameter, he found, towards the eastern end, a Spear and a Metal Urn, while about in the middle was an uneven graystone 3 feet long, with letters carved as shown in the engraving."

This Inscribed Stone was therefore found *inside* the "Kemp-how", the venerable Champion-barrow, not *upon* it, and is of micaceous clayey slate.

The above representation, drawn on stone by Klüwer himself, I take to be essentially correct. I think it self-evident that the apparent R is IS, tho perhaps carved somewhat close, and that the two last runes were A and U.

We thus get:

Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ

MÆNIS LAU.

MÆNI'S LOW (= *Heap, Tumulus, Grave-mound*).

¹ "Ved Gaarden Vest Tanem findes ved Foden af et heit Bjerg adskillige Kæmpehøge. Tvende af disse lod Eieren af Gaarden opkaste 1813, og fandt i den ene, som var 14 à 16 Alen i Diameter, et Spyd og en Metal-Urne, i den østre Ende deraf, og omtrent i Midten, en halvanden Alens lang og ujævn Graasteen, hvorpaa var indhugget, som Tegningen viser." — Klüwer's valuable quarto was printed in 1823, but all the essential parts of the text and plates were ready for the press in 1818.

Since the above was written, Lector Olaf Rygh of Christiania has kindly forwarded me the following additional information, with permission for me to translate it for my work:

"It is still at the farm Tanem (or Tanem'en, with the article, as it is now pronounced); but has for many years been used as a step before the door of one of the out-buildings. The inscription was uppermost, so that the runes are nearly obliterated. The staves are cut in one corner of the squarish stone, and are about 5 Norwegian decimal inches high. They are bounded by a horizontal line above, but have no line below." [Traces, however, of this under line yet remain.] "The stone is not quite square, and the surface is tolerably uneven. The letters are cut rather thin and shallow."

All this perfectly agrees with the statements of Mr. Klüwer.

But in May 1865 this curious memorial was rescued from further desecration, and added to the treasures of the Christiania Museum. Lector Rygh instantly favored me with an admirable Paper Cast, showing — full size — all that is now left of the venerable Runes. This I add, engraved on wood by Mr. Rosenstand with all possible care and fidelity:



We see at once how terribly the stone has suffered from the tramp of half a century, especially on the lower half of the right side. But there can be no doubt of the correctness of Klüwer's copy, and of my original rendering of it. Of the first letter, the \mathfrak{M} (\mathfrak{M}), we have the two side-lines and a part of the top; of the second, the \mathfrak{E} (\mathfrak{F}), nearly all remains; the third, the \mathfrak{N} (\mathfrak{t}), is still nearly perfect; the fourth and fifth, the $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{Z}$ ($\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{S}$), were really so, carved very near each other, and not \mathfrak{R} (\mathfrak{R}); the sixth, the \mathfrak{L} (\mathfrak{L}), wants only a part of the foot; of the seventh, or \mathfrak{Y} (\mathfrak{A}), the top is quite plain; and of the last, the \mathfrak{U} (\mathfrak{H}), the upper half is left.

Thus the fortunate re-discovery of the original block has enabled us — in spite of the injuries it has received — to show that it was copied by Klüwer with his usual exactness (that is, with substantial tho not microscopically minute accuracy, such as we now require), and that the runic resting really was:

MENISLAU

SIGDAL, AGGERSHUS (CHRISTIANIA) SHIRE, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

This piece has hitherto defied every effort at translation. The principal reason is, that it has suffered so much from wanton ill usage. For a century and a half, at least, it has been lying as a door-step to the homestead By, in Sigdal Parish, and *it lies there still!* Hence, besides other injuries, the lower part of nearly all the letters has been worn away in most places. It is a sandstone block, and probably, to judge from the lines ready drawn for writing, was intended to receive a much longer inscription.

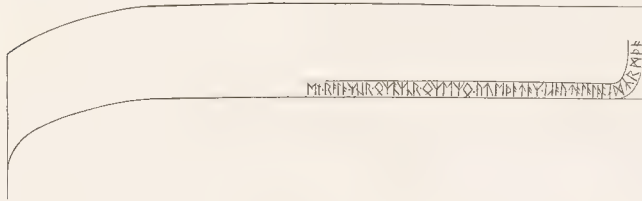
In treating this monument I enjoy greater advantages than my predecessors, in having access to 3 tolerable transcripts, besides inferior copies. These I give as I find them, and shall afterwards speak of the result.

A. A copy made by G. FALCH, dated Dec. 7, 1744, now preserved in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven.



As we see at a glance, this omits the two last words. Perhaps they were then obscured by brickwork, or some other worthy and convenient "domestic arrangement". The other old tracings in the same Archives, which are absurdly incorrect, yet agree in making the 1st rune M (E) and the 6th F (X). Falch's transcript was printed by Finn Magnusen in his *Runamo*, p. 492, and I have here repeated it from that learned antiquary's *own block*, for which I have again to thank Hr. H. H. J. Lyngce, of Cheapinghaven.

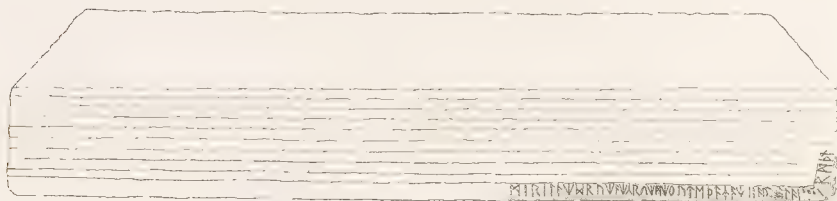
B. A drawing taken in Dec. 1810 by the Rev. P. HASLEF, and now in the same Museum.



This second, the best and most complete yet discovered, is now for the first time made public. I found it among the same Collectanea about Norway. It is from the hand of the Rev. Paul

Haslef, Dean and Priest of Sigdal, who was an excellent draughtsman. He complains of the letters being more than half trodden away, and states that the greatest length of the stone was then 5½ feet, its greatest breadth 2 feet 3 inches, and its thickness 9¼ inches. He has not thought it worth while to give the long lines, but the above is an exact facsimile of his drawing of that part of the block which contains the Runes.

C. NICOLAYSEN'S copy, in "*Foreningens til Norske Fortidsmindesterkers Beværing Aarsberetning for 1857*", 8vo, Christiania 1858, Plate 1, Fig. 1.



The above is re-engraved with scrupulous exactness. It is stated to be 1-9th the size of the original. — If now, placing the staves directly the one under the other, we patiently and carefully, letter by letter, compare these 3 copies of the stone, of which the last was taken nearly 120 years after the first, we shall see that they in fact essentially agree, in spite of all their mutual imperfections. Calling so to mind the formulæ usually employed on these monuments, remembering the mistakes so easily made by those who cannot read what they are imitating, and restoring the lower part of the staves so cruelly worn away, I think there can be little doubt that this ancient "risting" was originally very much as follows:

MIRIÐFFVHRRØYFFYLRØYMYNNTMÞFFTFYVTFRTFFFNIT(Λ)XRRX
ENRIDEAMROAÆACROAÆASUTEDETÆAFTERTÆLEUIN(Y)DYRMWN

This I would translate [also suggesting ENRID ÆAM ROAÆ, AC ROAÆA. — ENRITH EME (*uncle*) of-ROI, EEE (*and*) ROAÆA, when SUTE will be plural and TELE will be *their-TILL (good)*]:

ENRID, ÆAM ROAÆA CROAÆA, SUTE DETÆ AFTERTÆLE UIN(Y) DYRMWN.

ENRITH, EME (*uncle*) of-ROI the-GRAY,

SET THIS (*monument*)

AFTER his-TILL (*good*) WIN (*friend*) DYRMUN.

The word understood after DETÆ (ac. s. n.) was probably KUBL or KUMBL, *Cumbel*, mound, grave-mark; or MIRKI, *Mark*; or possibly BÆKN, BAKN, *Beacon*, grave-mark.

I am not sure about the Y in UIN(Y). This Y or R nominative mark is not unfrequently found as a kind of vowel also in the accusative case in Scandinavian-Runic inscriptions. There are certainly traces of it in Haslef's copy, but, judging from Nicolaysen's engraving, there is scarcely room for it on the stone. — It is grammatically possible that ROAÆA CROAÆA may be in the dative: *uncle to Roi the Gray*.

I have implored the authorities in Christiania to rescue this stone, and to transport it to the capital. This has at last been done, that is, the block has been obtained for the Christiania Museum. But it has not yet arrived thither, for want of snow. While this sheet is passing thro the press (Jan. 1866) there is no sign of snow anywhere in Scandinavia, which is a very great misfortune in all the Iron and Timber districts. But should it reach Christiania before this book is closed, Prof. Bugge has promised me a Photograph and a Paper Cast. This may amend or altogether overturn my above reading — which is only founded on what I have, not on what I have not. I can only honestly do my best. Meantime, we must all hold the above "combination" or "guess" in suspense.

SEUDE, THELEMARK, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

Nothing is known of this Rune-stone. Nicolaysen, in the "Aarsberetning" for 1857, p. 28, of the "Forening til Norske Fortidsmindesterkers Bevaring", Christiania 1858, suspects it to be lost.

We have two copies of the carving:

A. *WORM'S Literatura Runica, 4to, 1636, p. 68:*

P F I I F I 2 F X F M

B. *WORM'S Literatura Runica, fol., 1651, p. 66:*

P F I I F I Z F X F M

Worm himself is innocent of the above. He says the "characteres" were "delineati et transmissi" to him as he gives them. But the good "delineator" evidently thought he was copying Greek or Latin. The last is an impossible Rune. It is evidently a bad imitation of one of the many forms given to the mark for NG. Assuming this to be the case, I think the staves, if properly given, would have been nearly as follows:

P F I I F I Z F X F M

This would seem to be:

WETTÆT SÆMENG.

These may be the words otherwise found spelt in later times in the form

WIPANT SÆMING.

and are equal to

WITHANT SAM'S-SON

which is merely the name of the deceast.

Or we may divide:

WETTÆT SÆMENG.

WÆT AT (to, in memory of) SÆMING.

Or again, taking the second F twice, in the runic manner, we may read:

VETTÆÆT SÆMENG.

WÆTTE AT (to, in minne of) SÆMING.

If so, one of the old names Norse-Icelandic VADI, Old-German WATTO, WETTI, may perhaps be the one here found; TR and D frequently interchange in ancient local dialects.

At all events Worm's copy has every appearance of being substantially correct, quite as much so as many of the runic monuments engraved in this century. We have no right to cast it altogether aside without notice, simply because it has shared the fate of so many other of the olden blocks — smasht or lost since the times of Worm in Denmark and of Göransson in Sweden.

VÆBLUNGSNÆS, ROMSDAL, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800-900.

Copied from G. SCHÖNING, Reise giennem en Deel af Norge, 4to, Kjöbenhavn 1778, p. 136.

NIRIPFYPIIII

This inscription, Schöning states, is on a cliff near the water at Runeberge, Gryten Parish, between Væblungsnæs and Indholm. The staves about 6 inches long, about 13 feet above high water. In another copy as given by Schanke, the Parish-priest in Schöning's time, the last 3 staves are:

HH

which is doubtless more correct, they being, as I suppose, H+I, the stroke in the N perhaps more or less horizontal.

Not far off is still a homestead named IND-HOLM (= INN-HOLM), and Væblung is still a TING-STEAD (Session-court) for the Otting of Romsdal and Vold. The great annual Market is held at Devol, but the shipments take place at Væblung, where a privileged *Inn* is still kept up. All this may have been substantially the same in olden times. I would therefore suggest

HIRIPÆA DIK-INI.

*Of - the - HERADS (Hundreds) the - THING - INN,
(The District Assize-hall or Court-house.)*

I have not seen any modern trustworthy copy of this carving.

Lector Rygh has lately been kind enough to communicate to me the result of his enquiries on this head, in the Archives of the Academy of Sciences at Tronyem. A Ms. preserved there, No. 196, contains copies of letters from (? Dean) Spidberg of Christiansand, dated Nov. 12, 1734, and M. Tyrholm the Priest of Vanse, as also an appended anonymous "Report", to the effect that the letters could be pretty well made out when the sun shone and water was poured over them, that they were in one line on the rock, and that they were carefully copied, thus:

NHRIPFYPIII

This has every appearance of being faulty. The two b's have become P (w), and the V has become a third P. At all events I can make nothing of this transcript.

I have just (Nov. 1865) received a note from Prof. Bugge with the following additional information, which I English:

"In a letter from the Parish-priest Kraft to Prof. R. Keyser, dated Lesje Parsonage 8 Sept. 1857 (in the Museum-Archives, Christiania) we find: "I have often copied the Runic Inscription on the rocky wall between Veblung and Indholm in Gryten Parish, which is also given by Schöning, and I have always found it to be:

† † † R † † Ψ † † † †

The two last runes seem unfinished; and we need not wonder at this, or that the rister has grown weary, for he sat at no enviable table. The carving is on a perpendicular steep "field-hammer", 12 to 14 feet above high water."

Here we have the impossible ††I (LNI), instead of HI (HI), and the equally impossible or unlikely †††† (HKKH) for DIKINI (THIKINI). — But I continue:

"In the Report of the Committee of the Bergen Museum on a Journey undertaken in 1847 by the Customs' Inspector Christie and the Customs' Treasurer Christie (in the Archives of the Bergen Museum) we have:

"Runebjerg at Romsdal-fjord, on a steep and smooth wall of the rock by the Romsdal-fjord, some fathoms within the outflow of the second beck from the fell beyond Væblungsnæs, about 12 feet above the highest level of the lake, the following runes are cut in one line, about 5 to 6 inches high:

† † † R † † Ψ † † † †

Here the runes are divided into two groups, and "Krafts ††††" has become this same "Krafts †††††".

But again: "Thus the runes have been copied by the Parish-priest Kraft, who has often examined them in different light. In a very favorable evening light, on the 8th of July, we copied the runes thus:

† † † R † † Ψ † † † †

Here are new variations, but the last † now re-appears.

The old reading is, so far, evidently the correct one. At all events all the other copies differ among themselves and all are unreadable. So, with Fin Magnussen, I stick to Schöning as amended by Schanke.

Fin Magnussen copied into his Runamo, p. 504, Schöning's tracing of the Væblungsnæs runes, and I have repeated them above from the identical Runamo woodcut, for which I have to thank my friend Mr. Lyngé. It is not only the best authenticated old copy which we have, but it is the only one with any sense in it. And in discussing its meaning the learned Iclander dwells on *the facts*, that this whole Romsdal district was famous for its strong cleaving to old ideas and old heathenism; that the great yearly Romsdal Market or Fair at Devol is held on ST. MICHAEL'S day, but that in Christian times this mighty Archangel usually took the place of the older god THOR; that the whole district here about shows ancient remains and local names proving heathen worship, especially of Thor; and that the cliff itself and its details seem to show that a Temple and a Thing (folk-court) once existed on its top. In all this I believe Magnussen to be reasonably correct. Adding hereto the antiquity of the staves, given by him as

HIRIDOMDIKHA

which only differ from my

HIRIDÆADIKINI

from his making † = o, instead of A, and Ψ = M, instead of A, while he gets the HA from the imperfectly copied 3 last staves, redd by him as HA (HA), by me as ††I (INI), he suggests:

HIRIDOM DIKHA

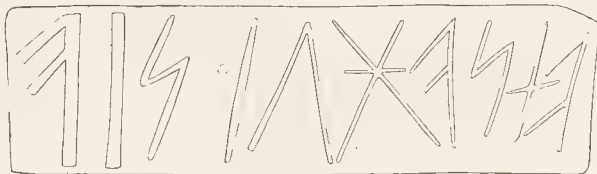
For - the - HERADS (*Hundreds*) the - THING - STEAL
(= *The Law-Court for these districts.*)

He adds a second guess which is not so happy, but on the whole we both agree in the main idea.

GJEVEDAL, OMLID, NORWAY.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1050-1150.

*From a Rubbing, dated August 11, 1805, by M. F. ARENDT, in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven.
Here engraved Half the size of the Original.*



Unfortunately I do not know whether this monument is of wood or of stone, or to what part of Norway it belongs. I have found it among the invaluable and exact Rubbings made by Arendt during his antiquarian wanderings. He commonly was very particular in marking all his Copies and Rubbings, not only with the place but also with the date when taken, usually even to the very day. But now and then he has omitted this, and such unhappily is the case with the piece in question.

In the Catalogue of *Arendtiana* drawn up by Fin Magnusen, that scholar thus describes the number. — "*An unknown Inscription, in Runes like the Anglosaxon — apparently to be read from right to left*"¹.

The only guess I can make as to the identification is as follows. In the 9th Section of *Arendtiana* in the Museum is a list, in Arendt's own hand, of "Aftrykte Paaskrifter" (Paper Tracings and Rubbings). No. 5 of these is called "A very old and Anglosaxon inscription on wood, from Gjevedal Church, Omlie, in the Westland. The contents perhaps speak of the time when the Church was consecrated. It cannot be less than 650 years old. Taken August 11, 1805". — Now I have carefully examined not only all the Rubbings by Arendt, but everything else among his notes and papers, and I can find nothing like an inscription in "Anglosaxon" Runes but this piece. I therefore suppose that this is the one here referred to.

It may have been much older than the Church, a heathen piece given or transported thither from some other place. Or it may be a Christian transition-carving, either to mark a grave or for some other more particular purpose. I take it to have been a grave-memorial. My assumed date is the lowest possible; perhaps it is centuries older.

¹ "En ubekjendt Indskrift, i Runer der ligne de Angelsaxiske, — som synes at burde læses fra Høire til Venstre."

We have here then an instance of a transition-carving, Old-Northern Runes being still employed intermixt with their successors the Scandinavian. The O. N. o occurs once, the p thrice, and the x twice. In this last letter, in another copy taken by Haslef the little stroke on the left side of the one and at the right foot of the other is *wanting*; it may therefore have been a mere crack or flaw in the metal. In the last stave of the last word the stroke is prolonged downwards to make it an s, as it would otherwise have been an l. Possibly Haslef has overlooked the n-stroke and the last part was r, thus sonr. In either case the meaning is the same.

Several distinct uses occur. We have the bound AL in *Aluer* and *Sikkale*, OK in *Ok*, ON in *Bonte*, OR in *poor*, OU in *Toue*, RT in *port* and the same Bind-rune used for TR in *Prestr*, and UI in *Auak*, for so I take it that this last word must be redd. We may divide AA AUIK, or A AAUIK. The V is either a double K (V V); or was perhaps a pointed K, thus V, standing for G, so that we may read the word as SIKKTALE or SIGTALE; the former seems more probable. In BONTE the I stands for T (1), the T-stroke often wanting in old inscriptions both Latin and Runic; sometimes it has never, been carved, sometimes it has become invisible. DORR doubtless stands for DORDAR or DORAR.

The copy by Haslef then seems substantially correct, at least there is no Runic or Linguistic reason to the contrary, and the meaning is good and clear:

+ DISSA KLOKO LETO STYOPA
ALUER, PRESTR I SIKKTALE,
OK DORT BONTE AA AUIK'
UK STYØPTE TOUE DORR SON(R).

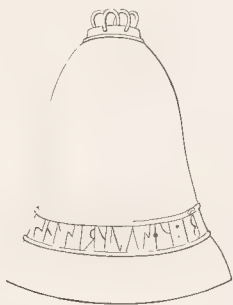
+ THIS CLOCK (bell) LET STEEP (yote, cast)
 ALUER, PRIEST IN SIKKTAL (Sigdal),
 AND THORT (Thor'd) BONDE (yeoman) ON AUK;
 AND STEEPT (cast it) TOGE THORR-SON

There are several bells in Scandinavia with Runic inscriptions, mostly in the Latin language, and in the usual Scandinavian staves. I am fortunately able to give one of these pieces, but bearing Swedish as well as Latin words, as an illustration of the above from Holmen. It is the

DREF BELL; SMÅLAND, SWEDEN.

From a Drawing in the Archives of the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven.

This is Liljegrens No. 1991 (Dref, Uppviddinge, Småland). The inscription is in reverst runes, to be read from right to left:

[illegible]

BRODIR SBBI (? = SBIALBUDI):

YESUS KRISTAS. AFE MARIA. GRASIA.

BROTHER (? = SBIALBUTHI) (*made me*).

JESUS CHRISTUS. AVE MARIA. GRACIA

The R in MARIA is ornamental. The V in KESUS, whether regarded as hard K or as soft Y (YESUS), is equally remarkable. Observe also the A in KRISTAS for U, the F for V in AFE, and the S for C in GRACIA; the Latin C being often pronounced as K in olden times, the soft sound of the Romance peoples is given by the S. All these and similar peculiarities of spelling in Latin words abound in carved monuments from the oldest times down thro the middle age, and are usually not "mis-carvings" but peculiar or provincial methods of pronunciation, or the vulgar spelling according to the vulgar sound by workmen more or less ignorant of the Latin tung. Sometimes these Latin carvings are mere bungles by stone-cutters or metal-workers who knew nothing at all of what they copied, and perhaps sometimes followed the writing of a "clerk" as wise as themselves.

Runic Bells not in Latin sometimes bear the Runic Futhork, the alphabet thus inscribed being occasionally incomplete or overcomplete; sometimes the name of the maker (N. N. GARED ME, &c.); sometimes the Angelic Salutation, &c.; sometimes, as on the Dref Bell, Latin intermixt with the mother tung.

With the quaint echoes of this Old-Runic Bell ends our Roll of monuments from the second province of our proud Northland — OLD NORWAY. Besides the Golden Runic Bracteates found in its soil, and given farther on, we have:

STONES.	ROCKS.	? WOODEN PILLARS.	? AMULETS.	BELLS.
1. Tune.	1. Væblungsnæs.	1. Gjevedal. (Lost.)	1. Frøhaug.	1. Holmen. (Overgang. Lost.)
2. Stenstad.				
3. Reidstad.				
4. Orstad.				
5. Belland.				
6. Tomstad.				
7. Bratsberg.				
8. West-Tanem.				
9. Sigdal.				
10. Seude. (Lost.)				

Total only 14, dating from about the 3rd to about the 13th age. Of these pieces 5 have been found since the commencement of this work — harbingers, as we trust, of a still richer harvest. Tho few in number, the Norse Old-runic are several of them singularly valuable, either for their kind or their language or the circumstances under which they were discovered.

D E N M A R K.

IN MINNE
OF
THE RUNE-SMITHS OF DENMARK;

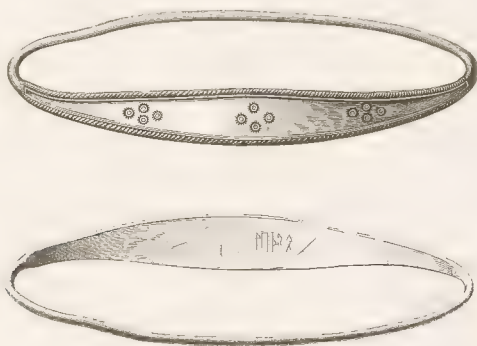
WITH MANY GREETINGS

TO
PROF. P. G. THORSEN.
OF CHEAPINGHAVEN.

DALBY, SOUTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200-250.

Half size. From the Original in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven, No. 8563. — Lent by me to Prof. THORSEN, for publication in his Danske Runemindesmærker, 8vo, Vol. 1, where they stand at p. 325.



Denmark is mostly a flat and agricultural land. On its rich soil Modern Farming has made great progress; its corn and cattle are known in all our markets. As might be expected, during the last century or two its Written and Unwritten Stones and Stone-settings, Cairns and Cromlechs, have been largely destroyed; the Plough and Macadamized Roads have done their work. Apart from the great heaths and mosses, where former populations and burials from the Runic period are not to be looked for, the Danish Kingdom has few wild or lonely spots likely to shelter the granite grave-pillars of ancient times. Everywhere throughout Europe such remains have been sweepingly cleared away, partly from Heathen or Christian or Civilized fanaticism, partly from the wanton barbarism of sheer brutality, partly for material use and profit in foundations and walls and posts and slabs and road-making. But in Denmark this smashing or re-using has been almost entire. The *oldest* stones have disappeared, and even the *later* are comparatively few and rare. Hundreds of them have perished within the last 5 or 6 generations, scores *within this century*, — some of them without having been even copied. At least *some* of these may have been Old-Northern!

But that Old-Northern Runic Pillars have been as common in Denmark as elsewhere in the North, we may be sure. If these Runes were inscribed on so many other things found in its soil,

they must have also been used on its Standing Stones. And Saxo Grammaticus (the Venerabilis Bæda of Denmark) appeals to Runic blocks in such a way, as to show that he must have referred to memorials some of which — even in his day — were from the most hoary old.

But this is also evident from these Runes occurring, *mixt* with the Scandinavian staves, on a few of the later stones still left. These can only be overgang pieces, dating from the transition period from the older to the younger alphabet. They are nearly all heathen; the carvers would not use characters which no one could understand, and these characters are found nowhere but in the gradually receding Old-Northern stave-row. When old letters die out by degrees, it proves that the older alphabet was formerly in common use. And as these old runes slowly fell away before the simpler letter-row, so the simpler runes in like manner drew back step by step before the Latin letters.

Still it is not impossible that some stone with *only* the Old-Northern staves may yet turn up in Denmark. Meanwhile, besides the overgang-blocks, we have many precious objects, of wood, bone, gold, silver, &c., from the 3rd century downwards, on which these ancient characters — and only these — are abundantly employed. We will begin with the Golden Diadem found in the folkland of the Jutes, one of the best-known clans of our gallant forefathers.

Dalby Parish, Tyrstrup Hundred, Haderslev Shire, lies high up in South-Jutland. Its Church is the most northerly in the province. A very considerable oblong Barrow containing dry sandy mold, with the remains of a stone-kist, now partly leveled and used as an earth-fence, is the place where this GOLDEN DIADEM or Hair-ring¹ was found in 1840, at the topmost edge of a dale stretching towards the inner part of Kolding-fjord in Tyrstrup Hundred. But this jewel has sometimes taken its name from the nearlyling Strårup, a homestead in Haderslev Amt. Shortly afterwards was discovered, in the centre of the same mound, the skeleton of an ox with bent legs, its head toward the east. As there was some distance between the two, there *need* not have been any connection between them. Yet it is most likely that the dead body with its Diadem and the Ox were buried together in the funeral chamber. Several large stones had been removed from the same spot in former years. Other grave-hoys exist in the neighborhood.

This elegant Head-wreath is a thick round bar of the precious metal, hammered out flat in the front half, with a raised edge of cordwork and the star-ornaments² of very early times. It weighs 13 ounces. The sum paid by the Museum for its value in gold was 320 Danish dollars, about 35 guineas.

Older engravings will be found in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", 1842-3, pp. 167-71, Tab. viii, and in Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager", Ed. 2, No. 366.

The runes, as usual on the inner side, offer no difficulty, and nothing remarkable save the square-topt *u*. They may of course be redd in one, thus LUTHRO, probably as a dative, *for* or *to* LUTHR. But as the *o* is apparently here the usual mark of property, *ownership*, I divide:

† Π † R ✕

L U D R O.

LUTHR OWNS (*possesses this*).

(- *This belongs to Luthr.*)

At the right corner is also, still more lightly engraved, what seems to be a double-rune:

††

Should this be really a letter-sign, it is apparently only a repetition of the above, the first stave in this Bind-rune being † (*L*) and the second ✕ (*o*).

¹ Or perhaps it may have been worn *outside* the hat or cap or other headdress. This ornament appears to have been the Norse-Icelandic HLAD, from its being usually of Gold also called the GULL-HLAD. Similar pieces have been several times found.

² A similar ornament, of gold, is let into the iron of one of the spear-heads found in Nydam-moss, South-Jutland. — See Nydam Mosefund, 1859-63, af Conr. Engelhardt, 4to, Kjöbenhavn 1865, p. 29, Pl. xi, No. 40.

THORSBJERG MOSS, SOUTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200-250.

From the Original, deposited in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Flensborg. Full size. — An engraving of the one half, showing the Runes, has appeared in THORSEN'S Danske Runemindesmærker, Vol. 1, p. 331.



Who has not heard of the famous antiquarian Thorsbjerg Moss, near South-Brarup in Angle, and of the now equally famous Nydam Moss, also in South-Jutland, the Pompeii and Herculeum of our early folk-lore! Other Scandian Mosses have yielded precious objects; but it is striking, astounding, that such a crowd of costly as well as warlike and other remains should have been found in these spots,

and the learned are not yet agreed how and why they came there. Probably they were war-spoils, or purchast by a traveling chapman or metal-merchant or speculator from some battle-field, perhaps in England. The owner or owners, suddenly surprised by a foe, hid them away till some convenient opportunity for removing and realizing the accumulated stock. Certain it is, that many of them are smasht and gasht and hackt and hewn and broken in an extraordinary way, an evident proof that they have seen hard fighting, and have been afterwards hammered up as mere metal. But death or accident prevented their exhumation, and they continued to lie in their place of concealment till prosaic turf-cutters rediscovered the hoard in our days. The Danish Government spared no expense in making the necessary researches, and a rich harvest — swords, shields, spears, bows, arrows, harness, coats-of-mail (fine ring-mail!), clothing, helmets, ornaments (many of them of the precious metals, gold, silver, bronze, or decorated therewith), iron, wooden implements, glass &c. — has been the result.

But only two articles were found at Thorsbjerg bearing runes.

The engraving represents the one of these, a *Bronze or Brass Shield-boss*, found in June 1858. It is rather thin, of Barbarian not Roman make, with the letters on the inner side, that which had been turned to the wooden shield.

This and the following lave (or, to speak in Romance, this and the following relic), mementoes mayhap of Roman defeat by barbarian Freemen, are of the highest value, not only as bearing runes, but also and particularly as being found under circumstances which give them an *approximate date*; a thing so rare with these Old-Northern remains. and so welcome when it does occur.

This approximate date is derived from a twofold source.

First, we have the *Coins* found in the Moss along with the many and costly antiquities. These Coins amounted to 37, all small Roman silver pieces, much worn, running from the days of Nero to the time of Septimius Severus in 194.

Next, the *style* of the objects dug up at the same spot. Everything found is either direct early Imperial Roman work, or Barbarian imitations of the same, or such ancient Roman originals modified by Barbarian additions and alterations, or genuine Barbarian articles, all the latter in the taste of the Early Iron Age. In a word, the form, style, decorations, all point to one particular period, the 2nd or 3rd century after Christ.

Thus both Coins and Style agree, and no one who has personally examined these objects, as I have done repeatedly, can doubt the high antiquity of this whole find.

About Anno Domini 200-250, then, is the date when most of the articles were made, or when they were deposited in the oozy hollow which afterwards became a Moss. But a particular thing may or may not be much older. Such an article as a Sword or a Shield may long have wandered from hand to hand; or it may have been nearly new when taken from the dead soldier or bought from the plunder-seeker. Of all this we know nothing.

This find was deposited in the Flensborg Museum, and the whole has been described by Mr. Engelhardt, the Curator. This archæologist superintended the diggings, and the happy result was largely owing to his zeal and energy. His paper hereon was printed in "Slesvigske Provindsialetteretninger", March 1859, Flensborg, 8vo, p. 175 and following¹. The Umbo is engraved by him on a small scale, fig. 6, 6 a.

Some lore-men not only lay great stress on those features which show that pieces of this kind have been turned on the lathe, but even, when such is the case, attribute to them the predicate "Roman manufacture". In my opinion, "barbarian" work of this period was as often lathe-turned as Roman, and any marks of this kind are therefore so far of little consequence. However this may be, the Boss now before us *has* on its front the well-known circular line betraying the lathe. I therefore

¹ See my notice of this in the Gentleman's Magazine, July 1861, pp. 74-76. — Since the above was written, Mr. E. has published a large and elaborate work on the "Thorsbjerg Mosefund", 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1863, with splendid copper plates. This was described by me in the same journal, March 1863, pp. 308-10. — It is now (Feb. 1866) announced for publication in English by a London House (Messrs. Williams and Norgate), in connection with the same gentleman's work on the similar finds in the Nydam Moss. The two volumes will be thrown into one, the plates of both being given entire, and the text will be carefully revised by the author himself.

engrave the obverse, *half size*, to show this. On the battered and broken metal we can still see traces of the lathe-mark on the left. Only one of the large-headed brass nails now remains.



And now to the inscription. It is boldly cut or scratcht, in sharp and fine but clear lines, and is as short and simple as may be. The runes are only the *me possidet* of the hardy owner:

H Y X S I 7

HAGSI Æ.

HAGSI OWNS (*this*).

(= *This Shield belongs to Hagsi.*)

All that is noteworthy in the shape of the staves is, that the Y (A) has its left arm a little higher than the right, and that the s is of the older form. As usual, there is no division between the letters.

The last rune (7), if different from F, may have been provincial for X, and thus o.

But the runic pieces were not the only inscribed objects found at Thorsbjerg. There was also dug up a Bronze Shield-boss, massive and well preserved, of *Roman* workmanship and bearing a *Roman* name:

ÆL. ÆLIANVS.¹

(ÆLIUS ÆLIANUS.)

These letters are not carved, but *dotted in, puncht in*, slowly and carefully. The shape here given to the A — the hanging stroke of dots added to its left limb — is remarkable.

Now this umbo is of immense archaeological value, not only as a Roman parallel to the Barbarian umbo already described, but much more as an evident and striking proof that some of this war-spoil must have come from fields where Romans and Northmen fought in deadly conflict. And this could not have been in Scandia itself, where no Roman soldier ever set his foot, but was more pro-

¹ The name ÆLIANVS twice occurs on Roman stones found in England. The first is PRO SALVTE DESIDIENI ÆLIANI, on the stone raised at Littlechesters, Northumberland, anno 258 (Monumenta Historica Britannica, Folio, Vol. 1, London 1848, p. cix, No. 27). The second is the stone near Tarraby, Cumberland (id. p. cxi, No. 43 a), undated, SVE CIRA ÆLIANI, without any prenomens.

bably in the North of England, where the shock between Roman and Barbarian was so sharp and lasted so long; roughly speaking, from the 2nd century to the 5th. Nor is this a solitary piece; 8 other Bronze Bosses, all of the same Roman type, were found in the same moss. As being of such importance to the whole subject, I engrave this umbo full size¹.



Dr. Edward Charlton² has described a piece which is a singularly interesting counterpart to the above, its Latin inscription being also dotted-in, not carved. It is the name-bearing Umbo, of yellow Bronze, of a Roman Shield found about 1827 near Matfen in Northumbria. "The diameter of the whole", says the learned Doctor, "is $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches; that of the boss is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches. The prominence of the boss is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the thickness of the metal is greatest in the projecting part, and materially thinner at the edge. The breadth of the flat rim is almost exactly two inches. The rim ap-

¹ It is given 1-4th of the size on Plate 8, No. 11, in Mr. Engelhardt's book on Thorstjerg.

² In *Archæologia Eliana*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 8vo, August 1857, pp. 49, 50.

pears to have been turned in a lathe, and is formed into three divisions by circular double lines about half an inch apart. In one of these spaces the inscription is found. Four holes are seen in the rim, through which square nails have evidently been driven to attach it to the wood of the shield. The boss or umbo in this instance is certainly of unusual size, but, if we mistake not, it is exceeded by that figured at p. 457 of Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, and described there as having been found about the year 1800 near Garstang in Lancashire, on the line of the Roman road to Lancaster. Here the diameter of the umbo is more by an inch and a quarter than that of the present specimen, and the margin is not so broad, so that the whole diameter is somewhat less. Four holes, as here, are visible in the flat rim, for attaching the umbo to the wood of the shield. The Garstang umbo, which is now in the British Museum, is covered over with figures of great interest, and engraved with considerable skill. On the boss is a fine sitting figure of Mars, surmounted by a wreath of laurel, and on the rim are two spirited nude figures, an eagle with its claw upon a globe, and other curious emblems. The specimen before us exhibits no signs of art-workmanship, except that in the central band of the rim there is a short inscription rudely struck with a pointed instrument. As far as we are able to decipher the letters, they give the word DON I P IOVINTI."

Dr. Charlton translates this (as if DONUM IULII PUBLII IOVINTI):

The - GIFT of - JULIUS PUBLIUS IOVINTUS.

He adds: — "Whoever the owner may have been, the shield was probably lost by some Roman soldier in a skirmish to the north of the Wall, from which great barrier the spot where it was found is distant only about two miles. The wood and leather have rotted away long since; the imperishable bronze has handed down to us, in all probability, the name of another defender of the Wall".

Later, in the *Archæological Journal*, we have a valuable paper — only too short — by Mr. Franks on this same Boss, which he figures. He says: — "The boss has no ornaments excepting a few engraved circles; on the rim are the traces of an inscription executed in punctured dots. From the present condition of the surface, it is difficult to ascertain the exact form of the letters, for the "pot lid" was hung up in the farmer's kitchen, where it received a weekly scouring, and owing to this, or to previous corrosion, the metal is covered with minute holes, which are easily confounded with the punctures of the letters. Indeed I feel some doubts whether the artist has not included in the wood-cut some of these accidental holes. The inscription has been read DON SP IOVINTI; on examining the original, I felt nearly certain that the termination is QVINTI, and that the whole inscription might possibly read CRUSPI QVINTI, the first character being the centurial mark, and the sense being, either "the centuria of Ruspian Quintus", or "of the centurion Ruspian Quintus"¹.

Many umboes have been found in England, but only one bearing runes; and this, as far as I know, now no longer exists. About 160 years ago it was in the hands of an English antiquary. This SILVER BOSS came to light in 1694 at Sutton in the Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire. It is figured (the size of the original) and described, pp. 186-88, in a letter dated 1704, appended by the learned Hickes to Andrew Fountaine's "*Numismata Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica*", Oxford 1705, the closing treatise in the first volume of Hickes' famous *Thesaurus*. In answer to my letter of enquiry, our accomplished Mr. Franks, of the British Museum, has informed me that the said Silver Umbo is now entirely unknown, altogether lost to science. I therefore think it my duty to re-engrave it here, printing it in silver, otherwise exactly copied from Hickes' copper-plate. I do this the more willingly as it is almost unknown, the great *Thesaurus* being so rare and costly; as it is the only Runic Shield hitherto found in England; as it is in several respects more than usually interesting; and as the translation offered by Hickes — the only one I have seen — who lookt upon the Old-English carving as a magical formula and the Shield as a magical Shield, is a great failure. I need not say that I engrave *full size*. The inscription, as we see, is on the reverse, as usual.

¹ A. W. Franks. On Bosses of Roman Shields found in Northumberland and Lancashire. — As I have only seen an overprint of this essay, I cannot say in which number of the *Archæological Journal* it occurs. But it is in one of the later volumes.



I give below the whole letter¹, translating here only those lines which describe the piece and how it was found:

"While your treatise, wisest Sir, on the Saxon and Dano-Saxon Coins was yet in the press, the Reverend and most learned John Taylor, Vicar of Harlow in Essex and Canon of Peterburgh Cathedral, sent me a silver Shield [or rather, Shield-boss] of the size engraved on the opposite page. It was turned up from the earth 10 years ago by a peasant, as he was ploughing a field near Sutton, a town in the Ile of Ely. This piece, which bears on its inner or concave side a Dano-Saxon inscription, was cunningly hidden in a thin sheet of lead, together with 5 heavy and costly golden rings, 100 silver coins struck in the reign of William the Conqueror, and an uninscribed silver chain."

If we now examine this precious antiquity in the light of modern science, we shall see that its style and workmanship apparently date from the 10th century, that the carving round the inner rim is in Old-English, and that it also bears a fragment with Scandinavian runes.

The English inscription, properly divided, is as follows:

"CLARISSIMO VIRO
ANDRÆE FOUNTAINE
EQUITI AURATO
GEORGIUS HICKESIUS
S. P. D.

"Dum sub prelo esset de Numismatibus Saxonis & Dano-Saxonis dissertatio Tua, vir doctissime, ad me misit Clypeum argenteum ejusdem peripherie, quam in icone illius ex adverso vides, Reverendus & pereruditus Johan. Taylor Ecclesie paroch. de Harlow in Com. Essex. Vicarius, & Ecclesie Cathedr. Petroburgensis Canonicus. Repertus erat ante x annos à Colono quodam, qui illum forte cum terra vertebat, dum aratro prosunderet agrum quendam qui juxta Sutton jacet, *Insula*, quam vocant, *Eliensis* oppidum. In lamina plumbi, cum quinque magni ponderis & pretii aureis annulis, centum Nummis argenteis, *Wilhelmo Conquestore* regnante percussis, catinoque argenteo, cui nihil inscriptum erat, ipse qui in ora superficiei concavæ inscriptionem Dano-Saxonicam prae se ferebat, affabre erat coagmentatus. Hanc igitur, qui inter Antiquitates Saxonicas locum sibi vindicare videbatur, ne in opere nostro sculptum collocare gravarer, movebant quidam *φιλαρῶται*, præsertim in litteris ad me datis vir præclarus *Johannes Covell* Collegio Christi apud *Canabrigienses* prefectus. Res etiam ipsa movebat, ut à quo consumendo tempus omnium edax forte temperasset, id publici juris faciendo, posteris & eternitati donarem. Quamobrem, cum de loco illi destinando mecum cogitarem, nullus alius antiquæ Literature Septentrionalis duobus in libris magis idoneus visus est, quam is, qui Numismata Tua continuò sequeretur. tum quod à re nummaria non prorsus alienum cum foret, cum Tuis id connecti Te non moleste laturum crederem; tum etiam maxime, quod in fine Numismatum à Te explicatorum locum opportunum nactus esse viderem, in quo gratum ac beneficiorum memorem animum in Te meum oblato hoc munusculo declararem; qui cum magni laboris, majoris sumptus, & maximi quidem ingenii ac doctrinæ libello Tuo opus meum ornare, ac amplificare voluisti. Accipe igitur, pro summa humanitate Tua *Tabellam* hanc, quam perinde officii in Te mei, ac antiquorum temporum Monumentum in duabus faciebus exhibeo: quarum ambæ prototypum clypeum ad magicum usum esse fabrefactum suadent. Id ut credam faciunt, Primo, *Cyri Runici* qui in superficie convexa cernuntur, quamvis *Runarum* expertes. Secundo, *Runa* sive potius *Runarum* jugationes, ut opinor, *Magica*, quas colatas in fragmento anse argenteæ illi clavis umbellatis fixæ (qua quis prehensum tenebat Clypeum) superficies Concava ostendit. Tercio, ipsa Inscriptio, quam Incantamenti genus esse constat; quo quisquis Clypeum in prælio portabat, à metu Mortis securus factus, se invulnerabilem esse putabat. Sic autem à signo Crucis distinctis verbis Inscriptio legenda est.

"† AÐVFN MEA GAGEHY O DRINTEN DRINTEN HINE A FÆRIE DE ME HIRE ET FÆRIE BYTON HYOM SELLE HIRE AGNES FILLIS.

"Ut vero magis & incantatoribus, iisve qui se tales flegunt, suum arcani sermonis genus semper est, quo in superstitionum animis fidem & reverentiam creent: sic ista, quæ suppositis punctis notavi, ex Magico isto et occulto verborum genere esse censeo, utpote quæ nihil, quod scio, significant; aut si quid forte significet, illorum sensum me prorsus latere fateor. Reliquia autem Inscriptio pars, sic, ni fallor, Latine interpretari fas est:

"O DOMINE DOMINE! ILLVM SEMPER DEFENDE QVI ME SECVM CIRCVMGESTAVERIT; ILLI VOTA SVA CONCEDE.

"Hæc precationis formula adeo consecratos & quasi munitos Clypeos, *αποτροπαίους* esse factos ignari credulique ejusvis ordinis homines existimabant. Adeo ut qui id genus ullum contra plagas quasi Amuletum in prælio gestaret, securus à metu Vulnerum pugnabat.

"Supra dixi Clypeum hic exhibitum in agro quodam *Insula Eliensis* esse inventum. Quæ palustris Regio, eaque maxima cum olim esset, loci ingenio freti Proceres quidam Angli contra Gulielmum Conquestorem arma illic movebant. Hinc vero simile esse puto illum cum Gaza quæ cum eo applumbata erat reperta, Magnatis alicujus fuisse peculium, qui cum aliis Normannici jugi impatientibus in paludosa terra ista Natura adeo munita à Normannis novis Dominis se suosque cum armis tutaret. Hæc, ad Te rapta, verbis tantum non extemporibus scripsi, *celeberrimo Fountaini*. Quæ oratum candidum Lectorem velim usque adeo ut accipiat, donec aut Tu, Tausve *Willisus* avo *Thoma* nepos dignissimus, aut alius aliquis rei Antiquariæ scientia vobis par, rei tam spissa Nocte obvolutæ uberiorem Lucem accersat. Vale. Dabam pridie Kalend. Octobris. A. D. m. dcc. iv."

+ AEDWEN ME AG. AGE HYO DRIHTEN. DRIHTEN HINE AWERIE DE ME HIRE AETFERIE, BYTON HYO ME SELLE HIRE AGENES WILLES.

AEDWEN ME OWNS.

OWN SHE the-DRIHTEN (= may she possess the Lord, may the Lord bless and keep her away!).

DRIHTEN (the Lord) HIM AWARIE (accuse) THE (who) ME from-BER may-AT-FARE (shall take, carry off) BUT (unless) SHE ME should-SELL (should give, unless she gives me to him) of-HER OWN WILL (of her own free will, voluntarily, of her own accord).

(= I belong to Aedwen, whom Christ take into His holy keeping! — God curse him who beareth me from my owner, unless she should deliver me to him of her own free will!)

The Runic inscription in the centre I cannot read. Apparently the one half has been broken away. The rest seems to be in stave-runes, several runes on the same stave, a shorthand we can seldom decipher when carried to excess, as here.

There is something romantic in this English risting, for it shows that its owner was a Lady, a Shield-may, some Princess or other highborn dame accustomed to fight at the head of her troops, as we so often hear of in old English and Scandinavian history. The shield would seem to have been made for her. She may have fallen in battle, and her silver weapon then came into the hands of one of the Scandinavian marauders in the 10th century who ravaged England about the time of King Alfred. This new owner fastened a slip, bearing Scandinavian runes, on to the inner side. In King William's time, say towards the close of the 11th century, the boss was regarded as so much precious metal, and the whole hoard of gold and silver, wrapt up in lead, was buried (in what was then a wild Moss) till better days, probably by an Englishman who had fought against the Normans and — lost. But those better days never came, and it remained in the earth till the year of Christ 1694!

The name of this Shield-may is very rare. It would probably be spelt EADWEN in the usual Old South English. I only remember to have met with it once elsewhere. It was borne by (AEDWEN) the mother of S. Godric, the Hermit-saint born in East-Anglia but who lived and died at Finchale in Durham. He was born at the beginning of the 11th century. (See "Reginaldus De Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici", Surtees Society, 8vo, London 1847, p. 22.)

Then there is another interesting point in this inscription. It contains the formula of imprecation, the old heathen curse which past over into the documents of the Christian early and middle age. The words here used are:

CHRIST HIM CURSE WHO BEARETH ME AWAY!

Let us now compare this with the similar legal prohibitions and powerful adjurations on Heathen Classical stones and on Heathen Runic stones¹, and we shall see how long-lived these traditions are.

Without going to other lands, Eastern as well as Western, the English Charters, as we all know, contain hundreds of parallel forms, most of them in Latin. But I will cite a couple in the mother-tong. Thus in Kemble, Vol. 2, p. 107:

AND LOKE HWA DESES AWANDE. HABBE HE GODES CURS. ET SAINTE MARIEN AND ALLE GODES HALEGES AC ON ECNESE. AMEN.

AND LOOK, WHO THIS should-AWEND, HAVE HE GOD'S CURSE, AND SAINT MARY'S² AND ALL GOD'S HALLOWS' (and that of all God's Saints) EKE, FÖR-EVER. AMEN!

And at p. 183, Vol. 6:

GOD HINE AWEORGE DE DIS AWENDE.

GOD HIM AWARIE (curse) WHO THIS should-AWEND (overtake, set at naught)!

We may also refer to the rimed formula so often found in the same volume among the manumissions:

¹ See GLAVENDRUP in the Appendix, and the remarks on this head in the section RUNIC REMAINS AND RUNIC WRITING, pp. 89, 90.

CHRIST HINE ÁBLENDE
DE DIS GEWRIT AWEENDE.

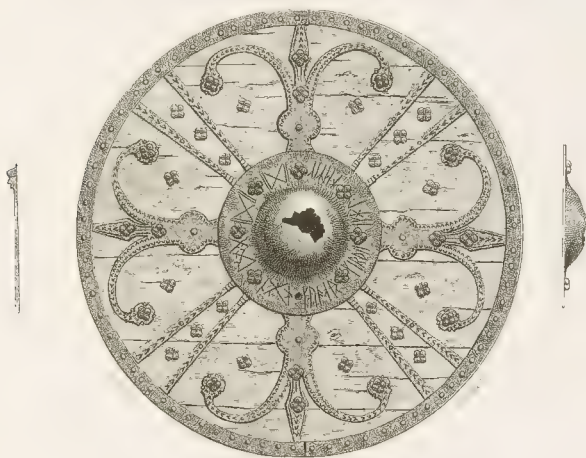
CHRIST HIM A-BLEND (*blind, deaden*)
WHO THIS WRIT (*document*) shall - WEND!

As a precious parallel to the above pieces, I add a figure showing

THE WOODEN RUNIC SHIELD

FOUND AT RIKÉ, NEDENES AMT, NORWAY.

*Given 1-fifth of the full size; Runes separately 1-half. Now in the Christiania Museum, No. 954.
Drawn in 1865 by Candidate JONAS RASCH; on wood by Lieut. A. P. MADSEN, Cheapinghaven;
engraved by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*



This elegant Targe is of thin and light wood, probably the Linden, decorated and strengthened with tasteful wrought-iron fastenings. It was brought to the Christiania Museum in 1840, or shortly after, and had belonged to the farmstead at Riké, where it had been hung up on the door of a "Stabur" (booth or outhouse). It seems to be from the 12th century. The nails, bands and Boss are of Iron. On the right side of the woodcut is given a section of the Boss, showing its relative height; on the left side is a similar section of the ornamental Cramps, which run as radii from the umbō to the rand. This "gamel lave" was first mentioned by Nicolaysen, in his "Norske Fornlevninger", II, Christiania 1863, 8vo, p. 259. As far as I know, it is unique. Several Shields from the Bronze Age have been found in Scandinavia, and a couple from the Iron Age (these latter apparently from the Early Christian period); but — with the single exception of the Shield-Boss dug up at Thorsbjerg — the Riké Shield is the only one bearing Runes (and these last Scandinavian) yet discovered. The Rune-

less one figured in Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager", 2nd ed. No. 571, is somewhat less than the Riké specimen, to which it bears a general resemblance in form and workmanship, is also of wood and iron, and is apparently of about the same date. It is now in the Cheapinghaven Museum, but is supposed to have come from Norway.

The staves on this Riké Shield are still all safe and sound:

Y N T I R P I R D I Y I P T T I I Y I Y

KUNNAR GIRDI MIK. H(I)LHI A MIK.

KUNNAR GARED (*made*) ME. H(I)LHI (= HILGI, HELGE) OWNS ME.

The þ for NN (þ þ) is an interesting example of this not common bind-rune. Lector Ol. Rygh, whom I have to thank for procuring me the drawing, reads the second name H(E)LHI; but I prefer H(I)LHI, taking the I to be contained in the following stave. But either reading is admissible. The Ɂ in GIRDI shows that letter with broad bow. — All the following marks are doubtless only fillings-in, ornamental strokes, not runes.

The formula OWNS ME is found on many runic pieces. Other Scandinavian-runic examples are given in the Appendix, and elsewhere. Remarkable is the instance on the upper cross-fastening of a "Stabur" door at Lower Rauland in the Parish of Rauland, Upper Thelemark, Norway. (See Nicolaysen, l. c. p. 239.) This was examined by Lector Rygh in 1863, and to him I am indebted for a careful transcript. It is cut on the ironwork, in one long line, as follows:

HAKI BEANAR SUN A MIK; SUEN OS(FRI)DAR SUN SLO MIK; OSOFAR RÆST MIK AUK LÆISTE; ODESNDHEN NESTA EPTIR OLAFS FOKU, A SETA ARE RIKES F(O)S FI(R)ÐULHS H(e)RA MAHNUSAR NORIHS KONOHS.

HAKI BEAN'S SON (= BJARNARSUN) OWNS ME; SUEN OS(FRI)D'S SON SLEW (*hammered out, made*) ME; OSOFAR (= ASULFR) RAISED ME EKE (*and*) LOCKED (*fitted with lock, &c.*); WEDNESDAY NEXT AFTER Saint-OLAF'S WAKE (*Eve*), ON (*in*) the-SIXTH YEAR of-the-RIKE (*reign*) of-OUR WORTHILY (*worshipful*) HERRA (*Lord*) MAGNUS, NORWAY'S KING

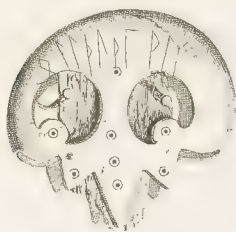
As Mr. Rygh observes in his letter to me, dated Christiania 7 Sept. 1865, and which with his permission I translate: — "This inscription is very striking, both for its dialectic peculiarities (such as OSOF, with the L fallen away, — OSULF is still pronounced osov in Thelemark), and as being the oldest exactly dated Norse runic carving hitherto discovered. If, as Nicolaysen supposes, and as is undoubtedly the case, the King Magnus here mentioned is Magnus Eriksson (1319-1374), the date of this ironwork will be July 31, 1325. In Magnus Hokonson's time (1263-1280), to judge from the Norse parchments still left to us, the formula for dating was of a very different character."

In this last carving SUEN and RÆST are given ʒNʒ and Rʒʒ, with the common ʒ for ʒ: and yet we have ʒʒʒʒʒ, with the ʒ. Observe also the slurring of the R in BEANAR, the singular pronunciation of the NS (as SN) in ODESNDHEN (= ODENSDAHEN), and the F for U or V or W in the words FOKU, FOS and FIRÐULHS. In KONOHS we have a nasal H for the sound NK.

THORSBJERG MOSS, SOUTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 200-250.

From the Original, deposited in the Museum, Flensburg. Full size. — Lent by me to Prof. THORSEN for publication in his Danske Runemindesmærker, Vol. I, where they stand at p. 331. — Drawn and Chemityped by J. M. PETERSEN.



This Bronze Brace, or chape or clasp or ferule, has belonged to a Sword-sheath of wood, to which it was added to preserve its lower end from wear. It was found by Mr. Engelhardt at his second diggings in the Moss, in 1860. As seen in the engraving, which is from an exact sketch taken by J. Magnus Petersen shortly after its discovery, it still exhibits the two *bronze nails* (for fastening the clasp to the wooden sheath), which have since fallen away. The remaining fragments of wood are tender, and show the same tendency to disappear.

The inscription is on each side, and must be read from above, looking at it with the bottom of the imaginary Sword and Scabbard held up in the air and the Handle in our hand. As on all such metallic surfaces, there are several slight dents or scratches, which have *nothing to do* with the distinctly carved letters. Such is the horizontal mark at the top of the M, the streak between the o and the w, the long weak score across the upper part of the pu, and so on.

Each side of the brace bears 10 runes and no more. The slight flaw and scratch after the X are nothing; nor was there room for a letter here. The characters are as follows:

† | Þ Æ S M F R | Ψ
N, I, W, E, NG, M, E, R, I, A

X Þ I. Þ N Þ Π Þ F Ψ
O, W, L, D, U, D, E, W, E, A

I take the 7th stave in the 2nd line to be E. It is sometimes found with this form on the monuments. There is a tiny hole in the centre of the top stroke, as if the graving-tool had gone thro the thin bronze, and this may have contributed to its resembling a straight line here. If not E, it can only be U.

The runes are quite plain, even elegant, but it is difficult to give an unchallenged meaning to them. We cannot absolutely say whether the two lines were carved at the same time, or the one long after the other, nor which is to be taken first, nor whether they run the one into the other. Any translation must therefore be offered with great caution and diffidence and tremor, and merely as an attempt.

I take the two lines to be contemporaneous, not to be separated from each other, and the one beginning with NIW to stand first. The words may be variously divided. I prefer the following arrangement:

NIWÆNG MÆRI A,
OWL DUDÆWÆA.

NIWÆNG the-MERE (*clear, illustrious, famous*) OWNS-this, CAPTAIN of-the-THEDES (*clans or peoples*).
(= *Niwæng the Illustrious, Lord of the Nations. owns this.*)

Should this be the meaning, it must have been a *Presentation-Sword*. for no hero would call himself THE GREAT, THE DISTINGUISHT.

It is not likely that we should take NIWÆNGMÆRI as one word, a mansname. — If we should venture on MÆRI as a Proper name in the dative, we shall then get:

NIWÆNG to-MÆRI, CAPTAIN of-the-PEOPLES.

For other remarks, see the WORD-ROLL.

Most of the 45 Sword-chapes found in this moss were of bronze, a few of silver, none of iron; they were originally fastened with nails or a running edge on to the wooden sheath. Their form and ornamentation are various, some being quite round. Only a couple of the wooden Scabbards had no brace. As far as we can judge from the marks of wear on these ferules, the Old-Danish warrior — like his contemporary Roman — bore his brand at his right side, but its length was far greater than the blade used by the Latin soldier. Some of these Sword-guards are scalloped or ornamented with circles, while others are quite plain. In fact we have here another instance of very great variety of form and detail in pieces from about the same time and found in the very same spot.

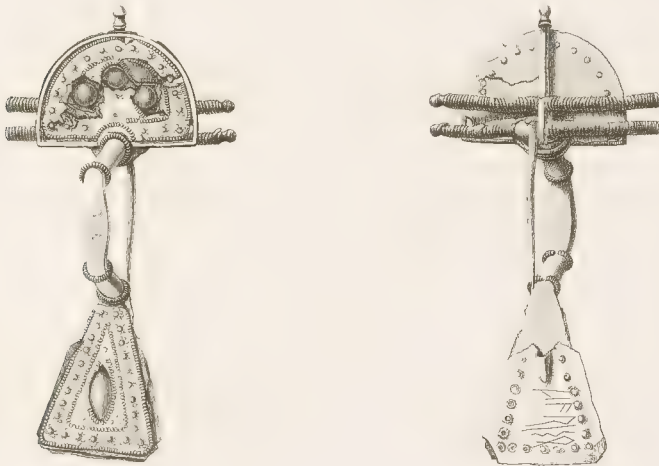
Years after the above was written, Prof. F. Dietrich, in his treatise "Syntaktische Funde" in Haupt's Zeitschrift, 1866, pp. 124-38, has just given (p. 125) a translation of this piece. As a specimen of his readings and versions I add it here:

"NI VANGUDA RIMO VILDU DUVAM.
NICHT BEHAGTE RUHE DEN BURSCHEN DER WILDE"
? REPOSE PLEASED NOT THE BOYS OF THE WILDERNESS

HIMLINGØIE, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 250-300.

*Full size. From the Original, No. 3506. in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Copenhagen. —
 Drawn by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN. Engraved on wood by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.*



Himlingøie is the name of a Hamlet in Bjeverskov Herred, under Vallø, Præstø Amt. Close hereto may still be seen the remains, each year less considerable, of "Baunshøi Bakke", a large flattish natural bank of gravel, and nearby are several of the usual round grave-mounds¹. Little noticed before 1820, after that time Baunshoy Bank was found to consist of excellent gravel, a splendid thing for mending the roads. So since then, the country people have been accustomed to fetch thence loads of gravel, and in so doing they dug out proofs that this bank had been used as a burial-ground during the Early Iron Age. The bodies were interred unburned, and with them many objects of great real as

¹ See *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1836-37, pp. 343-46; — V. Boye, *Oplysende Fortegnelse*, Kjöbenh. 1859, 8vo, p. 43; — C. Engelhardt, *Nydam Mosefund*, Kjöbenh. 1865, 4to, p. 50.

well as antiquarian value¹. I fix the date of this find at about 250-300; later than the beginning of the 4th century it cannot be. In this opinion I am supported by Mr. Herbst.

Among them was the beautiful parcel-gilt Fibula here engraved, found in 1835. The style of this elegant fastening at once shows its great antiquity. It is of mixt metal, apparently a kind of bronze, overlaid with thin plates of silver, riveted with silver nails. All except the nail-heads has been originally gilt. The 3 round beads above and the oblong below, set into the metal-work on the front, are of blue fluor-spar or some such material. A central ornament has fallen away from the middle bar.

A metal surface is always liable to accidental scratches, which must never be taken for carved staves. Otherwise many mistakes will be made. The actual runes cut on the back of this piece are quite plain:

H Æ R I S

HÆRIS O.

HÆRIS OWNS (*is the owner of this brooch*).

This HÆRIS (= HARIS), with the nominative s-mark, which afterwards fell away, still left, is a mansname so rare and precious as to be here found for the first time. But some few examples exist in which it has been preserved as the final syllable of a *compound* name.

Here as so often on these oldest pieces we are struck by the elegance and bold dashiness of the letters. They are not only well formed and well cut, but they speak of a time and a hand familiar with runic carving as a thing of everyday life. Thus there is no sign of an incoming and infant art, or of anything gradually "developing" itself to something it was not before. Still less have we any signs of "ideographs" and "symbol-figures", as some late authors have imagined. The alphabet is everywhere full-fledged and mature, and is in each man's hand. But this flings back the introduction of letters in these Northern lands to a period centuries higher than any of the objects on which they have hitherto been found. We see also that on most of these movables the staves had been risted after the article itself was made, — that is, the maker had not intentionally left any exact spot for a runic carving. This was therefore the whim of some particular owner. In others, however, the inscription has been arranged for at the very first, as is also the case on the runic Standing Stones, and still more so on the Bracteates, on which last the runes are a part of the die itself. Thus here again we have variety and familiarity — pieces with runes cut in as a part of the original design, — objects on which the maker has left space for his name, &c., — and pieces on which a casual owner has inscribed his name, or some other words, wherever he could best find room.

¹ In 1829, near the center of the mound and close to a skeleton lying with its skull to the south and its feet to the north, was found a Finger-ring of gold, each of its 3 decorated spirals bearing a serpent's head. (Engraved in Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager*, 2nd ed., No. 352). — Next, a little under the surface, a Glass Goblet with foot, the whole bearing raised ornamental lines. (Engraved in *Ann. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1844-45, Tab. 12, Fig. 109, and in Worsaae's *Nord. Olds.* No. 317.) — Afterwards turned up a costly Glass Drinking-horn, also with raised line-decorations. (Copied in *Ann. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1844-45, Fig. 111, and in Worsaae, No. 320.) — Thereafter a Bowl or Cup of glass, its foot formed by a raised ring. — Next two Silver Goblets of "barbarian" work, each with a highly characteristic and interesting border of figures, stamp up from behind on a thin hoop or lamina of gold, which has then been fastened on to the cup, just below the rim, with silver nails. They are both in the same style, and strikingly resemble in general features the figures on the golden Horns from Gallehus. (The one is given in Worsaae, No. 314; the other in *Ann. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1844-45, Fig. 101, but still better and with the figures separately full size, in *Ann. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1862, p. 24; which last I have repeated in my notice of the Golden Horns [Gallehus, Denmark] further on.) — Also a Cullender of bronze, placed above a bronze Saucepan, and these again in a turned clay pot with ear, covered inside with thin bronze (see the figure in *Ann. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1844-45, No. 100), and a bronze vessel with a spout, (engraved in *Ann. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1844-45, Fig. 102, and in Worsaae, No. 304). — On the southern side was dug out a bronze Pail, with figures below the rim, Roman work, (given in *Ann. f. Nord. Oldk.*, 1844-45, Fig. 99, and in Worsaae, No. 302), and another bronze Pail differently made, with a handle. A massive golden Ring was also found, but was melted down before it could be examined. — In 1831 was obtained a Brooch of bronze, very similar in shape to Worsaae's No. 395; also 6 Beads of transparent glass, 1 large one of light-blue glass, 52 smaller of glass, 62 of clay and 4 of amber. — In 1833 came a fragment of a bone Comb, fastened together with bronze tacks. — In 1834, pieces of a large brooch, like the one found in 1831, a bronze Pin, a small bronze Brooch, a whole Comb of bone, a spiral Finger-ring of gold. — In 1835, another spiral Finger-ring, the rune-bearing Fibula of my text (previously, but not exactly, engraved in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1837, Pl. 7, Fig. 10 a and b, and in Worsaae, No. 384 a and b), 7 blue Beads of glass mosaic, 24 of glass and 2 of amber, some bits of a bone Comb and another bronze Strainer.

NYDAM MOSS, SOUTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 250-300.

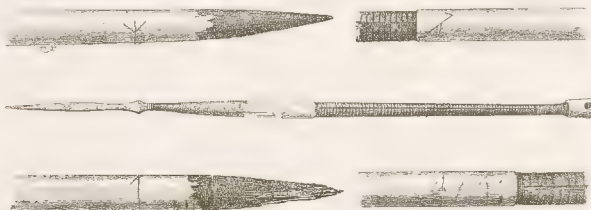
Among the Danish Mosses in which Early-Iron antiquarian remains have been found, that of Nydam occupies a distinguished place. It lies north-west of East-Sottrup School in Sundeved, in a dale about 2700 feet long with a medium breadth of 400 feet. It was once part of a bay of Als-sound, and in those old days was navigable. Valuable pieces have been taken out from time to time, but most of the things thus found have been destroyed or have disappeared.

At last systematic diggings were made by Adjunct Engelhardt, at the expense of the Royal Danish Government for South-Jutland, in the summers of 1859, 1862 and 1863, during which King Frederick VII was twice present. A space of about 10,000 square-feet was thus examined. An interesting account of the whole has been published by Mr. Engelhardt in his splendidly illustrated work: — "Nydam Mosefund, 1859-1863." Af Conr. Engelhardt. Med 15 Kobberstukne Plader og endeel Afbildninger i Texten." Kjobenhavn 1865. 4to. pp. vi, 66.

The total result of these costly diggings was an invaluable and unique contribution to the history of our Northern Ancestors. There were exhumed, among other things: — a Galley or Pinnace, of oak, for 28 oars, 75 feet long by 10 feet 6 inches at broadest, flat-bottomed, sharp at each end, with several ship-fittings still on board; a second Galley, of fir-timber, about the same size, armed with a ram or spur at each end low down; remains of a third Boat; Brooches of bronze; Clasps of silver; Buttons; Beads of glass, amber, mosaic; Ornaments; small wooden Boxes; Tweezers; Ear-picks; Combs of bone; many Shield-boards; Rands of bronze; 70 iron Shield-bosses and others of bronze, with one of iron covered with silver ornamented with gold; 106 iron Swords, of which 93 were damascened in various patterns, on some a maker's mark and Latin letters stamped in, the hafts of wood or bone or bronze; Sheaths of wood, with metal fittings; pieces belonging to Sword-belts; Clasps of iron and bronze; several hundred Spear-shafts of wood; 552 iron Spear-heads, some with ornamental risings or pieces of gold let in; iron Awls; 36 wooden Bows; several hundred wooden Arrows; Arrow-heads of iron and bone; a wooden Quiver, and the metal fittings of another; many oval Hones; iron Bits, of which 3 were still in the mouth of skeleton Horse-heads; iron and bronze and silver pieces belonging to Horse-harness; the iron blade of a Sithe; clay Pots; Pots and Bowls of wood; a wooden Trough and Bucket; Bast netting; 76 iron Knives with wooden handles; 37 iron Axes; a wooden Club; 34 Roman silver Coins, struck between the years 69-217 after Christ; and parts of the skeletons of Horses and of a Cow.

Most, perhaps all, of these things would seem to have been originally in the Boats, which had been scuttled and sunk, probably to avoid capture by a pursuing foe. They were found at a depth of from 4 to 7 feet, and lay in great disorder, tho many were in regular bundles. Violent storms may have scattered them far and wide. Many things were incomplete or new. Most were injured or cut or gasht or wilfully broken up. Thus the same characteristics as we find in all the other antiquarian Mosses.

One class of these pieces bore Runic Bo-marks and letters. These are the Arrows. See Engelhardt's Plate No. 13. The following are the most interesting, and are here given from a Cast of the block in Thorsen's "De danske Runemindesmærker", Vol. 1, p. 358, drawn from the originals, full size, and Chemityped by J. M. Petersen:



All these risings were doubtless marks of ownership. Of these Arrows, of which fragments are given above, one has a plain Y (Δ); another has a kind of Bind-rune; a third a reverst L (†); a fourth a whole word in reverst runes, probably a Mans-name. Turned round, they are:

† † †

L U E.

It may be the nominative or in the genitive. But it is also quite as likely that we ought to divide it as

L U Æ.

L U OWNS (*this arrow*).

If a contraction, which is not probable, it is perhaps the beginning of a name.

But there were various other carvings on some of the Arrows found at Nydam. Thus on one is a D or M (\mathfrak{M}); on another a T with the arms low down (†), like one of the forms for AN; on another a G-figure (\mathfrak{X}). There are several capricious marks or ties: dots; notches (2 or 3 or 4, &c.); half zigzags; whole zigzags; double zigzags; a half-moon; and so on. Thus each warrior could at once recognize and claim his own weapon.

As we see, the men who made and handled the articles in the Nydam Moss also familiarly used the Olden Runes found here and elsewhere in the North.

Arrows have been found in other Danish Bogs, some of them with Bo-marks. But so many of these pieces have been destroyed unexamined that some may have had runes. As to all these Moss-finds we must remember, that where one article has been rescued one hundred have been broken or burned, or have otherwise gradually perished at the hands of the turfmakers.

VI MOSS, ALLESÖ, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-350.

*Full size. From the Original in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Drawn by J M PETERSEN.
On wood by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.*



The Vi Moss, between Allesö and Næsbyhoved-Brobj Parish, in Odense Amt (County), Fyn, is another of those ancient petty lakes — made by time into mosses — which have gained themselves a name as depositaries for precious antiquarian remains from the Early Iron Age. The principal excavations in this marsh are so recent, that time has not yet been given for the proper telling and ordering and description of the articles exhumed. But Archivary C. F. Herbst, who first commenced scientific diggings in the Vi Turf-field, has favored me with information as to some of the chief facts connected with this now famous spot.

As early as the year 1848 the Museum began to receive a few "antiquities", found by the peasants who dug turf in the "Vi-Mose". These pieces were of the usual character, iron swords, clasps, ornaments, &c., things with which we are now familiar from the other Danish Bogs. But they were at that period very imperfectly understood, and were regarded as far later in date than they really are. They excited, however, the strongest interest among antiquarians, and at last Archivary Herbst succeeded, partly at his own expense, in carrying out a plan he had long advocated for regular excavations in a field so full of promise. This took place in the summer of 1859, from the 11th to the 27th of July, in 10 separate spots, so that not only was a noble harvest of olden remains at once obtained but the moss was, as it were, mapt out for future investigations. In these labors Mr. Herbst was assisted by Prof. J. Steenstrup. But want of funds compelled them to stop, and Mr. Thomsen never could be persuaded to allow the task so happily begun to be brought to a close.

For the next 5 years, therefore, nothing was done. The plundering of the Moss by the ignorant turf-cutters unavoidably went on, and the Museum obtained only a small part of what was actually found. Still the total number every year was considerable. This was owing to the noble zeal and enthusiasm of Pastor Meldal, the Parish Priest of Allesö. At a great sacrifice of time and labor he year after year watcht over the diggings, rescued what he could, sent the pieces thus collected to Cheapinghaven and obtained proper remuneration to the peasants. In 1865 occurred the lamented death of Councilor Thomsen, and this led to many changes. Among them was a plan for properly and scientifically examining what was left of the Vi Moss. Prof. Worsaae happily scraped together the necessary official funds and entrusted the labor to Adjunct Engelhardt, who, as opportunity offered, was helpen in his arduous work by Archivary Herbst, Adjunct Faber of Odense, and Candidate Vil. Boye. The ex-

pense was considerable, and the time required greater than had been expected. This final examination commenced on the 20th of July 1865, and ended on the 18th of August.

Altogether, from first to last, the number of articles found in this moss cannot be far short of 3000. Among them may be mentioned more than 800 Lance-heads of Iron; a couple of hundred Iron Shield-bosses, while there was only one such of Bronze; about 17 double-edged Iron Swords and 14 one-edged crooked Iron Swords — the so-called Scramasaxes or Cimeters —, besides fragments of others; 19 Spurs of various shapes; a multitude of fittings and trappings, partly ornamented with overlaid gold and silver; an extraordinary number of bone Combs; many of the men used in playing Draughts or some such sort of game, and many pieces of the Boards or Tables on which these playing-pieces had stood. Peculiar to this great find were the many Sword-scabbard heels and Sword-scabbard clasps of Ivory, (which material has never been found in the other Danish mosses), the surprising number and variety of Wooden articles (Cups, Bowls, Dishes, Trays, &c.) many of them excellent in shape and make, and the Wooden Tools which here met the eye.

And mingled with all this wealth and variety of chiefly if not entirely "Barbarian" manufactures, were also several things of undoubtedly Roman origin. Thus there was a silver coin of Faustina Junior (A. D. 175); a brass crest or ornament of a helmet, boldly and sharply finisht, representing a Griffin's head (engraved in Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager*, 2nd ed. No. 336 a and b); and several large Bronze Buttons for Sword-belts, on which have been laid plates of gold stampd with figures of Jupiter's Eagle between *insignia militaria*.

But with regard to the piece now before us, evidently the Clasp of a Sword-sheath; it was found by a turf-cutter and forwarded to the Museum in 1853. Mr. Herbst at once observed that it bore Runes, and since that time this antiquity became a kind of lion in the Danish Collection. Mr. Worsaae engraved it, 2-thirds of the size, in his *Nordiske Oldsager*, where it stands (2nd ed., Kjöbenhavn 1859) p. 80, No. 331. It is of silver ornamented with gold, but a thick hard crust, a kind of rust, hides a part of the inscription, and what is visible would seem to be meaningless. Still whether a mere idle scratch or a real significative carving, the marks upon it are clearly runic.

What invested this piece with so much interest was, that it was the first article found in any Danish Moss bearing runes, — for Abildgaard's memoranda on what had been discovered in the Kragehul Moss were at this time almost unknown and were considered incredible.

But this runic Scabbard-clasp is also remarkable as a stepping-stone or landmark in Archaeological study. For in his short but valuable paper on the Varpelev Find¹ Mr. Herbst informs us that it was this piece which led him to establish the Early Iron Age, and to throw it back in Scandinavia generally — at least in Denmark — to about the 2nd century after Christ, if not earlier. This Early Iron Age — whatever its exact limits — is now universally admitted, and may be considered as the key to the history of those races whose arms and civilization have last and mightiest left their stamp on all the Northern lands!

All the great features connected with this hoard were the same as in the other Danish mosses. Some things were comparatively new, others old, some even mended and patcht and clouted. Many showed signs of little use. The vast majority were jagged and broken in the fury of savage fight, cut and gasht with sword or lance, dinted or pierced with arrows. Many had been wilfully smasht or bent or jammed into each other any how, clearly as only so much old lumber. Some things had been laid down whole, others were only bits and fragments when committed to the water. Many of the articles were deposited carefully wrapt up, or in whole bundles; for instance at one spot was found a heap of 38 iron spear-heads and other things folded up in lincn stuff. Many more were found singly or by twoes and threes. Some were near together, others were disperst far and wide from the central layer. The wrappings and holdfasts had rotted away, and centuries of storms had scattered and intermixt all that had not become fixt in the mud. The quantities of stakes and matting found seem to show that the whole deposit had been paled round, that it might easily be taken up again when a chance should occur. But the tarn kept its secret. The old-laves were in a layer of turf which averaged 3 feet in thickness, and were found at all depths, from 1 to 4 feet below the greensward. Not one of the wooden Shields was perfect, and the Bows were very scarce, but one turned up nearly 6 feet long.

¹ "Varpelev Fundet, beskrevet af C. F. Herbst", in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, 1861", Kjöbenhavn 1865, 8vo, pp. 305-22.

Besides the great number of weapons, including pieces of admirable ring-mail, and all sorts of things intended for ornament and the workshop, some articles were found connected with agriculture. Everything, as far as could be seen, was of the same general character. There was no sign of gradation in the manufacture, or of some things being scores of years — still less centuries — older than the rest. And all was apparently laid down at once, not at successive periods or by successive generations.

Thus in this as in all the other mosses there is not the least shadow of "a Holy Lake", and of these antiquities having been "offered to the Gods" by being sunk in the water¹. There is nowhere the last hint or tradition of any such custom in Scandinavia. Holy (offer) Wells and Holy (offer) Churches are well known in all the Scando-Gothic lands; but that is something very different. And such Holy Places (originally devoted to Heathen Powers) continue sacred. Only they obtain new names; FRIGG'S WELL becomes ST. MARY'S WELL, and BALDOR'S FANE may become THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN. But not even bigoted and cruel legislation has been able as yet quite to destroy the sacred character of the olden popular Offer-Wells and Offer-Churches, still as formerly more or less frequented and enrich by the peasantry and seafolk of the Northern kingdoms. Hence had such a Lake been an Offer-Lake, *it would have been so still*. At all events the diggers would have found proofs that it had been so for many hundreds of years, down into the Christian age. But there is no shadow of evidence to this effect. On the contrary all things show that the objects were deposited, not offered. And then the character of the things found absolutely forbids their having been "offered to the Gods": — broken Glass, old Iron, hammered-up Bronze, smasht and twisted arms and ornaments and tools, — these have never been the things selected as a costly sacrifice to the Heavenly Rulers; but they always have been and still are the things collected by a chapman, a "dealer", a chafferer in "marine stores", a gatherer of old clothes and old metal and old or new whole or broken refuse and rubbish (which always has its value when it reaches a proper market) swept together at a low price from the battle-field the farmyard and the workshop. Several such "stocks in trade" have been found in the Northern countries. Accident has revealed to us what has evidently been the collected booty or trading stock and capital of — here a maker or seller of stone-articles; — there a maker or seller of bronze-articles; — here a maker or seller of iron-articles; — there of a dealer in old gold or silver or both, and so on. And there is nothing at all unlikely in our lighting upon the accumulated war-spoil and old iron and old tools of a Chieftain or of a Dealer in the Early Iron Age. There must have been some particular reason for these hoards having been hidden *in water*; probably it was simply because there was *no room on land*. From the bulky nature of a large collection (some thousands) of objects thus brought together, they would require a very large space indeed to hide them well. But this could scarcely be obtained at all on land, especially when it was to be done at a few hours' or days' notice. Great indeed must be the pit or trench that would have to be dug, to receive so immense a hoard. With only a hand or two to do it, it would take weeks. Then it would be "hard to hele"; and, even if tolerably maskt, it would be still harder to stow away "somewhere" the immense pile of earth taken out. In fact cave-hiding could scarcely be done at all, particularly in a flat and populous country. It is very different with the usual "finds" so often met with under boulders, stones, behind a rock or tree, stuck into a sandhill, buried in a bank, and so on. These "finds" are usually gold or silver or jewels or trinkets or coins, or some precious weapon, things of intrinsic value that take up little room, and that can be hidden anywhere and at any time. The largest of these finds could mostly be put into one's hat. But, literally speaking, each one of these Moss-hoards has been large enough to fill a large room. Now where could such a heap be so quickly and easily put out of sight — at a moment's notice — with reasonable hopes of soon removing it again, as in a nice bit of low-water shore in a frith or bay or lake near the

¹ Some of the animal-bones found in the Nydam Moss would seem to have come there accidentally, or to have been thrown overboard. The Horse heads and limb-extremities would seem to have been sunk into the water at the same time as the other articles. Perhaps most of them bore ornaments which had not yet been taken off for want of time. Certain it is that several of the Horse-heads had iron bits and other things still attach to them. But almost all these bones showed signs of having lain on a battle-field for several days, and of having been gnawn by wolves, before they were gathered up by the vagabond spoil-collectors or camp-followers. See Prof. Steenstrup's ingenious and needle-sharp remarks hereon in Engelhardt's Nydam Mosefund, pp. 37-42. His woodcuts show the swordstuns and the hole made by an arrow. In all this I can see no proof of any offer-feast or offer-lake. But the fact is, we know nothing of a thousand details connected with these things. What appears to us simple may have had some symbolical or religious signification, and some things to us mysterious and wonderful may have been mere everyday occurrences — just as a butcher cuts and hangs up his meat in a certain way.

sea? Certainly no where else. And hence a snug place in the water has been so often selected for this purpose. In the Nydam Moss the two Gallies which were laden with the same kind of spoil and lumber were evidently pursued by a foe or robber, were hurriedly scuttled close in shore, and were never recovered¹. Otherwise we have the same features in all these moss-finds, and they all speak of a period when the "spoil and lumber" of both Barbarian and Roman were strangely intermingled. The Roman could not have been far off. None of the hitherto found "antiquarian mosses" seems to me later than the departure of the Imperial armies from Britain². — See (on the Kirkliston stone) p. 72.

When conversing on this subject with State-Councillor A. Regenburg, late Director of the Royal Danish Ministry for South-Jutland, — a gentleman not less known for his wide historical and antiquarian studies and profound acquirements than for the urbanity and kindness and generosity with which, both in and out of office, he has always protected and encouraged every branch of Northern Science and Literature —, he mentioned to me a striking parallel from our own days. At my request, he drew up this piquant historical anecdote in writing, and has allowed me to translate it here:

"In August 1807, when the English Army attacked Sealand, the Militia were called out to resist them. Many of these troops were equipt in Sorø, which has its own Lord-lieutenant. But these raw levies, ill disciplined and poorly clothed and armed, had to measure swords with hardy English veterans, led by England's finest officers, at Kjøge. As might be expected, they gave way. They were completely disperst. But a great number of those who had been fitted out in Sorø hurried thither, and gave up or threw down their equipments at the Lord-lieutenant's residence, the old Cloister or Academy. All these articles, together with the remaining stores of military effects, Uniforms, leather accoutrements and arms, of which a large portion consisted of Pikes and of Sithes made into Lances, were brought together by the Lord-lieutenant, and — at the approach of a strong body of Hanoverian Dragoons under the command of General Linsingen — were sunk pell-mell in Sorø "Sø" (Lake). He hoped that the enemy would never find them there, and that he would be able to recover them when the foe retired. In his first supposition the Lord-lieutenant was correct, but not in his second. The Hanoverians could never come upon the traces of what was hidden so well, but after two months they withdrew and the turn came to the Danes. They sought and sought, but all to no purpose. In their hurry they had not marked the spot with sufficient exactness. The whole hoard was lost, and remains so at this moment. It doubtless sank beneath the mud which covers the bottom of the "Sø", and may perhaps lie there for 1500 years longer, when the whole Lake will have become a Moss or trembling Meadow. Some honest peasant, cutting turfs or making a ditch, may then light upon these things. In that case they will be found in about the same state as the "finds" in the Vi Moss, the Thorsbjerg Moss and the other Danish Bogs. Weapons and equipments and all sorts of "sundries" will be near each other, singly or in bundles, in the most delightful confusion. But such a singular "miscellaneous collection", some of the articles bearing manufacturers' marks from the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, or the Royal Initials of King Christian VII, or the Danish Arms, or other Stamps, may prove as great a puzzle for the grave "old-lorists" of that remote time as the Danish Moss-finds have been to the savans of our own generation."

¹ In the middle of the 12th century the Wends and other Slavic pirates had not forgotten the same tactics — how to drag a ship ashore, scuttle it and decamp. King Waldemar the Great thus warns his men:

"Discedentes quoque præmonuit, ne hujus generis paratos, callidus quoniam fortius confingere solitos, repente accesserent, & quibus id consuetudinis est, ut hostili classe superveniente, navigiis suis in litus subductis, de industria citato cursu lateant, petant, hostibusque ibidem instandi locum tribuant. Sed mox ut eorum navigia ardentem remigum studio passim litonibus applicata conspicerent, improviso recursu latebris erumpentes, eadem biarchii per fortis injectis apprehensa subducant, abductaque nautis partim lapidum, partim telorum numero obratis ferro perficiant, ac crebris foraminibus abscondant."

Saxo Grammaticus. *Historia Danica*. Ed. Stephanus. Sore 1644, folio. Book 14, page 329.

² Of course all this does not prove that in these old days a local tribe may not now and then have held some great Religious Festival, at or after which they may have thrown a mass of things — as an Offering — into a burning pile (as a gift to some Fire- or Sun-God), or some stream or bay or lake (as a gift to some Water-God). We know so little of the customs of the earliest ages and clans in the North, that no one can deny the possibility of such an occasional ceremony. All I object to is — the theory of "Holy Lakes" among Northmen, and the supposition that all or most of our early Moss-finds can be explained by any such hypothesis.

But ere they departed he admonish't his Guard-ships not carelessly to attack the pirates. These vagabonds, said he, fight cunningly, not bravely. It is their custom, when a hostile fleet approaches, to draw their barks on land, quickly seek some covert, and leave all open for the on-rushing foe. But straightway, when their enemy have rowed forward with might and main and tumultuously landed, they suddenly break from their hiding and pounce upon them, thrust their arms thro' the openings and haul the ships ashore, bore holes in them with sharp iron and scuttle and sink them, while they miserably destroy the crews with a cloud of stones and darts.

VI MOSS, ALLESÖ, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-350.

*Full size. From the Original in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Drawn by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN;
on wood by J. F. ROSENSTAND.*



Among the other objects found in 1865 in the Vi Moss were some dozens of Bone Combs, of the usual type in this period, single-tootht, more or less roundtopt, and the pieces fastened with bone nubs. Some have no ornament, are quite plain, like the one before us. Others have simple decorations, usually a few small circles or lines or zigzags or hatch-work. Some had fallen to pieces or were otherwise broken. Some were whole. A few could be perfected by bringing the various bits together. All were stained more or less deeply by the moss-water.

The BONE COMB before us is quite whole. At least it has only lost one of its teeth and two out of the three bone nubs. It is rather small. What makes it so valuable to us is the circumstance, that ere it was sunk in the Moss its immediate or former owner had scratcht his name upon it, and his native letters were our Old-Northern Runes. Fortunately these have taken little damage, and can be redd as surely as they could 1500 years ago. They consist of only five staves:

H Æ R NG Æ
H. Æ, R, NG, Æ.

As so often, it is possible to conceive this as one word, taking the last vowel as a very old nominative-ending. But it is better not to suppose things violent or less probable. HÆRINGÆ for HÆRING would be old indeed! I therefore (giving the NG-mark here the value of ING, the vowel omitted for shortness) divide:

HÆRING F.
HÆRING OWNS (*this Comb*).

Thus we here again have the so common formula of ownership.

I have said that NG here stands for ING. Scandinavian-runic monuments abound in similar contractions. Old-Northern would do so too, if we had only more of them. This is the first instance with regard to this particular rune, and this piece was discovered while this work was going thro the press. Other examples may occur on Old-Northern runic Coins, but, as I have said elsewhere, these have never been collected and I have an imperfect knowledge of them. One such instance however I can give. Whether it be engraved in the 2nd edition of Ruding's "Annals of the Coinage of Britain" I cannot decide¹, for no copy exists (as far as I know) in the Danish Capital, where I am now writing. It is not in the first edition. But it is given in the valuable and well-known tract "Numismata Anglo-Saxonica & Anglo-Danica breviter illustrata ab Andrea Fountaine", Oxoniæ 1705, fol., appended to the second volume of Hickes' Thesaurus. On Tab. III, under Beornwulf. No. 1, we have one of the usual Pennies of the time



whose Obverse is inscribed BEORNVULF REX, while the Reverse has the name of the Moneyer (MONNING) written

M O N N Ƿ

where the provincial English *form* (Ƿ) of the NG-rune plainly stands for ING, the full *name* of this stave. This is so much the surer as the above is the only rune here used. All the other letters are Roman of the Early Middle age. But by introducing this still well-known English rune the die-cutter saved the space and trouble of 2 letters, that is, he carved *one* stave (Ƿ) instead of *three* (1Ƿ, 1 and N and e).

In his text Fountaine identifies this Beornwulf as the King of Mercia from 821 to 823. As to the "Monetarius", not only had we several in England called MAN or MON, MANNA or MONNA (with one N or two), but the patronymic also was common among our English mintmasters, MANNIC or MONNIC, MANNING or MONNING (with one N or two); and MANNING is still a frequent English name. Thus it is quite certain that the MONN(1)NG of Beornwulf's Coin answers to the HÆR(1)NG of the Vi-Moss Comb.

¹ As said above, this piece is not in the first edition of Ruding's Annals of the Coinage of Britain, the only one I have seen. But since those lines were written Sir Frederik Madden has kindly informed me that it is also not in the 2nd, nor in the collection of the British Museum, nor in any other known cabinet. It is supposed, he adds, that the valuable Fountaine Coin-board was sold or dispersed; it cannot now be traced. But there is no ground for doubting the entire accuracy of Sir A. Fountaine's engravings. Single runes, or a rune or two, are found intermixt with Roman letters not only on coins but on all sorts of things in all the Northern lands during the transition period of the early middle age when the runic staves were gradually giving way before the daily more and more potent and universal Roman alphabet. On Coins struck during this period in England, these runes were of course (the Provincial English) Old-Northern, in Scandinavia as naturally (the Provincial) Scandinavian; for in Scandia Coins were not minted so soon as during the Old-Northern runic age.

VI MOSS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-350.

*Full size. From the Original, now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Engraved by
J. F. ROSENSTAND from drawings on wood by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*

Among the many hundreds of interesting objects recovered from the Vi Moss, perhaps the various articles of wood are the most characteristic. They include not only warlike pieces, such as Shields, Lance-shafts, &c., and Farming implements, a Boat, &c., but a variety of Dishes, Basins, Bowls, small Boxes, and so on, and several Tools and Ornaments. Their general feature is good workmanship and elegance of form, and it is evident that they are of native "barbarian" origin. They exhibit no signs of Roman art, either direct or indirect. Most precious of them all, as far as this work is concerned, is

THE LOKER OR PLANE BEARING OLD-NORTHERN RUNES,

of ash wood, nearly complete, and undoubtedly the oldest Plane existing in the world. It was found during the diggings of 1865.

This remarkable specimen of one of the tools used in a Danish Carpenter's shop about 1500 years ago was placed in the lake without its cutting-irons, of which it has had 2, as we can see by the holes bored thro it to fasten them when required for use. These knives had been taken out previous to the sinking of the Plane; otherwise the iron, even if it had been all consumed (which is so unlikely as to be almost impossible), would have left traces of rust, and would have dyed the wood. But there are no signs either of iron or of iron-stain. It has, however, suffered from friction and decay. It has been broken in two in the middle and in another place, which may or may not have been done ere it was thrown into the lake, probably the latter; and it must have lost about the space of an inch or two at the central part. One of the ends also, that inscribed with runes, is about a couple of inches shorter than the other, apparently by rubbing or striking against something sharp when softened in the water¹.

When Mr. Steffensen was chemically "cooking" and handling the various things found in the Moss, in order as far as possible to restore and harden and protect them, an art in which he possesses great skill and experience, he carefully examined every piece — watching and hoping for *runes*, — which could not be seen till everything had been well washt from the dirt and slime of the Moss.

¹ As this Plane has been so much broken and has suffered so much from friction, we cannot know whether it has originally had an ornamental curve upwards at each end, as is the case with the smaller (Arrow-shaft) Plane found in this same Moss, and described farther on.

To his great delight he found written characters first on the one piece of this then unknown object. Some time after the other bits turned up from their wrappers of wet grass, also bearing runes. On putting them together, they formed a nearly perfect Plane!

I immediately hurried to the Museum, where these operations were going on, anxious to take every possible precaution lest a single one of the precious letters should fade or crumble away when exposed to the air. We none of us knew what the effect of the "boiling" would be on the tender fibres of the wood, tho, by analogy, we hoped the best. So Archivary Herbst and I determined to make independent and exact copies of the inscriptions while the fragments were still lying in the water, thro which the runes were seen with remarkable sharpness. We set to work, and each produced his drawings. These we then compared with each other and with the original, and thus obtained a third and faultless transcript. We were now safe, however the chemical manipulation might turn out. When the piece was slightly dried, I made a second facsimile, and this showed that the former one was correct. Then came the "cooking". It succeeded admirably. The runes were even plainer than before. So I made a third drawing, which agreed with the others. With this before him, Mr. Petersen drew the whole beautifully on wood, preserving as far as possible all the stains and dints and fibre-marks and grainings, and the whole was engraved under every possible control. I doubt whether frail human hands will ever produce a better copy.

Fortunately the letters are generally sharply cut and tolerably well preserved. Here and there a stave or two has been injured by friction, or by the falling away of small particles of the softened wood, and now and then the moss-stains have affected and obscured the appearance of a particular letter. But generally speaking the whole is abundantly legible.

Let us now look at the runings. Besides here and there a scratch or two from contact with some sharp instrument in the "Carpenter's Box", and the remains of three or four letters on the left side, we see at once that there are 3 regular scribbles, such as journeymen still make on their tools at this moment, and that these 3 inscriptions are in 3 different "hands". Each has its own "style", and there may have been years between them, or the one may have been made by a workman from one folkland, the others by people from another. We will take them consecutively, beginning with

THE RUNES ON THE SIDE

On the left fragment, as we have said, are a couple of defective staves, so indistinct that we will pass them over.

On the right fragment is a long carving, nearly every letter sharply legible.

First we have a plain *r* and *i* and *p* (the bow grasping the whole staff) and *A*, and *s* (many-joint type) followed by divisional dots. Thus *TIDAS*.

Then a fine *h* and *L*, what seems to be *e*, then *u* and *N*, and apparently a *g*, followed by dots of division. We might suspect that the last letter was *o* (*X*), but repeated examination convinces me that it was a *g* (*X*), the top being confused and confounded by a damage and a stain. Thus *HLEUNG*.

Then a *p*, of the usual shape, followed by a doubtful letter. The first leg looks like an *N* (*†*) on the paper, but the apparent central cross-stroke is, as far as I can see on the wood itself, partly a scathe and a stain and partly runs into the damage on the other side, where this piece has been broken. The second leg is also divided by the fracture. Between them, at the top, are faint marks characteristic of the *e*. Then come separating points. The word, I have no doubt, is *DE*.

Lastly, we have 5 quite plain staves, *RIGU*.

Putting all these together we get:

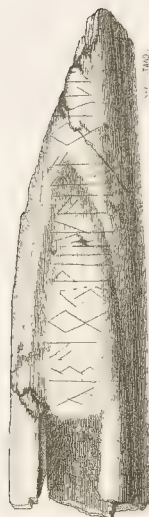
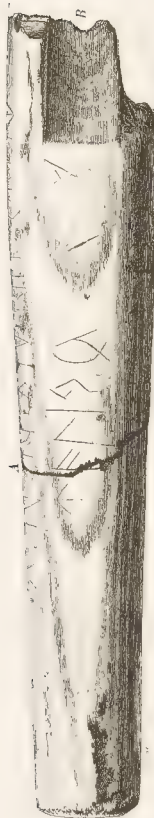
†IDYŠ : HEMAIK : PM : RIIXA

TIDAS HLEUNG DE RIIGU.

Each group is evidently a word for itself, and I translate:

TITHAS HLEUNG (= *RLE-SON*) *THE REEK* (*stiff, stout, strong, burly*).

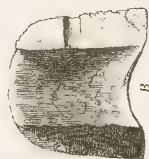
T O P.



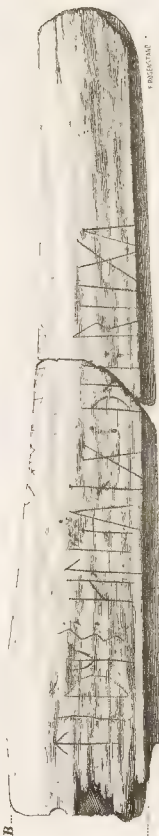
SECTION AT A



SECTION AT B



S I D E.



The runes are before us, the meaning apparently clear and undeniable. I cannot help the results. They show us one of the many dialects of our Old-Northern mother-tung in a shape far older than any parchment record. To find the full nominative-ending *AS*, we must go back to the Lithuanian and the Sanskrit. To come to the N. I. *TID*, our O. E. *TID*, we must go thro an unknown (save here) stage of *TIDAS*, then an unknown stage of *TID*'s, then an unknown stage of *TIDR*, and at last we reach the comparatively *modern* (by the grammarians called ancient and correct and orthodox) *TID* and *TID*, now *TID* in all the Scandian talks, *TIDE* in all the English.

HLEUNG, one of the usual patronymics in *UNG*, *ING*, *ÆNG*, &c., calls for no remark.

DE, *the*, is exactly as in Old-English, and is placed before the adjective.

RIGU, adjective, singular, masculine, definite after *DE*, has the definite-ending *U*; thus older than the Norse-Icelandic *U*, and than the still older Old-English *A*, and than the still older Mæso-Gothic *o*, and Old-Saxon *o* and *A*, and Old-High-German *o*.

Whether Master *TITH* was the first or the last owner of this Plane, — that is, what was the relative order in which its owners scribbled their names with a sharp knife or awl, — we of course cannot tell.

It might be objected that *RIGU* cannot be so, for that we cannot have *II*, two vowels of the same kind together, in fact that "the *oldest* runes never show two letters of the same kind together", as do the later monuments so frequently. But all this is a mistake. The Old-Northern pieces here brought together show *many* instances of doubled letters. We have:

Bewcastle: *GESSUS*, *KUNBURUG*, *SETTON*, *SINNA*, *DISSA*.

Bracteate No. 2: *GELICS*, *HIOC*, *TOLECUU*.

" " 6: *SESSYCNÆ*.

" " 9: *EYTTAN*.

" " 17: *ÆDDLEO*, *COLLD*.

" " 19: *GÆYÆALLU*.

" " 23: *EDILLO*, *USSU*.

" " 24: *ÆNN*, *BÆBLIL*.

" " 25: *ÆNWLL*.

" " 55: *ÆNN*.

" " 56: *UFTEIC*.

Dewsbury (not in runes; but from the 8th century): *GIBIDDAD*.

Falstone: *SETTAE*, *SETTGE*.

Hartlepool: *RIIDDIGUD*.

Lindholm: *ETT*.

Northumbrian Casket: *NETHH*.

Nydam Moss (not in runes; but from the 3rd century): *RICCIM*.

Reidstad: *UNNBO*.

Ruthwell: *ÆDILÆ*, *ALMEYOTTIG*, *RIICNÆ*.

Sölvesborg: *RIUSU*.

Stentoften: *HELHEDDUÁ*.

West-Thorp: *ITT*.

Here are no fewer than 34 examples. Even should some be doubtful, a great number will remain. Hence the *RIGU* of the Vi Moss Plane need not surprise us.

Having thus examined the legible risting on the side, 18 staves, [in one of the words (*HLEUNG*) *ng* being exprest by two separate letters (*†X*) instead of by one character (*§*), or some variety of the same], let us now turn to

THE RUNES ON THE TOP.

And first on the left piece; 6 plain letters: *T*, *Æ*, *L*, *I*, *NG*, then apparently dots of separation, and then *o*. On the right side of the last stave the knife of the carver has slipt, so that the upper line is prolonged a good deal downwards. We have, then:

↑ 𐌹 𐌺 𐌻 𐌴 𐌵 (?) 𐌸

TÆLING O

TÆLING (= TEL-SON) OWNS (*possesses-me*).

(= *This tool belongs to Tel-son.*)

Here as often elsewhere it is impossible absolutely to decide whether the o should be taken as a separate word, the usual 3rd pers. sing. present of the verb AGAN, to OWE, OWN, possess, — or as a mere ending of the mansname. The former is the more natural, especially if, as I believe, there are really faint marks still left of the dividing dots. But in either case the meaning will be the same. To the above 18 letters we now add 6, thus 24.

Lastly the long and elegant inscription on the right fragment. Even those quite unacquainted with runes can see that it is written by a master hand. The staves are at once so bold and so graceful that it is really a pleasure to look at them. But to understand them we must remember that the carving is incomplete. About 2 inches of the Plane are mouldered away. Letters would scarcely be carved up to the very end, as they would have been exposed to instant wear and damage. Probably about *one word* is gone.

First comes G, then I, then S (the many-jointed pattern), then L (with some scratches near it, and a mark under the arm-stroke — this mark being a mere dint and no part of the letter), then I, then O, then NG, and then 5 or more separating dots; = GISLIONG.

Next W, then I, then L (a morsel of the wood fallen out at the tip, but the side-arm plain tho short), then I, then a separating bar; = WILL.

Then A and H. Whether there are divisional dots after, I cannot make out, the stains are here so strong. I believe there are. At all events I take this as one word, — AH.

Then L and Æ and O and R (not quite perfect at the top, for here begins the damage), then B (the upper half gone, for the same reason), then a letter which must apparently have been F (Æ), (but the top is quite gone), then a divisional bar. Thus LÆORB(Æ).

The missing word, the required noun in the accusative singular after the verb AH, we will supply for the present with the ancient Old-Northern word for *Plane*, LOCER.

X | S | I | O | S | I | P | I | I | Y | W | (?) | F | F | R | B | (F) | locer.

* GISLIONG WILI AH LÆORB(Æ) locer.

GISLIONG (= GISLI-SON) WILI OWNS *this-SITHE-SHAFT* (*loker*).

(= *This Sithe-shaft Plane belongs to Wili Gisl-son.*)

To the above 24 we now add 19 runes, thus 43 plain letters.

We will not enter into a dispute whether the word LOCER (if there) would have appeared in a still older shape, with a vowel-ending, for instance as LOCERU or LOCUR, LOCERO or LOCRO, LOCERA or LOCRA, &c. We will take it merely as LOCER, *in the accusative sing.*

Nor can we decide whether the last Æ in LÆORBÆ is a mere connecting vowel, or whether it may have been a mark of the genitive plural. It is a question of very little moment, and the meaning remains the same. It is simpler to take it as the connecting vowel used in so many compound words.

But this at once introduces us to the LE or SITHE and its ORB (or ORF) its SHAFT or HAFT, — the SITHE-HANDLES to make which this Plane was used.

A glance at the bottom or cuttingpart of this Loker, as exhibited by Sections A and B, shows us at once that it was a Hollow Plane, that its irons were so arranged and rounded as to produce a convex surface, a half-circular moulding, and that a rod of wood when regularly cut and smoothed all over by this instrument would become quite round — as a Sithe-shaft must be.

In our times, as agriculture is modified and the surface of the land is altered by drainage, and as new methods require new instruments — the one more "Patent" and "Improved" than the other —, the Sithe-pole is often no longer quite straight and round, and the Sithe itself is continually encroaching on the Sickel. Formerly the Sithe was used almost exclusively for grass, the Sickel almost exclusively for grain, &c., apart from its employment (in various adapted shapes) in gardens and vineyards. So also the shaft of the Sithe can be longer or shorter. In rocky and hilly places, where

stones and tufts hinder the sweep of the blade, the pole is unusually short (in Norway called the *Stutt-ørv*); but in more level districts a long shaft is used (in Norway called the *Lang-ørv*). So there are variations in the length of the iron blade and its position to the shaft, especially where reeds and sedge have to be cut.

That the original Scando-Gothic Sithe-handle was round and straight is undoubted. It is so at this moment in all the Northern and Saxon and German lands "in all back settlements", wherever primitive customs have continued. And I have no doubt it could be abundantly proved out of works of art from the ancient times. But at this moment, in the hurry of composition and far from English libraries, I cannot lay my hand upon them. No Sithe occurs in the Illuminations to Cædmon or on the Bayeux Tapestry. In a Ms. of Florence of Worcester, in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, are drawings illustrative of the Dream of Henry I of England (1100-1135), and executed shortly after. One of them¹ shows the king sleeping; behind him stand three husbandmen, one carrying a Sithe, another a Pitchfork, the third a Shovel. The Sithe has a perfectly straight handle.

In my own bookboard is a small vellum tome containing, in Latin, the Psalms of David and various Prayers and Litanies, &c., evidently written in England in the 13th century. It is beautifully penned and illuminated. At the beginning is the Calendar, decorated as so often with a small picture — on a golden ground — for each month. That for July shows a husbandman mowing with a Sithe. The long handle is quite straight; the blade is small. On the next page, for August, we have a reaper with a Sickle. The grain stands thick, with full ears. The haft of the Sickle is hidden by the hand. The large blade is very crooked, a real Reaping-hook.

The illuminations in the Saxon "Land- und Lehnrecht"², probably executed in the last half of the 13th century or a little later, give no example of mowing. There are many of Reaping, always with the Sickle; the blade is much bent, the haft large and straight.

But a shaft or pole for a Sithe and a shaft or pole for a Lance are thus exactly the same, differing only in length. Both are round and straight, and the Plane used to fashion the one would be used to fashion the other.

But how old is the Sithe in the Northern lands?

As far as we know, there was no Sithe in Europe in the earliest times. The Sithe and Sickle were one, only variations of the same simple farming tool, distinguished by their handle and the use to which they were put, rather than by the shape and size of the blade. In other words the same instrument, more or less modified, was used for mowing grass by hand, reaping corn, and trimming vines and trees.

Going back to the Stone Age, no example of what we call a Sithe has of course ever been found, and the couple of "Sickles" spoken of are doubtless a misunderstanding³. From the brittleness of the material, it is scarcely possible that flint or stone could have been used for any such purpose.

From the Bronze Age we have no Sithe; Bronze could scarcely have given either the edge or the weight required for this instrument; but now appears the Sickle. "Sickles [of Bronze] are more numerous [than Fish-hooks]; at Copenhagen there are twenty-five, at Dublin eleven; in the Lake-village at Morges eleven have been found, at Nidau eighteen; they are generally about six inches in length, flat on one side, and raised on the other; they were always intended to be held in the right hand."⁴ In the single collection of Col. Schwab, from the Swiss Pileworks, there are no fewer than 45 bronze Sickles. One of those in the Danish Museum is drawn by Worsaae, Nordiske Oldsager No. 159⁵. The chief difference in bronze sickles is in their greater or less curve.

¹ F. W. Fairholt. *Costume in England*. London 1846, p. 77.

² *Teutsche Denkmäler*. Herausgegeben und erklärt von Bött, v. Babo, Eitenbenz, Mone und Weber. Enthält die Bilder zum Sächsischen Land- und Lehnrecht. Folio. Heidelberg 1820.

³ The piece figured in Worsaae's *Nordiske Oldsager*, 2nd ed. No. 51, he guesses must have been a dagger or knife. It is about 9 inches long and bends slightly outwards, and would thus have snapped in sunder if applied with the least pressure. It would rather seem to have been a Staff of Command, or other piece of state and ceremony. — A similar piece (as it was described to me) was lately found in Skåne; but the man who carried it accidentally fell and broke it into many pieces. In his vexation and stupidity, instead of carefully collecting the bits he let them lie, and thus an interesting lave was lost to science.

⁴ John Lubbock. *Pre-historic Times*. 8vo, London 1865, p. 19.

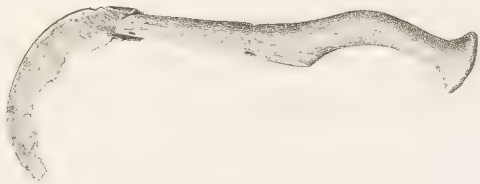
⁵ Sweden up to 1853 only about half a dozen Bronze Sickles were known. But in that year 6 others, of which 5 were whole and 1 only a fragment, were found in an urn from the Bronze Age together with many other bronze tools, weapons and orna-

With Iron came in a much higher civilization and great agricultural progress. Still we are not sure that a distinction was everywhere at once made between the Sickle and the Sithe. But probably the Iron Sithe was very soon invented or introduced¹, perhaps long before the time of Christ. All that we know with certainty as to the Scandian lands is, that such a difference did exist in Denmark as early as the 3rd century after Christ, for an Iron Sithe-blade was dug out of the Nydam Moss, South-Jutland (Engelhardt, p. 33, Plate 15, No. 17). But with Iron we have a Sickle or Shearer much larger and longer than met us in the Bronze Age, so that we might at first be doubtful whether to call it a Sickle or a Sithe. The same blade is called by the one author a Sithe, by another a Sickle. And no wonder: for the Shearing-blade is straighter and longer than answers to our modern Sickle, smaller than answers to our modern Sithe. Both our Sithe-blade and our Reaping-hook are larger than those of the oldest times. The Sithe-blades found in the Swiss Lake-villages have been spoken of by Keller and Desor. That dug out of the Nydam Moss is now 13½ Danish inches long, but is a good deal eaten away and must have been somewhat longer. The few found in Norway and England are not very different in size. This summer (1865) the excavations in the Vi Moss, Fyn, which also gave us our Runic Plane, brought to light an Iron Sithe-blade quite perfect and in fair preservation. As a valuable illustration of our argument, I give it here 1-third the size of the original. It is of wrought iron. The marks of the hammer are still visible.



But the Sithe, little used by the Romans, was largely employed by the Keltic and Scando-Gothic peoples. Hence its appearance in this Moss is another proof of the generally "barbarian" character of its contents.

As we have said, the Shearer or Sickle is well known in the Early Iron Age, as well as in the Later. Worsaae, *Nordiske Oldsager* No. 490, engraves one from the Later Iron Age. But such a Sickle from the Early Iron Age was found in the first diggings in this same Vi Moss, and fortunately the piece was complete, its wooden handle yet remaining. I therefore add it here, also 1-third of the full size:



Here we have another and unexpected proof that the pieces in this Moss are nearly all "barbarian", not Roman. For observe the handle. It has a peculiar bend or swing half way up, such as I do not re-

ments. They were from 4½ to 5 inches long. This was in South-Sweden (Fredshög, Reng Pastorat, Skytt Härad, Skåne). See N. G. Bruzelius, *Svenska Fornlemningar*, 1ste häftet, Skåne, med 3 plancher, 8vo, Lund 1853, p. 44 and fol.

¹ The Irish and Gaelic *corrán* is a Sickle: but the Gaelic word for Sithe is *FALADAIR*, or *IARUNN FALADAIR*, an Iron Mower.

member to have seen elsewhere. This has therefore been a local shape. Otherwise the Scando-Gothic Sickle-haft is straight, as well as the Roman the Grecian and the Egyptian. Yet here is a distinctive local "barbarian" form. And that this is no mere unique and accidental instance is proved by the fact, that in this same Moss was found another (not quite perfect) wooden Sickle-handle *exactly the same in shape*. It may be seen in the Old-Northern Museum.

Many examples of the Sithe and the Sickle from the Early Iron Age — especially with the wooden haft still remaining — we cannot expect. As they were neither weapons nor ornaments, they are only occasionally found in the graves of this period.

At least as far back, then, as the Early Iron Age, with which alone we are here concerned, Denmark has had the Iron Sithe, and this implement must have been largely employed. For then as now Denmark was a cattle-breeding land; and Cattle require and presuppose sweeps of excellent pasture. And, the Sithe once known, the rich Danish grass-lands — wherever the cattle were kept thro the long but not severe winters — would not be mown with the Bill-hook but the Sithe. The Sithe would therefore be in constant use. But no Sithe could be handled without its pole or shaft or sneath or sned, or however else we may name its handle, whose shape would slightly vary from time to time and in accordance with local need, but which was undoubtedly almost everywhere, both among the Oriental, Classical and Scando-Gothic peoples, *straight and round and long*, the appended grips, when employed, being larger or smaller and more or less curved according to local want and custom. So common and necessary would the Sithe be, that where little corn was grown the Sickle would be unknown. So in Iceland at this moment, which has fine short grass but scarcely any grain, there is no Sickle.

Let us then recapitulate. In both the North and South of Europe we have great difficulty in distinguishing between the old Sithe and the old Sickle. In Latin *falx* and *secula* are used almost indiscriminately, tho usually the *Bill-hook*, *Cutting-hook*, *Sickle*, would seem to be intended. So in Middle-Latin we cannot always see whether the usual *falx* means Sithe or Sickle. Thus in an English Will of the year 1403, from the Registry at York¹, among other farming effects we have: "Item j falx, xijd. Item iij falces, iijjd." Here one "falx" is valued at one Shilling, while 4 "falces" are appraised at only 4 Pence, only 1 Penny each! Was the one a good *Sithe*, and were the others worn-out *Sickles*? — But the Sithe continually spread, especially in landscapes famous for the meadow and the cow. But the Sithe would require not only the Smith for the blade, but also the Carpenter for the long handle. This handle was round and straight, exactly like the handle of the Lance or Spear.

Hence it is not sure or even likely that *all* the long and round and straight poles found in the Danish Mosses from the Early Iron Age have *always* been *Lance-shafts*. It is likely enough that some of them may have been *Sithe-shafts*. In the Vi Moss alone *hundreds* of large and small pieces of these round wooden shafts have been discovered, exactly fitted for the Sithe as well as for the Lance. Hundreds of Iron Lance-heads have been dug from the same locality, and doubtless the numerous wooden poles mostly belonged to these. But an Iron Sithe has also turned up in the same hiding-place, and scores more may have been dug out of the same moss from time to time by the peasants cutting turf. Some of these many shafts may have been, doubtless were, made for these Sithes.

The Sithe-handle maker would thus drive a great trade. He would not only have to manufacture the thousands of poles required for the Sithes daily more and more employed by the farmers, but *with the same tools* he would fashion the thousands of Lance-shafts required by the warlike population. The *Sithe-shaft Plane* would thus, in a large workshop, necessarily have its own name and place, and we therefore see that there was nothing mysterious or extraordinary in one of the owners of this piece, — Master WILI GISLI-SON — cutting in bold and beautiful letters: — *Wili Gisling owns this Sithe-shaft Plane*.

At all events it is evident that this is not a common Smoothing Plane. Its cutting-section is *concave*. It was therefore intended for making round or half-round poles. This is generally called in England the *Hollow Smooth Plane*, but a common technical term in our workshops is also the *FORK-STAFF PLANE*, thus identical in meaning with the *LÆ-ORB* of the runes. For this old term has come down

¹ The Will and Inventory of John de Scarle, sometime Lord Chancellor of England. "Testamenta Eboracensia", Vol. 3, 8vo, Durham, (Surtees Society, Vol. 45), p. 25.

from times when it was used so much for making the Staffs or Handles of so many of the tools required by the farmer — his Dung-fork, Hayfork, Pitch-fork, and so on.

As we have seen, the SITHE-HANDLE is here called the LÆ-ORB. An English reader will be perhaps struck or offended by this expression, for it is not in his dialect. But he must not therefore at once reject it or call it forced. The North has many provinces, and words unknown in the one live on in another. The ancient noun, masculine, LÆ or LE or LIE, tho not yet as far as I know found in England (nor in Germany), is a genuine Old-Northern root. The oldest Norse-Icel. form is LE, the commoner is LJÁR; Norse LJÁ, Norse talks LJÁR, LÖ, JÁ; Old-Swed. LE, LEE, Swed. LIA, LIE, Swedish talks LE, LIÁ, LJÁ, LJO, LEJ, LEJE, LÖJ, LÖ, LJÖ (Rietz, Ordbok); Danish LÆ, LE; Frisic LEE, LÉE. But it runs also into the Saxon shires, LEE, LEHE.

The English and Germans have lost this word, if they ever had it, and use another equally old, in England shortened into SITHE, in Germany (Ohg. SEGNSA, SEGANSA, SECHE) shortened into SENSE, in the Old-Saxony (Holstein &c.) SEISE, and dialectically assuming a variety of strikingly different forms. It is the Netherlands ZEISSE. But this word has been and still is used all over Scandinavia, the more as a local or particular term. It is the N. I. SIGDR, m., SIGD, f., Norse SIGD, m.; Swedish dialects SIGD, SEGÐ, SEID; Frisic SEGED, SEGÐ, SEET, SEID, SIED; — always of a kind of Sickle for reaping Corn. Yet in Gotland SIGDÁ means a Sithe; and in Mön, Denmark, where the word (SEISE) is used of the *iron blade only*, this is called a SEISE if fixt on a "Meie-rede" (Mowing-tool), but a LEE if taken off and put on a "Ho-lee" (Hay-sithe). So in Sealand, Denmark, the iron blade and its shaft is a LEE-DRAK if used for mowing, but a MEIE-REDE if employed for reaping corn. — So much for the caprice of dialects, and the fixing of "nationality" by the mere absence or presence of a particular word!

SICKLE, in its various dialectic forms, would seem to be of Latin origin (SECULA). The primitive Mæso-Gothic name was GILTHA, for which in many parts of Scandinavia has from the oldest times prevailed the word SKARA. Our SHEAR or SHARE is common enough instead of *to mow* or *reap*, but not as a noun instead of a *Sickle*. It would seem to have been avoided in order not to be confounded with the SHARE of a Plough.

In like manner the whole compound, the neuter noun LÆ-ORB, now LE-ORF, = SITHE-HANDLE, is universal in Scandinavia. Thus in N. I. LE-ORB, LE-ORF, Norse LJÁSS-ORV; Swedish LI-ORF, Swed. talks LIA-ORV, LIÁ-URV, LI-WORV, LÄ-WORR, LI-ORV, LI-WARV, LI-ARV (Rietz, Ordbok). In Denmark the word seems to be dead. The ORF is there now called DRAG or SKAFT.

As to LOKER, masc., the Old-Northern term for *Plane*, it has nearly disappeared from the whole North, and I believe has never been found in the Saxon or German lands. In England it only subsists here and there as a provincial word, and has been driven out by the Latin-sprung PLANE. In Scandinavia, even in Iceland, it has been replaced by the Saxon HÖVEL, HOVEL, German HOBEL, (Danish HØVEL, HØVL, Swedish HÖVEL, HYFVEL, Norse HEVEL, HYVEL, Icelandic HEFILL). But the Old-Norse-Icelandic had LOCAR, LOKAR, and this LOKAR is still very commonly used in Iceland, as well as the verb LOKRA, *to plane*¹.

But in our Northern Counties this word long held its ground in the written language. Thus in "The Inventory of John Cadeby, Mason", from the Registry at York, date about 1440², we have among the effects appraised: "Item: LOCOUR cum diversis instrumentis ferreis ad artem defuncti pertinentibus viiij d". And again: "Item: LOCOUR cum gravynge irens". Here the LOCOUR can only mean a PLANE.

But this is not the only Plane found in the Vi Moss. Another, smaller, was dug up on the same occasion in 1865. It is of elegant shape but has no runes. It shows that this tool was no exception, but a well-known instrument in the Old-Northern workshops. It has had one cutting-iron, not two, and an examination of the under part (see the Section) shows that it was for making ARROW-SHAFTS, of which numbers have been found in the Moss, and other such articles. As a charming illustration I add it here.

¹ Our lexicographers have fallen into the error of saying that our Old-English word SCAFA or SCABA or SCEAFA signified a Plane. This is not so. The O. E. SCAFA (Ohg. SCABA, H. G. SCHABE, Netherlandish SCHAEVE, N. I. SKAFA, Swedish SKAVA, SKAVE, Norse SKAVEL, SKAVE-JERN, Danish SKAVE-JERN) is our present English SHAVE, an implement well described in Webster's Dictionary, last edition, London 1865: — "A tool with a long blade and a handle at each end, for shaving wood, as hoops, &c., by being drawn toward the workman; a drawing-knife". Yet in Holland, if the dictionaries are correct, a PLANE is called a SCHAAP, while a SHAVE is a SCHAAP-IJZER, and a SMALL SHAYER or Chipping-Axe is a SCHAAPJE.

² Testamenta Eboracensia, Vol. 3, 8vo, Durham, (Surtees Society, Vol. 45), p. 99.

RUNELESS ARROW-SHAFT PLANE.

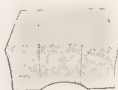
OF ASH. FROM THE VI MOSS, FYN.

*2-thirds of the full size. Engraved by J. F. ROSENSTAND, from drawings by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.
The Original is now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven.*

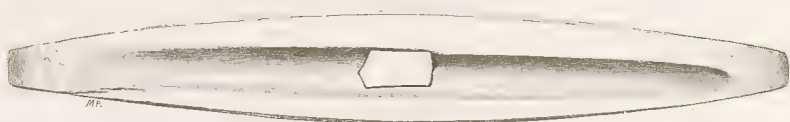
TOP AND SIDE.



SECTION.



BOTTOM.



And as we saw in the case of the Sickle, that the Vi Moss Sickle-handle has a very different shape from that of Roman examples, so also as regards the Plane. The Vi Moss Planes by no means resemble the Roman, as far as we know. I am only aware of one example on Roman monuments — the Plane carved on a Roman marble Tomb now preserved at Rastadt. which I here engrave¹:



Thus, as far as these examples go, we must here again confess that the Vi Moss pieces are not Roman, or copied from Roman models.

As vi (the wi of olden times) means *Temple*, a Heathen Fane doubtless once stood somewhere on the shores of this Lake, which thus naturally obtained the name of the TEMPLE LAKE. In later ages this of course became the modern VI MOSS.

¹ From "Anthony Rich. Dictionnaire des Antiquités Romaines et Grecques, accompagnée de 2,000 gravures d'après l'antique, représentant tous les objets de divers usages d'art et d'industrie. Traduit de l'Anglais sous la direction de M. Chéruel. Paris 1859." 8vo, p. 543.

KRAGEHUL MOSS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

*From the Original, now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Full size. Drawn and Chemityped
by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.*



The first notice known to me of this Moss and its antiquities is the short memorandum in the Ms. Journal of the Danish Artist Abildgaard, where he describes the valuable remains taken out in 1750. See the concluding remarks under LINDHOLM, Sweden. All then found is *lost*.

In 1830 some curious pieces from this Turf-ground happily reached the Danish Museum. They are described by V. Boye, "Bidrag til Kundskab om den ældre Jernalder i Danmark", *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1860, 8vo, Kjøbenhavn, pp. 50-57, and Plates 1, 2.

In 1864 Adjunct Engelhardt made some preliminary cuttings in the little that was left of this ancient Pool — now a Moss —, and obtained some valuable remains. But in the spring of 1865 he regularly dug out all that remained, thus adding a new Case to the treasures of the Danish Museum. This gentleman has obligingly furnished me with an outline of the results of what has been thus saved from 1750 to 1865. His statement shows that the things had been thrown or laid down in the same disorder and often in the same damaged state as elsewhere in these watery hiding-places. The Moss-hole at Kragehul is about 500 paces north-west of Flemløse, in Odense Amt, and (as at Thorsbjerg and Vi) was surrounded by high ground, so that a channel had to be cut ere the water could be drained away. The tarn was from 6 to 7 feet deep, with a clayey and sandy soil on whose surface were many small white snail-shells. The antiquities were at the bottom, or in the lowest layer of turf. Lances, stuck deep down in the earth, marked the limits of the hoard.

The known pieces found here since 1750 are: — a silver Finger-ring of three twists; 14 Beads, of green glass, porcelain, burnt clay, amber and variegated; small ornaments; fragments of round and

square Combs, made of several pieces; 4 bronze Tweezers; many Boards belonging to Shields, some of them with bronze fittings or ornaments or rands; some iron Shield-bosses; 15 Swords of iron, double-edged and damascened in various patterns, sometimes two furrows running along the blade, the hafts of silver or bronze, one pommel roughly worked with heads of animals, the swords ranging from 32 to 35 inches in length; Sheaths of wood, now and then cut in relief, sometimes covered with leather, with various metal fittings, occasionally adorned with Niello, and now and then of silver; many Spear-shafts, some bearing Dragon-like or Serpentine or Corded ornaments risted in the wood not far from the spear-head; 70 iron Spear-heads of various shapes, some not before met with; wooden Bows and Arrows; 12 Arrow-heads of iron; 10 of bone; a bronze horse-ornament; a Waggon of two wheels; bronze Camp-kettles; wooden Cups; clay Bowls; 5 Balances; large iron Axes; Knives with a broad back, handles of wood or bronze; an iron Shears: wood-hafted Awls; some animal Bones; pointed Pales and Sticks; and some other pieces¹.

Among the articles exhumed by Mr. Engelhardt in June 1865 was the above wooden fragment, seemingly the remains of a Knife-handle or else of a small Box or Amulet, of Ash, bearing Old-Northern Runes. The one broad side shows where something has been inserted or fixed; whether the opening has been covered with a slide or the whole has had some ornamental carving, we cannot tell. The opposite broad side has had a decoration cut in relief, whose style strikingly reminds us of the animal figures on the Golden Bracteates; only the hind part of the fantastic horse or dragon is left.

The Runes are all *revert* and read from right to left, are sharply cut, remarkably elegant (with double strokes), and show that great rarity a divisional mark (before the word *BERÆ*).

All that is left on the one narrow side is (turned round, so as to stand in their natural shape):

..... 𐌛 𐌚 𐌛

.... N B U

and on the other:

..... 𐌛 𐌚 𐌛 𐌛 𐌛 𐌛 𐌛 𐌛

..... U M Æ B E R Æ

Of course we cannot pretend to translate these fragmentary letters. The last word may be the 3rd pers. sing. pres. subj., or perhaps the infinitive, of the verb *BERA(N)*, and may mean *may-BEAR* or *to-BEAR*.

But, tho only a broken bit, this piece is of great importance, as adding yet another to the list of those olden Danish Mosses in which have been found articles carved with *Old-Northern Runes*.

¹ We may soon hope for a regular description of the Kragehul pieces, with Illustrations, by Adjunct Engelhardt, in the same style and size as his elegant works on the Thorsbjerg and Nydam Mosses. A sum has been voted him for this purpose by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians.

KRAGEHUL MOSS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

The BONE SNAKE or FISH, a fellow to that found in the Bog at Lindholm in Skåne, Sweden, and COVERED WITH OLD-NORTHERN RUNES, is *lost*. It was dug out of this same Kragehul (Crow-hole) Moss in the year 1750, and its careless or wilful destruction is indeed deplorable!

See under LINDHOLM. Sweden.

KRAGEHUL MOSS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

The small WOODEN LID found at the same time and place as the preceding, and COVERED WITH OLD-NORTHERN RUNES, is *lost*. This piece would seem, from the imperfect description, to have been still more rune-rich and remarkable than the above Bone (? Amulet). But all our regrets are unavailing, and I hasten to turn from so sad a theme.

See under LINDHOLM. Sweden.

GALLEHUS, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 300-400.

Both A and B re-engraved from THOMSEN'S Atlas, Plates XIII, XIV and XV. For A, THOMSEN chiefly followed WORMS "Cornu Aureum", 1641, fol., repeated in his "Monumenta Danica", 1643, fol.; for B, J. R. PAULLI'S "Tilførladelig Tegning paa det 1734 udi Jylland fundene Guld-Horn", 1735, fol. — My copy of B was lent by me to Prof. THORSEN for publication in his "Danske Runemindesmærker", where it stands Vol. 1, p. 327. — Cut in wood by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.

The longer Golden Horn, here A, was found in the earth by a poor girl, near Gallehus, July 20th 1639. It was 2 feet 9 inches long, and was quite complete, with 13 broad rings. It weighed 6 Pounds 13 Ounces Danish.

The second and shorter, here B, was found in a field, at or near the same spot, April 21st 1734. The name of the field was "Rosengård" (Rose-garth)¹, north of Gallehus, Mögel-Tønder, about 5 Danish miles from the North-Jutland border. But this place and a considerable district around have always belonged to North-Jutland. They are an enclave, attacht to the Diocese of Ribe. Geographically the spot belongs to South-Jutland; but politically and juridically and legally and administratively it has always been, and still is, North-Jutlandish. In the Catalogue of the old "Kunstammer", the Royal Danish Museum of the old period, these Horns were therefore entered as North-Jutlandish. The exact length of this Rune-bearing Horn has not been stated; but according to the beautiful silver-gilt fac-similes of the Horns made by command of King Frederick VII from the old Drawings, and presented by him to the Old-Northern Museum, it was about 20 inches long, about 18 and a half from point to point, measured diagonally at the inner band. Tho the lower part was broken off and lost, it still weighed 7 Pounds and 11 Ounces Danish, more than 8 Pounds English. It was taken from the soil by a poor peasant².

¹ Prof. Thorsen remarks hereon, p. 339: — "This very remarkable appellation, still known on the spot, used sometimes as a place-name, — sometimes (as in Cheapinghaven, spelt "Rosengård") from the early middle age, sometimes from an undetermined early period, — points back to some kind of garden or flower-grounds here, and doubtless this was of old a pleasure of the Burg or Castle Mögeltønder, which became the chief seat of the Countship of Schackenburg. "Mögel" [Mickle, Great] announces size or dignity as to something else. So we have Mögel-Ø [Mickle-ey, Big-land] and Lille-Ø [Little-ey] in Jul Lake, near Himmelbjerg. In Sealand this takes the form of "Magle" and "Lille", as in Sten-magle and Sten-lille. It is certain that the Castle of Tønder was called "Lille Tønder" at least down to the 16th century, in contrast to the present village Mögeltønder. In 1288 the Castle of Mögeltønder is named "Castrum ecclesie et episcopi Ripensis", but we do not know when this transfer took place; probably in the first Christian period, and Mögeltønder must previously have been a place of importance either in a secular or more probably in a religious sense. Without drawing any conclusions as to the piece now before us, I may yet mention here that, according to legends current both in Sundeved and Angel, HOLGER DANSKE rests in a hill at Mögel-Tønder, till the time comes when he shall start out on a career of victory."

² "In the year 1734, on the 21st of April, it came to pass in South-Jutland, on the maorial ground of Count Schackenburg, that a poor Houseman [Cottier] in Gallehus (which a hundred years ago was called Rosengård) went out to dig clay. The

As far as we know, these pieces were in fact double-horns, an inner smooth unbroken tube of semidor, the gold and silver in nearly equal proportions; and an outer case, of gold the very finest ever known, consisting of broad decorated bands or hoops. On both some of the figures have been separately cast, and then soldered on, of which we have so many instances on other "barbarian" articles from the oldest time. On the Runic Horn, as we are expressly told by Pauli (p. 4) the two figures bearing a round Shield in the one hand and a Sword in the other, in the band immediately under the line of runes, had the outstanding belly-pieces *not* soldered on but fastened right thro with clincht golden nails. He adds that the spaces thus formed were large enough to serve as eyes or rings, "thro which to pass a small cord or chain, by which the Horn could be hung up".

A whole literature, continually increasing, has grown up about these remarkable objects, and into this extensive field I cannot enter. For all this, and an enumeration of the various translations which have been proposed, I refer especially to Henneberg's "Hvad er Edda?", 4to, Alborg 1812; P. E. Müller, "Antikvarisk Undersøgelse over de ved Gallehuus fundne Guldhorn", 4to, Kjøbenhavn 1806; Fin Magnussen's "Runamo", p. 390 and fol.; P. A. Munch, in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", 1847, p. 327 and fol.; and articles by E. C. Werlauff and C. C. Rafn, in the same Magazine for 1853 and 1855.

Neither of these Cornucopiæ, or Offer-vessels, or Drinking¹ or Proclamation-Horns, or Horns of Ceremony, or whatever they may have been, now exists. Modern research is therefore at bay. They were both stolen from the old Danish Museum ("Kunstskammer") on the 4th of May 1802, and the thief quickly melted them down to escape detection². So we are now reduced to the old copies. Still it is satisfactory to know that these substantially agree, and without any doubt are on the whole faithful representations.

It might have been supposed that the authorities would at least have secured themselves against the irreparable loss of such extraordinary rarities *by multiplying copies of them*. But even this was not done. It is true that the aged Guardian of the Kunstskammer, L. Spengler, let an artist (Hr. Gianelli) take 2 casts, the one for the Muscum of Cardinal Borgia in Rome, the other for Dr. Rumohr in Dresden; but the former was lost on its way, the vessel being shipwreckt on the coast of Corsica, while the latter was never heard of afterwards. And *the mould* was destroyed by these Wise Men of Gotham, "as we have the original". Thereafter the Horns were almost forgotten, till their miserable destruction aroused the interest and indignation of all Europe.

As to the Inscription on the smaller Horn, Thorsen observes, in his Danske Runemindesmærker, Vol. 1, p. 348: — "H. Grauer's 'Erklæring' of the last found Horn, which was published in 1737, has the advantage of most of its compeers in this, that he well knew both the object on which

spot where this man, JERK LASSEN or [more formally pronounced] ERICK LAURITSEN (for so was he named) went to work was in Møgletonder Parish, 4 [Danish] miles south-east of Ribe, half a [Danish] mile north-east of Tøndern, and one [Danish] mile from the Western Ocean. His home was little more than a score paces to the place, for the distance between his house and the old spot where the former Horn was found is only about 25 paces, and from this again to the ground where he had to dig is three and a half paces to the south-east. There, as he says, he had not dug deeper down than 6 inches when his spade grated on the Horn, and the glance of the gold, which began to glitter in his eyes, encouraged him to see what it might be. On further examination he found the Horn lying on its side, the thick end to the north and the small end to the south. He took it home just as it was, full of earth and filthy with clay, and gave it to his daughter to wash it clean. When this was done he could not make out whether it was of gold or brass. Now this same day he had an errand to Tøndern, and so he took a piece of the metal with him [perhaps the piece afterwards wanting at the small end], and let his son (who is there as apprentice to a Rope-maker) ask a goldsmith what kind of metal it might be. But when he heard it was fine gold, he delivered the Horn to his Lord the Count of Schack, who afterwards has most humbly offered it to His Royal Majesty [of Denmark, King Christian VII], whereupon His Royal Majesty has been graciously pleased to cause a reward in ready money [200 Danish dollars] to be paid to the peasant." — *Jochum Eickhard Pauli*, "Tilforlædelig Tegning paa det Anno 1734 udi Jydland fundene Guld-Horn. Paa ny oplagt i det Danske Sprog og formeeret med et lidet Tillæg." Kjøbenhavn [July 25, 1735]. Folio. p. 1.

The actual money-value — as mere metal — of the two horns is said to have been 1,870 Ducats or 3,740 Species.

¹ Being open at both ends they could not have been Drinking-horns, unless the lower end was plugged on those high-days when they were used in some great temple or local ceremony.

² I refrain from further details on this melancholy subject, and damn the name of the wretch with oblivion. The unhappy criminal was discovered a year after, and punished according to law. See hereon: "Erindringer om Guldhornstyveriet den 4de Mai 1802. Ved E. C. Werlauff. Trykt som Manuscript. Kjøbenhavn 1858." 8vo.

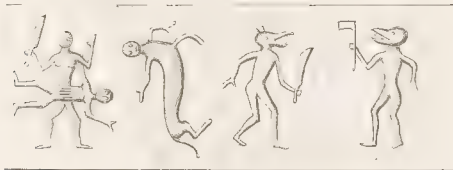
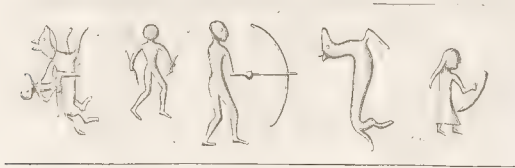
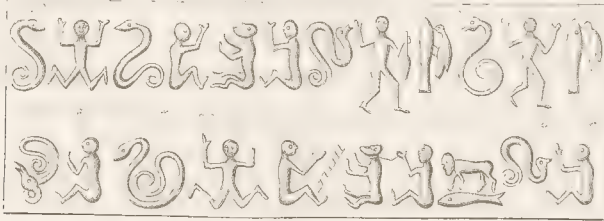
he wrote and the place where it was found. He also gives the inscription — which exactly agrees with the transcript of J. R. Paulli. In the copy which I possess, a former owner — J. Ellung of Hjerting,

A. — FOUND 1639.



who died in 1820 — a man of great knowledge and who had large antiquarian collections, has written: "This inscription is correct. I copied it in the Kunstkammer in 1799."

This testimony is of great value, and there is no doubt that we may depend on the runes, however we may wish that we had Casts of the Horns themselves! But we must be content with what we



have. Especially must we be thankful for the Runic Horn, so rich and rare, so barbarically magnificent, altogether unique, a splendid and mystic relic from the fresh youth in Europe of our Northern peoples:

A noble olden Offer-horn of gold,
Of gold enchast; most rare this gammel Horn!
.....
'Tis fair as holy! — Runes of eld it beareth,
Carv'd round its edge¹.

B. — FOUND 1734.



"Et herligt gammelt Offerhorn af Guld.
Af drevet Guld; et sjeldent gammelt Horn"
.....
Saa skjönt, som helligt. — Der er skrevet Runer
Om Hornets Rand."

Adam Oehlenschläger. Holon Jarl, Act 4, Sc. 1.

The Runic Horn handed by Grimhild to Gudrun (Elder Edda, ed. Munch, *Guðrunarkviða*, II, v. 22) was, to judge from its artistic decoration (should the last 4 obscure lines be kennings of decoration and not of the runes), of later date than the Gallehus Offer-gold:

Váru í horni
hverskyns stafr
ristnir ok roðnir,
ráða ek ne máttak;
lyngfiskr langr
lands Haddingja,
ax óskorit,
innleið dýra.

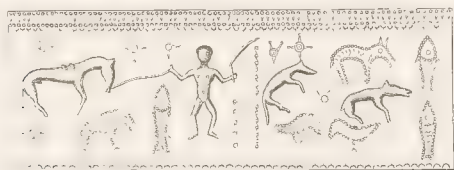
*Red-dyed runes
were risted on the horn,
manifold and mystic,
I note not reds them;
the Ling-fish long
of the land of Hadding,
corn-ears not cut,
and of creatures the bowels.*

If we take lines 5 and 6 to mean repetitions of the Worm or Serpent ornament, line 7 repetitions of the band of crested straight lines, and line 8 repetitions of the Cable-twist (the well-known "Rope-twist" as of the intertwined guts of "deer") — we shall have a style of carving which will perhaps fix Grimhild's Horn at about the 7th or 8th century.

The first man who gave anything like a reasonable reading of the letters on the Runic Horn, was the excellent Danish Scholar Bredsdorff, who in 1838¹ proposed as follows:

EK, HLEVA, GASTIM HOLTINGOM HORNO TAVIDO.

1. HLEVA, *for - the - GUESTS* WOODLANDISH *these - HORNS* MADE.



¹ "Über die Inschrift auf dem letzt gefundenen Goldenen Horne, von J. H. Bredsdorff", pp. 159-64, in "Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1836-37", 8vo. Copenhagen 1838.

Since then, many new efforts have been made, but no improvement worth speaking of has resulted¹.

But, as I take it, there are many objections to this translation.

1. On *all* these old monuments Ψ is always Δ , never M (for which it stands only in the later runics), still less any other consonant.

2. People seldom or never said i in old days. They spoke in the 3rd person. WOLF WROTE THIS, not i , WOLF, WROTE THIS. In fact this pithy epic style belonged to the times. Out of the THOUSANDS of Blocks and Slabs, Jewels, Coins and other Monuments, in *Runic* and in *Roman* letters down to the middle age, which I have seen, bearing the formula MADE ME, ME FECIT, FIERI FECIT, GARED, LET MAKE, WROTE, WROUGHT, LET RAISE, RAISED, CARVED, CAST, &c., I cannot call to mind *even one* beginning with this i . Certainly its occurrence on so ancient a piece as this Golden Horn is altogether incredible.

3. LEV would be more regular than LEVA. In Dr. G. Krysing's copy of the runics, made in 1734, there is a tiny angular mark (ϵ)² between the v and the Δ (my w and \mathcal{A}); if this³ really stood on the Horn (of which there can be little doubt)³, I take it to have been a mark of division. We shall then have another example of a very old Runic Inscription regularly divided by stops, for the 5 words are then properly separated by 5 marks, the first a bend (ϵ), and the other 4 dots (\cdot). It seems a most unlikely thing that 3 of the words should have been thus parted from the rest, while the 4th should not! — Dividing marks *often* differ in shape in the *same* inscription.

4. The dative GASTIM, for GASTUM or GASTOM, sounds very strange in our Old-Northern dialects, the Mæso-Gothic excepted. But this Horn is *not* Mæso-Gothic.

5. The use of the *noun* HOLTINGOM as an adjective, is indefensible.

¹ Since my translation was written, 3 really *new* versions of this carving have been made public.

The first is by the late Hr. C. C. Rafn, Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, and is given on the last page (p. 10) of the text appended to the "Atlas for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", from which I have copied the Horns themselves. It is:

"ECHLEV OG OSTIR HULTINGOR HURNO TVO VIGHU.
Les Hultingues (les Holsteinois) Echlev et Astyr consacrerent ces deux cornes."
= The Hultings (Holsteiners) Echlev and Astyr consecrated these two Horns.

Here Mr. Rafn has made Ψ to be π , ρ to be v , \mathfrak{f} to be o , \mathfrak{z} to be u , and the last word to be $tvo\ vighu$, the v and the g being *added* and the u made into \mathfrak{h} !

The second is by Pastor Briem of Gunslev, Falster, Denmark. It is communicated (p. 343-46) in "Dansk Maanedsskrift", Vol. 7, Kjøbenhavn 1858, 8vo:

"E CHLEV AKA STIR HYLTINGAR HYRNU TA-VIDU.
"Den evighertige-hoieste Gud helligede Heltfyrster dette Bøgerhorn."
= To-the-aye splendid God-steerer (Highest Divinity) Hero-princes this-Drinking-horn dedicated.

As to the runic and linguistic way in which this result is brought about, I say nothing. But it at all events gets rid of the *Holsteiners* and of the *two* horns.

The third has appeared while this sheet is printing (April 1886), and has been given by Prof. Sophus Bugge, of Christiania, in "Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik", Vol. 6, Part 4, 8vo, Kjøbenhavn 1886, pp. 317, 318. This scholar makes \mathfrak{f} to be Δ , like so many other runologists; then, nearly as Rafn, he assumes Ψ to be either π or that soft s from which π in the Scandian tungs has so commonly sprung. Accordingly he divides and reads:

EK HLEVAGASTIR HOLTINGAR
HORNA TAVIDQ.
 \mathfrak{I} , LÉGEST from-HOLT (or Son of Holte)
these-HORNS MADE.

Thus Prof. B. begins with the 1st person, \mathfrak{I} ; — gets two half-lines in stave-rime, and accordingly prints the 3 H's in a larger type; — gives the maker a double name; — and has no objection to o as the ending of the 1st person past tense in the verb. I cannot see that this reading is better than Bredsdorff's. Should a new power be so capriciously given to Ψ , I should prefer the s . On so very old a piece as this confessedly is, we should expect the nominatives to end in s rather than π . But as I entirely object to the sound-value thus suddenly found for Ψ , of which no other monumental example is known or hinted at, I need not dwell upon these renderings.

² This mark is not in all the printed copies of this plate; it was very properly *added* by Thomsen after many of them had been struck off. There are thus in fact *two* editions of this inscription in Thomsen's work, some copies with and some without the division-mark in question.

³ It is not likely that he should have *invented* it, while such a minute and "meaningless" decoration may easily have been omitted or overlooked by Pauli, who expressly tells us that he did not split hairs in his drawing; Krysing has also a tiny mark on the τ in $\tau\mathfrak{A}WIDQ$, but it was probably a mere scratch or dint. All the old copies are "substantially" alike. See C. C. Rafn, *Annaler for Nord. Oldkynd.* for 1855, p. 369.

6. It is to me inconceivable that any man should at one and the same time give *two* such excessively costly keepsakes, and should only write on the *one*, as if the second were a mere appendix to the first. To show his meaning, he did not even say *these two horns*. And then he would surely have paid his "guests" the compliment of *naming* them. It would have cost him nothing, and its absence strips the present of half its value. In short, whether as a memorial of the giver or out of respect to the receiver, *each* Horn would have been inscribed or *neither*, and the name of the friend would not have been unwritten on each. Perhaps the curious animal-figures on the larger Horn are also a kind of inscription, but in mystical or mythical or fantastical symbols which may never find their Œdipus.

7. These two Horns are very similar in style, and belong to the same school. Both show the same bizarre shapes, and the same pictures of field-sports or temple-worship. But amidst all this there is a difference, and they would seem not to have been made by the same goldsmith or at the same time. The Rune-bearer is said to have been ruder in drawing and execution than the other, and by a less able workman. And this difference would doubtless have been greater if the originals had remained. Modern copies and modern engraving have reduced the lines in both to the same level. Any inequality in finish and manipulation has disappeared. Still, they have no appearance of being quite contemporaneous. I would especially point out that the Rune-bearer *has not the well-known Worm-twist*, while on the other Horn this ornament is profusely employed, — not indeed in the fully developed form of later times, but still in a decided manner. The intertwining arabesques have everywhere a tendency to the regular Snake-knot, and would seem to point to a transition period, say the 5th year-hundred. In this way the Rune-bearer may possibly be a *century older* than the other. But of course all this is very dubious. They may have been made nearly at the same time, but by different men or for different purposes.

8. If only the Rune-bearer had been found, HORNO (my HORNÆ) would have been translated THIS-HORN. As two were discovered, it is now rendered THESE-TWO-HORNS. Should two more turn up, we should have THESE-FOUR-HORNS. But we have no idea how many Horns and other valuables may have belonged to the Heathen Temple at Gallehus¹. And I show elsewhere (see the WORD-ROLL) that HORN was *masculine* in all the South-west-Scandian dialects and in others nearby, and that the æ in HORNÆ is the old singular accusative-mark. Consequently HORNÆ means literally and grammatically THIS-HORN. If two or three or more Horns had been intended, *the number* would have been added.

9. I also object to the trivial, petty, nature of the reading proposed by the learned Bredsdorff and so long current. The decorations on both Horns point to woodland scenes or human sacrifices, perhaps distinctly to both, and of all this the translation says nothing. And to give some *unnamed Guests* two such peculiar and precious vessels, is something unheard-of. In the *very best* case, *this to the Guests Woodlandish* is really "wooden" and absurd; — *to the Guests the Holsteiners*², as some would take it, is both ridiculous in itself and linguistically illegal and impossible.

And in all such cases we should go by analogy and comparison. Ancient treasures of this kind, Christian included, which bear inscriptions — have *the formula of Offering*. So when the 8 *ex voto* Crowns of gold were found near Toledo in 1858, what were the carvings? Two of these memorials from the times of the Gothic Kings of Spain in the 7th century bore letters. To the lower border of the largest of these hang 23 letters of glass-work, which read:

RECCESVINTHS. REX. OFFERET.

¹ Somewhere about 1830 it was rumored in Denmark, apparently on good authority (Thomsen himself, the Chief of the Museum, repeated it as a fact), that a *THIRD GOLDEN HORN* had just been found at Møgeltønder, not far from the site of the two others. But it experienced a worse fate than even its foregangers, for it was destroyed without examination. The ignorant or stupid or mad or malignant finder, who surely must have known what is known to all, that at least *more than the full value* would have been paid to him by the Museum, carried it secretly to Hamburg, sold it there as old gold, and saw it melted down. — But a bit either of this or else of a *FOURTH GOLDEN HORN* was ploughed up at Møgeltønder at the close of the last century. It was a piece of massive gold, something like the bent finger of a grown man, the one end rather concave, the other end apparently cut off by the plough-share. It bore no ornament, and weighed 4 ounces. These details are related by the Rev. H. C. Sonne, Priest of Møgeltønder, in *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed* for 1855, p. 352, and were told him by a 70-years old man who — as a boy — held the plough for his father when they found this precious fragment.

² In the interesting notice of this Horn by Prof. K. Müllenhoß, in "14ter Bericht der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft", 8vo, Kiel 1849, pp. 16-21, the learned author admits that this *HOLSTEINER* is absurd, and reminds us that we do not know the oldest name of this land, the *HOLTSART* being first mentioned by Adam of Bremen in the 11th century.

To the most interesting of the other Crowns hangs a jeweled Cross, and on this is beaten-in the sentence:

+ IN DEI NOMINE OFFERET SONNICA SANCTE MARIE IN SORBACES.

We have only one other *Runic* example. A great temple-treasure was found in Buzeu, Wallachia, the olden Gothic Dacia. One of the most precious pieces (to which we shall come) was a large massive Golden Neck- or Arm-ring, bearing Old-Northern staves. Now what is the reading? It is:

SACRED TO THE TEMPLE OF THE GOTH!

Thus in all such pieces there is no question on such costly Temple-gifts of the mere

I, JOHN SMITH, MADE THIS.

There is everywhere a short but decided formula of dedication and offering to the Deity or Saint honored by the giver. So it must surely have been with the excessively rich and valuable Horn found at Gallehus.

The staves being so clear, bold and large, and the material being so costly — which would compel the most stupid to be doubly careful; (but such valuable pieces *are not* put into the hands of the rawest and most foolish workmen, except theoretically, when a German critic is going to announce that some of the letters are "mis-cut") — there is not the least difficulty. The last word has been carved a little narrower and simpler, either for ornament or *to save room*¹, but little space being left. Such variations are common in all our monuments, both Runic and Roman.

If we now allow Y to be A, here as elsewhere, we shall see how all our troubles will disappear, and how there emerges, of itself, a simple suitable meaning, in harmony with the enormous intrinsic value of the precious metal on which it is inscribed and with the peculiar figures by which the Horn is decorated. The only other letter that calls for remark is the †. That it is here an elegant variation for † (N), as on so many of the oldest monuments, both Old-Northern runic and Scandinavian runic, is self-evident, and it has been so understood by all the later critics. Taking the staves, then, as they stand self-divided in Kryssing's copy, and giving them the powers which they *always* have on *all* these oldest memorials, we get a carving at once short and solemn — and as fine as it is fitting —:

MCNMMFXXFRTY :: HXRTTZY :: HXRTF :: TPTMX ::

ECHLEW

ÆGÆSTIA HOLTINGÆA

HORNÆ TEWIDO.

ECHLEW

for-the-AWEST (most-awful, most-dread, supreme, most-mighty) HOLT-INGI (Holt-king, Wood-prince, Woodland-god) this-HORN TAWED (made).

(= *To the ever-to-be-feared Forest-God, Echlew offered this Horn!*)

YNGI or YNGVI was the especial epithet of the Danish FRO, the Old-English FREA, the Norse-Icelandic FREY, — the Woodland and Harvest-God; and this FREY is therefore perhaps the Deity to whom and to whose Temple this Offer-Horn was given by ECHLEW, a name which also occurs (ECGLAF) in the Old-English Epical Legend *Beowulf*, but which has hitherto, I believe, not been found in Scandinavia. We have it again in the Old-Germ. EGGLEIB.

Four or five Danish miles north and north-east of Gallehus was in olden times, as asserted by tradition and as proved by still remaining smaller woods and striking local names, an immense and famous Forest, FARRIS SKOW, stretching over broad lands from the Western Ocean to the Little Belt, with a separate "Herred" (Hundred, Jurisdiction) called FROS HERRED. There is scarcely a doubt that this FROS is the gen. sing. of FRO or FREY, and that a great temple to this God once stood in FROS HERRED. It is possible that an affiliated or smaller house to the same Deity once existed in or near Gallehus, or that the Golden Horns found there may originally have been plunder from the fane dedicated to FREY higher up in Jutland. The great woods (HOLTS) will sufficiently explain the HOLT-INGÆA of the

¹ This last is the opinion of Paulli. "Tilforladelig Tegning", p. 3.

text. Gallehus was in Ellumssyssel, and nearby was the famous Barwithsyssel (= Bearing-wood-syssel or Shire) Barviðr, *Sylva frugifera*, chiefly filled with the Beech and Oak.

The peculiar expression *TEWIDO* (= MADE or LET MAKE or HAD MADE or CAUSED to BE MADE) would seem distinctly to mean that this Horn was *made* for the Temple, not that it was bought or plundered in another land or place and then simply *given*. It was *made for a purpose*. Therefore the decorations would seem to be neither meaningless nor outlandish.

For further comments on the words, see the WORD-ROLL.

My friend the distinguished Palæontologist Prof. J. J. S. Steenstrup is of opinion (see Thorsen, "De danske Runemindesmærker", p. 346) that two races may have been represented on the *Runelless* Horn, possibly on the other also; one of them being the almost neckless "Longheads", *Makrokephali*, which might perhaps bring the one Horn or both from the *Crimea* (the Chersonesus Taurica). I am afraid that all such reasonings are more than doubtful, when we remember the barbarous style of the workmanship, the general fantasticness of the human and animal shapes, and how little we can depend on the old drawings for such excessively minute details as length of head or shortness of neck. In fact all the oldest copies show small variations in the shape of the figures and decorations¹, and we cannot say that any one of them is in this respect absolutely correct. Still the hint is ingenious and suggestive. That the half-classical nature of a couple of the figures (such as the Centaur) should make the Horns of foreign make, is also a most hazardous view. Our Northern Museums show many specimens of "Barbaric" work, evidently largely inspired by Classical and other outland motives, with which the native Early Iron Age was familiar. In the Danish Mosses alone several such Barbarico-Classical pieces have been found, dating from the very same period.

Should Prof. Steenstrup after all be right, and should even the *Runic* Horn have been brought in to Denmark by some chapman or settler from the Crimea, I cannot but think that the inscription — which is in the same Scandian dialect as so many other things which have certainly *not* been imported from the Crimea — was carved by the maker of the Horn, and doubtless in some one of the Scando-Gothic (Dacic, ? Danish) clans then abiding in the Crimea, on their way farther south and west.

Many interpretations have been given of the *figures* on these horns. Gisli Brynjulfson thinks that some of them, particularly the armed man bearing (or, as he takes it, pierced with) a human body, refer to Heimdal, the Warder of the Gods.

Valuable Horns, Rings, Diadems, Crowns, Jewels, &c., have been made for or given to Temples and Churches in all lands, from the oldest times down to our own days. We have examples of precious Horns offered on the High Altar of Cathedrals, &c., in our own country, down to the late middle age. Thus in 934 King Æthelstan, on his march against Constantine King of Scotland, to propitiate the favor of his Patron, St. Cuthbert, presented very many costly gifts at his shrine in Cuncacestre (Chester-le-street). Among these were TWO HORNS OF GOLD AND SILVER, &c. A few years afterwards his brother, King Edmund, presented in the same way and place TWO GOLDEN ARMRINGS and other valuables². So King Cnut the Great gave his GOLDEN CROWN to Winchester Cathedral. Again, "Anno 1175, Dufgal, son of Summerled, and Stephen his Chaplain, and Adam of Stanford, received the Fraternity of the Church [of Durham] at the feet of St. Cuthbert on the vigil of St. Bartholomew, and the said Dufgal offered there TWO GOLD RINGS to St. Cuthbert, and promised that he would every year during his life give to the Convent a mark of silver, either in *pence* or an equivalent"³. So in Christian Ireland. In 1004 Brian Boru, the first sovran of that country who was not of the royal stock of the North, "made a royal progress through Ireland, and having arrived at Armagh, remained in that town for a week. While there, he presented a GOLDEN RING of twenty ounces as an offering on the high altar of the Church"⁴.

See also THE BUZEU RING⁵.

¹ See C. C. Rafn's article hereon in *Annaler for Nord. Oldkynd.* for 1855, p. 354-60.

² See Wanley's Catalogue (Sup. to Hickeys) p. 238, and the Rev. J. Raine's St. Cuthbert, Durham 1828, p. 50-53.

³ Raine, l. c. p. 151.

⁴ Henry O'Neill, "The Fine Arts and Civilization of Ancient Ireland". 8vo, London and Dublin, 1863, p. 59.

⁵ Should the golden object mentioned by Prof. Daniel Wilson (*Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 2nd ed., 8vo, London 1863, Vol. I, p. 405) really have been a Horn, it will have belonged to the same class as these pieces found at Gallehus. He says: — "In 1839, a tenant engaged in levelling and improving a field on the estate of Craigenfelt, near Stirling, opened a large circular cairn.

Several Inscribed Horns are still left in the Northern lands; but they are all of a comparatively late date. The most remarkable among them is the Bone Horn whose oldest resting-place was a Seat at Skönabäck in Bleking, South-Sweden. It has since been given to the Museum in Lund. It bears more than 300 Runes, forming several rimed verses in praise of domestic happiness after the wars. Such verses might well have been said or sung at the evening repast in the Knightly Hall. This piece, which cannot be older than the 15th century, is engraved and described in Sjöborg's *Samlingar*, Vol. 2, p. 189, Fig. 47. It had previously been figured at p. 33-35 of Dr. Sven Bring's Dissertation (*Respond. P. Mätzell*) "*De Listeria, Lister-Härad*", 4to, Londini Gothorum, 1748.

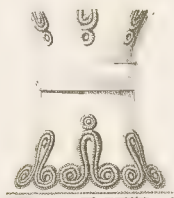
Much might be added on both the workmanship and the meaning of the *Figures* engraved on these Golden Horns. I will only remark that several pieces from about the same time, found in the Northern lands, have representations strikingly similar in their general character. I would particularly point out a couple of the ornaments taken from the Thorsbjerg Moss¹, as well as the two Silver Goblets dug out at Himlingöie.

These last, as I have said in my description of the Himlingöie Brooch, have just below the rim a thin ribbon of gold, fastened on to the cup with silver nails. The figures on both are almost the same, and have been stamped up from behind. In "*Antiquarisk Tidsskrift*" for 1861-63, Kjöbenhavn 1864, 8vo, p. 29, is an admirable view of the one of these Goblets, which I here repeat, with the permission of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.

First the Silver Drinking-Cup is given on a small scale:



Then we have the Foot, full size:



which bore the popular name of "The Ghost's Knowe". It measured exactly 800 feet in circumference, and nearly fifty feet in height, and around its base twelve large stones were disposed at regular intervals. Underneath this cairn a megalithic chamber was found, the upright stones of which are about five feet high, and within it lay a skeleton, imbedded in matter which emitted a strong resinous odour, but the bones rapidly crumbled to dust on exposure to the air. The gentleman on whose estate this remarkable cairn stood [John Dick, Esq. of Craigenelt], and to whom I am chiefly indebted for this description, had given strict orders to send for him if a cist or coffin was discovered; but while operations were delayed in expectation of his arrival, one of the labourers plundered the hoard and fled. Many valuable articles are reported to have been found: among which was a *golden horn or cup*, weighing fourteen ounces, and ornamented with chased or embossed figures. This interesting relic was purchased from one of the labourers by a gentleman in Stirling, and is believed to be still in existence, though I have failed, after repeated applications, to obtain access to it. The exact nature or value of the whole contents of this cairn is not likely ever to be ascertained. The only articles secured by the proprietor, and now in his possession, are a highly polished stone axe or hammer, eight inches long, rounded at one end, and tapering at the other; a knife or dagger of the same material, eighteen inches long, which was broken by one of the stones falling on it when opening the cist; and a small gold finger-ring, chased and apparently jewelled, though the settings have fallen out."

¹ See Engelhardt's *Thorsbjerg Mosefund*, Plates 6, 7, 11.

And lastly, also full size, the Golden Band, with its various figures as they run round the Goblet:



Now remembering that the *Horns themselves*, if we had them, would doubtless show very much the same baldness and roughness of work as the Goblets; and also considering that the strange "bilds" on the Horns were apparently made with a distinct view to Godly Legends or dim Temple-lore; it is clear that the "barbarian" style of both Horns, Cups and Ornament is undeniable, that their general execution is very similar, and that these pieces from Gallehus, Himlingöie, Thorsbjerg and elsewhere are not very far apart as regards both land and date. Everything tends to prove them of Scandinavian origin, in about the middle of the Early Iron Age, sometimes earlier, sometimes a little later. — A "barbarian" piece of the same style and workmanship — and probably of about the same date, the Early Iron Age — has been found in England, the decorated Oaken Pail dug up near Marlborough in Wiltshire. It is thus described by Sir Richard Colt in his "The Ancient History of Wiltshire", Vol. 2, London 1821, Folio, (North-Wiltshire p. 34, 35): — "But I must not omit to mention a very curious relic of antiquity, which by the zeal of the Rev. Mr. Francis, of Milden hall, was rescued from destruction. It is so unlike any other article we have hitherto discovered, that I have thought it worthy of an engraving. Fortunately, Mr. Francis had an exact drawing made of it, before it fell to pieces, otherwise I should not have been able to give a satisfactory delineation of it, PLATE VI. It was discovered in a meadow adjoining Marlborough, called St. Margaret's mead; which is situate just beyond the first mile stone on the road leading to London. According to the original drawing presented to me by Mr. Francis, and drawn upon a scale of three inches to one, the vessel must have been two feet in breadth, and twenty-one inches in height. It was formed of substantial oak wood, ribbed with iron hoops, had two handles of the same, and a hollow bar of iron was placed across the mouth of the vessel, and affixed to the square upright pieces projecting from the circle. It was plated with thin brass, and ornamented with embossed representations of grotesque human heads and animals. The deposit of human burned bones which it contained, proves it to have been originally destined to sepulchral purposes, but I am at a loss even to conjecture the period to which it ought to be attributed." — We must remember that thin ruined gold might easily be mistaken for "brass". The beautiful engraving, which gives both sides of the Pail, shows that it had three embost bands or hoops (? of thin brass or *gold*) going all round, the bizarre heads (or masks) and animals at once reminding us of the Himlingöie Cups. Two similar quaint heads are also affix to the wooden uprights thro which went the iron bar. By the plate we see that these embost slips were fastened on with small nails, besides which there are many ornamental dots or points.

VEILE, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

From P. SYV'S *Ms. Collections*, in P. F. SUHM'S "*Samlinger til den Danske Historie*", 4to, Vol. 1, Part 2, Kjøbenhavn 1779, p. 117.

ψλδϛιζιι†*

Nothing but the bare inscription, as above, is given. I take the \mathfrak{B} to be ignorantly split in two by the copyist, the two parts of the \mathfrak{B} and the \mathfrak{R} not being always closely united. The \mathfrak{N} I think is badly copied. The Runes are retrograde (wend-staves), and read from right to left. Given in their usual order, as corrected above, they would be:

* † | B | ◊ h f ψ

The * is here $\frac{\mathfrak{A}}{\mathfrak{N}}$, and I would divide:

$\frac{\mathfrak{A}}{\mathfrak{N}}$ NI BINGCÆ A.
ÆNI BINGKSON OWNS (*this-grave*).

As nothing is now known of this stone, and as the old copies are so seldom to be implicitly depended upon, I lay no stress on this monument. But it *may* be substantially correct, and I see no reason to exclude it altogether. It can surely break no bones to mention it.

If BINGCÆA be one word, in the dative, we must then translate: ÆNI to - BINGCÆ (*raised this stone*).

But, however redd, it is clear that this risting — if the above transcript be only tolerably trustworthy — contains 3 Old-Northern letters, the \mathfrak{N} , the \mathfrak{C} and the \mathfrak{A} . That this last must be \mathfrak{A} is selfevident, not only because it occurs together with the \mathfrak{N} and \mathfrak{C} , but also because the last word (whether a name in the dative or a verb) *could* not have ended in \mathfrak{M} .

VOLDTOFTE, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

Drawn and Chemityped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN from the original block, now in the Private Garden of Jægerspris Palace. Sealand, Denmark.

This granite block was found more than a score years ago. Its size is moderate, about 5 feet 4 inches high, 3 feet broad, and of varying but not considerable thickness. At the wish of the late King, Frederick VII, it was sent to his then Palace of Jægerspris, and the Museum authorities have not yet removed it thence. But this had better be done at once, for the Runic Stones at Jægerspris are National property, while the Palace itself — by special gift of the late King — has past into private hands. Death and a thousand accidents may cause other changes, and a future owner may not be so careful of these National Monuments as the present.

The drawings and rubbing preserved in the Archives of the Old-Northern Museum were not sufficient for my purpose. So I had it drawn under my own inspection on my visit to Jægerspris in July 1864, and a careful examination of the stone shows that it still can be redd, notwithstanding the injuries it has received. Thus the remains of the *r* are plainly visible, the *s* is nearly perfect, and the top of the *r* is well markt just in the break. The last stave is distinctly *s*.

All the letters in this carving are common to both the older alphabets, save only one, the *Λ*, here upside-down¹ as on the Stentofen stone, and thus *Λ* instead of the usual *Υ* in the Old-Northern staverow. But this is sufficient to show that the whole inscription belongs to the older period. That *Λ* should here stand for *Υ* or *Æ* is incredible. Another proof of very high antiquity is the final *s*, in lieu of the later *r*-mark for the nominative. That the word here *is* in the nominative cannot be doubted. The single name of the deceast *in the genitive* is altogether unheard-of. I therefore regard this monument as Old-Northern, and not later than the 7th century, which also harmonizes with its very simple character.

The scoring is merely the name of the dead man who rested in the Barrow over which this pillar originally stood:

RUULFASTS.

For remarks on this name, hitherto unique, see the WORD-ROW.

Should all this be so, — as this short inscription is *only* in "Old-Northern" runes, — it is *one instance* of a block so carved *found in Denmark*. But we cannot triumphantly proclaim it as such, till we can find other instances on pieces confessedly Old-Northern of this peculiar *Λ* for *Υ* as *Δ*. At all events we must here make our choice. This *Λ* *can* have only the following values: 1) $\frac{r}{s}$; 2) *r*;

¹ So the Scandinavian-runic *κ* (*Υ*) is found, by an elegant caprice, plainly carved upside-down (*Λ*) in the Alphabet on the Maeshowe stone No. 5. See Alphabet No. 6¹, p. 101.

3) ø; 4) ʁ; 5) (as upside down for ʁ, as we so often find runic — and even Roman — letters carved) A. We must therefore read: RUULF^øSTS, or RUULFRSTS, or RUULFOSTS, or RUULFYSTS, or RUULFASTS.



There is surely no difficulty in choosing, especially when we remember that the name itself is one of those rarities *a triple compound*, here occurring in a shortened form. Unabridged it would be HRUD-WULF-FASTS (= GLODY-WOLF-FAST), in Old-English HRODWULFFAST, in Old-German HRODULFFAST; but the name has never yet been found either in England or Germany, and here meets us in Scandinavia for the first time. Now calling to mind the *fast* firm strong character of the A in FAST, we shall see how unlikely or impossible it is that it should so early *in this word* have sunk into either ø or ʁ.

VORDINGBORG, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

Drawn and Chemistyped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN from the Runic Block, now in the Round Tower, Cheapinghaven.

The now sunk in comparative insignificance, Vordingborg has been a famous place from very early days. Its Borg or Castle was built by Valdemar the Great in the 12th century, to protect the coast from the wild Wends. Near it have stood heathen grave-mounds, time after time leveled and destroyed. The stone before us came from some such barrow.

But its history is lost in obscurity. We can only trace it back to the middle of the 17th century. I translate the following account given by Prof. Nyerup¹:

"The career of the stone is shortly thus. Once, when the famous Chancellor Christian Fris of Kragerup, the great protector of Northern studies, traveled to Falster thro Vordingborg, he happened to perceive this block. It was then a foot-stone under the Excise Office. Without delay he got it taken out and removed to the Palace-yard, and afterwards commissioned the Rune-master Olaf Worm to visit and decipher it. Worm went accordingly, and had the runes accurately copied, as they stand in his *Monumenta Danica*, p. 120. But, as he complains, their explication was most arduous. Since Worm's time no Œdipus has succeeded in reading the riddle.

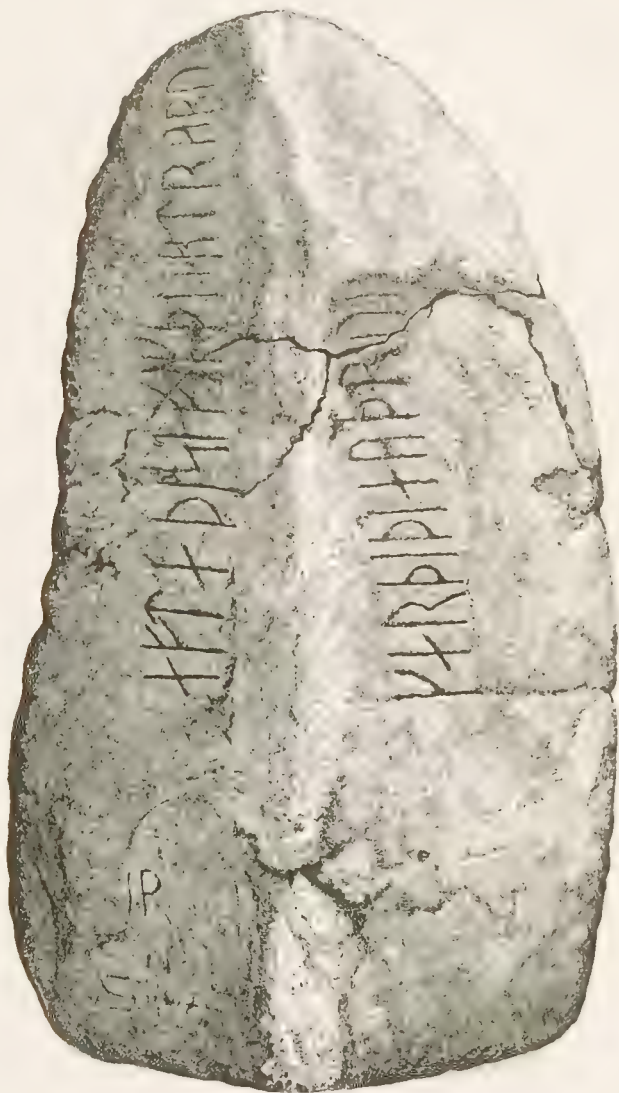
"Together with several other runic monuments, this stone, in accordance with the proposal of Worm and the command of the King, Frederick III, was transported to the Churchyard of Trinity Church."

But the Danish Topographical collector Mr. A. Petersen has kindly communicated to me yet another and hitherto unknown old woodcut, one of the many illustrations prepared for the never published "*Atlas Danicus*" of Peder Resen, of which only some fragments were printed. As the original manuscript and copper plates and wooden blocks were destroyed by the fire which ravaged the University Library in 1728, and only imperfect copies remain, it is impossible to fix the date of this most rare woodcut. That of the copper-plates (of which impressions yet remain) is generally assumed as 1677, and the woodcut is doubtless within a year or two of the same time. What is interesting with respect to this Resenian copy of the Vordingborg stone is, that it is quite independent of Worm's, from which it differs in many particulars. Generally speaking, its draughtsman has deciphered few letters, but has given these more correctly. As this Resenian impression is unique and hitherto unknown, no Runologist has previously been able to make use of it. Like Worm's, it has little runic value, but I may as well observe that the FA in the word FADUR is given by Worm 4V; by Resen, still nearer the truth, 2V. The engraver of the latter signs his name BM, as a monogram.

The Vordingborg block was one of the 3 runic stones which escaped the fire, and the barbarisms of Sören Mathiesen the Sexton. It was afterwards deposited in the Round Tower, where it now remains.

¹ "Det af Kong Valdemar opbygte Vordingborg Slots ærværdige Ruiner", in *Antiquariske Annaler*, Kjøbenhavn 1812, 8vo, Vol. 1, p. 4.

We cannot wonder that this precious memorial could not be read, for Worm's woodcut is not only very rude but also very incorrect, and defies runic skill. What led me to handle it was, that I found two letters (a Bind-rune) on its lower surface, staves altogether omitted by Worm, and which were Old-Northern. These characters were H and P (h and w). Thus it at once belonged to me.



and I determined to use every effort to obtain — at least a truthful facsimile. Repeated visits, for months together, under all lights, further revealed to me yet another Old-Northern rune, the Y (A) in FADUR. Thus I was encouraged to take every precaution and to spare no pains. — Accordingly, with the permission of the Museum Authorities, and aware of the great value of a *Mould* in cases like these,

HELNÆS, FYN, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

*From the original block, now in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Drawn and Chemityped
by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN*

That part of this stone which bears the runic carving was first engraved, on a very small scale, by the late C. C. Rafn, then Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, in "Antiquarisk Tidsskrift", 1858-60, Kjøbenhavn, p. 181, from whose text (pp. 179-80) I translate the following information:

"This stone was found on the 18th of March, 1860, on the land of the yeoman Lars Madsen, on the right side of the road from the north to Helnæs By [village or small town], about midway on the peninsula as it here runs from north to south, but much nearer the coast at Helnæs-bay than the outer coast at the Little Belt. It was about 100 paces S. W. from a stone-set grave-chamber of far older date, in a barrow now overgrown with small wood, — and 300 paces N. of the now so-called Sjo or Sø, which was formerly a bay connected with the sea and probably, as tradition asserts, was once a harbor, but has now become a lake, a dyke having been thrown up here in 1789.

"The stone was not so deep under the earth but that one could plough up to it. The runes were uppermost, but were hidden by the soil. There were traces in the ground of former diggings here, the mould being turned over and mixt. The megalith shows clearly that it has been cloven not many years since, but when this took place and what has become of the large piece thus sliced off — no one can tell. When the block was now taken up, the work-people clove it into 3 pieces, the two largest of which were used as gate-posts, and the third had the same destination. A couple of small pieces with runes were also broken off.

"The top was loose in the earth, and was apparently knocked away at the earlier cleaving; this fragment was now in a stone fence. Some time after the finding and cleaving of the block, Hr. Runge [the schoolmaster in Helnæs] got to hear of it, and hastened to announce the find. He also collected all the fragments, so that nothing was lost save the piece broken out some years back. Properly put together, they are now taken care of in the yard of the School."

All this came to the ears of his late Majesty King Frederick VII, and in September 1860 he visited the grave-chamber and the stone, got a rubbing and a drawing made, and afterwards sent in the Runic monument to the Old-Northern Museum, where it now is, raised up and held fast by clamps. Its length is about 6 feet 10 inches, its greatest thickness about 2 feet. It must have been originally nearly twice as broad, the piece cloven away having been mostly uninscribed. The runes average from 4 to 5 inches in height. There is no mark of division between the words.

Since then the stone has been drawn in its whole size by Prof. P. G. Thorsen, in his "Danske Runemindesmærker", Vol. 1, p. 335; but the block had not then arrived in the capital, and I now re-engrave it, same size as in Thorsen's chemitype, still more accurately, from the stone itself.

This precious monument has the 3 long lines carved furrow-wise, and shows the Old-Northern H (H) twice, the O. N. M (M) once, and doubtless has F as the O. N. æ not as the Scandian o. In this case had o occurred on the stone, it would have been the O. N. ʀ. Thus this stone is overgang. The whole inscription is fortunately complete, save that 5 or 6 runes have been struck off at the top of the 3rd line. And even these we can restore with approximate certainty. For after tke H, whose



lower half has perisht, *must* have followed AN, thus HAN = HE, and then came UTI = ABROAD, or some other short word of a like kind. Thus we read:

R H N N I V A H T T H T T I T T N A T
 F N I T T T F N N M N T B R N N R
 H N T N H I T T R Y T T (N H)
 F N T I A F T I

RHUULFR SATI STAIN, NURA KUMI, AFT KUDUMUT, BRUDUR-SUNU SIN. TRUKNADU (Han ? uti).

ÆVAIR FADI.

RHUULFR SET this-STONE, of-the-NUR-men (or, of the Nur district) the-GUTHI (Temple-chief and Civil Magistrate) AFTER KUTHUMUT (= GUTHMUND), BROTHER-SON SIN (his). DROWNED (was-drowned) (HE ? out, [abroad]).

ÆVAIR FAXED (sculptured, carved, wrote, this stone and these runes).

There is a striking mixture of both early and late forms on this block. Thus we have SATI and FADI 3 s. p., with the *i*, but also TRUKNADU, 3 s. p., with the older *u*. Then there is STAIN, ac. s. m., without the older final vowel, and SIN, also a similar ac. s. m., while at the same time the antique vowel is preserved in the word SUNU, also ac. s. m. So we have the per-antique *u* in KUDUMUT¹ (= KUDMUNT, GUDMUND), properly KUNDUMUNT, the *n* being twice slurred. We have a similar lafe of hoary eld in the *a* of the word KUDABIARNAO, gen. sing., (usual gen. form KUDBIARNAR or KUNBIARNAR), and in the *i* of KUMLIUFR, n. s., Harnacka stone, Upland. This was raised by two brothers. It is No. 621 in Liljegren, No. 251 in Bantil. As corrected from Bure's Ms. Runahäfd No. 503, its text runs as follows:

UIDEBEARN, ARFI KUDABIARNAO, RITI (IL) UFTIR BARUDAR SIN(I) URU (AUK) KIARI, KUDLIUFR IFTIR BRUDR SINO.

UITHEBIARN, ARFE (heir) of-KUTHABIARN. WROTE (inscribed) this-HILL (rock, stone, slab) AFTER BROTHERS SINE (his) UR EKE (and) KIAR, and-KUTHILUF AFTER BROTHER SIN (his).

As an instance among many of the historical chiefs and potentates who met their death by drowning, and on whose grave monuments this would often be commemorated, I will only mention Halfdan the Swarthy, King of Norway, the father of King Harald Fairfax. After a winter-feast in Hada-land, he broke up with his men to return home, traversing the winter-path (straight over land and lake) on sledge. But the spring had made the ice rotten, and in crossing the Rønd, close to Rykins-vik, it gave way and he perished, several of his kinsmen and high officers sharing his fate in their attempts to save him. The Fagrskinna² calls the place Røkensvik, the Flateyjarbok³ spells it Rinkkiluik, and the Fragment⁴ Rykinvic. This took place about 860. On his Rune-stone doubtless stood:

TRUKNADI HAN I RUKINSUIK.

On existing runic monuments a formula of this kind occurs not unfrequently. Thus on the Näsby stone, Onsala Parish, Upland, (Lilj. 553), INKIFAST raises a noble block to his father and mother, DORKIL and KUNILT, adding:

PAU TRUKNADU BADI.

THEY DROWNED (were drowned) BOTH.

¹ On this head I translate the valuable remarks of Prof. K. Gislason, in his essay "De oldnordiske Navneords Bøining: nogle Bemærkninger." (Tidskrift for Philologi og Pædagogik, Vol. 6, Kjøbenhavn 1866, 8vo, p. 246): — "Here I only speak of Old-northern [= Norse-Icelandic] as a written tung in its second stage, its book-literature. In an older period this language has of course been harder, and has admitted sound-unions which afterwards became unbearable. It seems to me that we have an example of this in Thorsen (Runemindesmærker, 1), on the Slesvig stone [Vedelsprang, A], in the word *straiou* [read *straiou*], where (*traiou* =) *triggv* stands on Gothic ground (comp. *triggv* þata vaurd, several times in the Letters to Timothy), and is the form from which *trygg* has developed itself quite simply by the vowel-change (*i* — *y*) and the rejection of *v* (as everywhere at the end of a word). In accordance with this view of *-traiou*, I regard the words *aftr cupumut* [read *kupumut*] *naubura sunu sin* [on the Helms stone] as quite correct, and look upon *sunu* as a lagger, an unchanged lafe from the time when our language was one with the Gothic; while the middle *u* in *cupumut* depends on a decay of the corresponding Gothic *a* in such compounds as *gudalaus*, *gudafaurhts*, *gubaskamei*, in other words a decay of the same kind as is presupposed from the vowel-change in *börn* (*bairns*, children), in *gröf* (grave), in *gjöf* (gift), and in old compounds like *gjöfmildir* (gift-mild, generous); comp. Gothic *airþakunds*, *hleprastakeins*, *motastaps*, *lveilahvairbs*, for *gjafmildir* (which answers to such Gothic compounds as *gudhus*, *gubblostreis*). A still older kind of compound than that in *gjöfmildir*, and which altogether agrees with that in *cupumut*, meets us in *rådunautr*, *þingunautr*, *lögunautr*, *förunautr*, *büðunautr*, which are all found in the old book-literature. I am well aware that *u* in all these instances has not the same relationship to the original sound, in whose stead it has come; but this difference is of no moment here."

Fagrskinna, ed. Munch & Unger, Christiania 1847, p. 2.

² Flateyjarbok, ed. Unger, Christiania 1860. Vol. 1, p. 566.

³ Brudstykke af en gammel norsk Kongesaga (Samlinger til det norske Folks Sprog og Historie, 4to, Vol. 2, Christiania 1834, p. 274).

Add the Runic rock in *Hillesjö* Parish, Upland, also called the *Rune-berg*, (Lilj. No. 2009, as corrected by Bure, Ms. Runahäfd No. 188 and Curio No. 4), with its per-antique IN SUNTA, of the son there spoken of:

HAN TRUKNADI IN SUNTA.
HE DROWNED (*was drowned*) IN the-SOUND.

So on the *Sund* stone, Helgestad Parish, Södermanland, (Lilj. 914, Bautil 825. Dybeck, 8vo. 53, b), KUFINK and HULMKAIR raise the stone to URAID, their father:

HAN TURUKNADI I BAGI.
HE DROWNED (*was drowned*) IN BAGA.

Again on the fragmentary *Thorsaker* stone, Gestrikland, (Lilj. 1055):

KUDMENTR DRUKNADI.
KUTHMENT DROWNED (*was drowned*).

On the fragmentary *Tinnbo* stone, Södermanland, (Lilj. 987, Bautil 761), which is now lost, we read:

(h)AN TRUKNADI I EKLANS HA(ñ).
HE DROWNED (*was drowned*) IN ENGLAND'S HAF (the *English Ocean, the North-Sea*).

And again on the *Nylarsker* stone, Bornholm:

TRUKNADI HAN UTI MED ALA SKIBARA.
DROWNED (*was drowned*) HE OUT (*abroad*) MITH (*with*) ALL his-SHIPPERS (*shipmen, - with all his crew*).

We have yet another spelling on the *Nöreby* stone, West-Gotland, (Lilj. 1406, Bautil 957, Ljungström 6), which is broken at the end:

IAR TURKNADI
AS (*who*) DROWNED (*was drowned*)

This stone is remarkably illustrated by the *Flemlöse* block, which see in the Appendix. Not only do they both belong to the same island, Fyn, and the same folkland, of which Assens is the capital; but they both seem to have concerned a mighty family of local dignity, civil and religious, the wolves. This monument is raised in memory of his brother-son by a chief named RHUULFR (= HRUFR-WULFR); the *Flemlöse* block was inscribed to the daughter of a magnate called ULFR (= WULFR). Both ULF and RHUULF had the important office and title of GUTHI, and in the same district; each was NURA GUTHI. And both stones close with the same work-phrase. The one ends with ÆVAIR FAIR, the other with FUEIR FAADO.

We may add, that equally bearing marks of great age from their olden runes and archaistic language, they both are heathen overgang-stones.

KALLERUP, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

*From a cast of the block used in Prof. THORSEN'S "De danske Runemindesmærker", Vol. I. p. 15. —
 Drawn and Chemityped by J. M. PETERSEN in 1862.*

This, like the last, is a transition-stone. That is, it is so ancient that it still retains some of the Old-Northern staves, while it is young enough to admit later and provincial or "Scandinavian" runes. Most of the letters, (to take them as they stand, \mathfrak{u} , \mathfrak{r} , \mathfrak{n} , \mathfrak{b} , \mathfrak{s} , \mathfrak{t} , \mathfrak{i} , \mathfrak{d}), are common to both alphabets; but the \mathfrak{h} belongs to the Old-Northern Futhorc and the $\mathfrak{a}/\mathfrak{u}$ to the very oldest Scandinavian. The \mathfrak{u} in \mathfrak{sudiks} is Scandinavian, instead of the Old-Northern \mathfrak{w} . This word \mathfrak{sudiks} is valuable as showing what the influence of mere surface-position may be. It stands for \mathfrak{sudiks} , the \mathfrak{i} being slurred or altogether omitted (understood) or regarded as contained in the \mathfrak{r} , this considered as a bind-rune, the stem being first taken as \mathfrak{l} and then the whole as \mathfrak{r} . The word was so written for symmetry. The carver evidently wisht the under-line to be in harmony with the upper, projecting a little at the beginning and end. But it is already a little too long, runs out too much at the end. To have carved the \mathfrak{l} would have made it still more out of proportion. The rune-rister has therefore past this \mathfrak{l} over as understood.

We have also here a notable instance of how the \mathfrak{x} may often be so near the \mathfrak{u} as only to be distinguisht by a very slight curve and its general bearing and character. The first \mathfrak{x} is cut sharp in the usual manner. But the second only slightly differs from the \mathfrak{u} which immediately precedes it.

The best account of this block is that given by Fin Magnusen, and this I here translate:

"1½ mile [Danish] north of Snoldelev, a short [Danish] mile in the same direction from Thune or Tune (where in 1770 was found a 3-cornered Rune-stone [since destroyed, and never properly copied]), 1 [Danish] mile east of Roeskilde, close north of the road to Cheapinghaven, are the so-called Kallerup homesteads, nearly opposite the Church-village Høie Tøstrup, formerly called Thorstorp, probably from Thor having been once worshipt there. One of the inhabitants of these homesteads, farmer Jens Larsen, while ploughing a field in 1828 struck on the narrow edge of a largish stone, buried in the earth. On clearing away the soil, he remarkt an inscription on the surface turned to the north. He therefore resolved not to break it up, as he had otherwise determined, and informed some learned men of his find. In company with Werlauff, Rask and Thomsen I visited the spot June the 1st in the same year, and found the block lying on the ground, near 3 large but now almost ruined stone-settings which lay close to each other in a continuous line. The neighbors said that this place used to be called the *Gjette-ting* or *Jette-ting*. This stone therefore very likely stood on one of the Ting-steds [Doom-Seats, Assize-places] of the olden time, and has since been wilfully thrown down and buried. It is 6 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches broad and 2 feet thick. On the smooth and flat side, in a simple framing and with large and handsome letters 8 to 9 inches high are engraved these words Rask redd the risting thus:

HURNBURE
STEIN SVIDKS

or, as written in the more regular manner, and taking as I do * to be *a*.

Hornbora
stain svip(in)gs.

For *Hornbora* is a most ancient mansname, as borne for instance by a Dwarf or Alf (or Elf), in the Eddas. *Svipnigr* or *Svinnigr* must mean a prudent, wise or cunning (knowing) man, from the well-known adjective *svipr*, *svinnr*, in its old signification of prudent, understanding, knowing, clever, hearted¹,



doubtless of the same origin as the Anglosaxon *svip* strong, great, mighty, excellent, the Mæso-Gothic *svinths*. The word is formed in the same way as other old and better known words of the like meaning, as *spekingr* [a Sage] from *spakr* (*speki*), *snillingr* [a Sage, distinguisht man] from *snjallr*, *vitríngr* [a Sage] from *vitr*, &c. Such titles were formerly borne by the counsellors of the Northern princes, and by other folkchiefs and judges. This chief of the Gjetting has doubtless been a man of this class,

¹ "In modern Icelandic (poetry excepted) the word now means sparing, grinding, and the derivative *sviðingr* a miser. Carefulness is of course a consequence of wisdom and thoughtfulness, but it can be carried too far."

probably a brother-magistrate to the Speaker Rohald on the Salsløie, and the carving can scarcely have any other meaning than that given to it by *Rask* and *Petersen*¹: — "The wise (or accomplisht) Hornbore's stone" (Ting-stone, Judgment-seat stone, in my opinion: see above p. 463)"².

Of course we shall never be able to decide whether this block be a Doom-stone or a Grave-stone, for the words admit either interpretation. Probably it was funeral.

The runes being so large and plain, the copies made public of this stone have always been correct. And all the principal writers have substantially agreed in its reading and rendering. They could not but see that * was here a vowel. They have commonly wavered between a and e. It is neither; it is æ. The block still remains, now State-property, not far from the spot where it was first found.

The words, then, are:

HURNBUR^e ST^aIN, SUIK^s (= SUIK^s).

HURNBURI'S STONE, the-SWITING (= the-SAGE or the-WARRIOR).

The original meaning of SWID being *strong* (in *body*), which it occasionally has also in Scandinavia as well as the commoner *strong* (in *mind*), wise, prudent, and the word SWIDIG or SWIDING in all those dialects in which it is found signifying *strong*, *mighty*, the SUIK^r before us probably means a *Warrior* rather than a *Sage*. It being here a title of Rank, both these shades of meaning will be exprest by the corresponding modern phrase:

HIS EXCELLENCY HURNBURI'S STONE.

Save that we have here *two* lines instead of *one*, this stone strikes us at once as being wonderfully similar in general character to the readable SANDWICH stone, England.

See the SNOLDELEV stone.

The cup-like hollow below, close to the beginning of the resting, may or may not be artificial and significative. As a symbol or decoration this bowl properly belongs to a far older class of stones, which often bear many such hollows variously placed. Generally speaking, these half-holes on runic blocks are *natural*, caused by weathering, or long dripping of rain on one spot, or by the falling out of some knot or kernel in the stone.

That this block is very old is evident from its H as H, and * as æ. But as its * is æ, F (the older æ) would have been o, if used on the stone. Judging from the Helnæs pillar, this one would have given m by M. Add to this the ʀ for k and ʁ for s, and we see how intermixt the characters are. Thus it cannot, I think, be later than the 8th century, tho it may be earlier. It has been a handsome monument. Its discovery so few years back is another proof that old Runic memorials may yet turn up in Denmark. The only danger is — lest they should be destroyed as soon as they are found.

¹ "Danmarks Historie i Hedenold", III, 364, 365.

² "Runamo og Runerne", pp. 465-67.

SNOLDELEV, SEALAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

*From the block itself, now in the Round Tower, Cheapingaven. Drawn and Chemityped in April 1865
by J. M. PETERSEN.*



Remarkable is this granitous graystone in many ways. It was found *within* the grave-mound to which it belonged; it bears *Old-Northern* as well as Scandinavian runes; it has inscribed upon it 2 olden Asia-sprung *heathen* symbols; and here alone, out of all our runic monuments, do we find the rare word *DULAR*¹.

Snoldelev is the name of a village in Thune Herred (Hundred), Roskilde Amt (Shire), Sealand, and its whole neighborhood has been rich in mighty barrows, stone-settings and antiquities, the whole not being very far from the famous heathen temple and palace of Leire. Snoldelev Church stands on

¹ Among other sources, I here use the information given by Abrahamson, Skule Thorlacius and Børge Thorlacius ("Den Snoldelevske Runesteen") in *Antiquariske Annaier*, 8vo, Kjøbenhavn 1812, Vol. 1, pp. 278-322, with the Plate Tab. iv. Fig. 3; by F. Magnussen in *Ant. Annaier*, 1820, Vol. 3, pp. 204-7, and in *Runamo* pp. 413, 457-65; by J. H. Bredsdorff ("Om Guldhornsrønernes Oprindelse") in *Brage og Idun*, 8vo, Kjøbenhavn 1840, Vol. 3, pp. 502-16; by N. M. Petersen in his *Danmarks Historie i Hedenold* (1st ed., 1884-38), 8vo, 2nd ed., Kjøbenhavn 1885, Vol. 3, pp. 272, 273; and by Thorsen, *De Danske Runemindesmærker*, Vol. 1, p. 13 foll. — But, as usual, my text is as short and simple as I can possibly make it. The works just mentioned will give further details.

As far as we can see, *DULAR* *O SALHAUKUM* is the title or office borne by *KUNUËLT* (*GUNVALD*). But it is grammatically possible that those words may be in apposition with *RUHALTS*.

Thus in the Futhork here employed *†* not *Υ* has been *Λ*, *** not *ƿ* has been *Æ*, *ƿ* not *ƿ* has been *o*; the *ƿ* was now disused; while *Η* was retained for *h*. And we have twice *Λ* as final *r*, or rather *ƿ*, a very early instance of the use of this symbol, formerly called "modern". We have also here, in the *s* which is written once but employed twice at the end of the first and beginning of the second word, a very early example of this runic custom.

The genitive formula, so very rare, *KUNUËLTS-STÆIN* will be observed. It answers to the *HURNBURÆ STÆIN* of the near-lying Kallerup stone, which has also the same Futhork.

F. Magnussen says (*Runamo* p. 458), that "*RÓHALDR* is certainly the same as *RÓALDR*, just as we write both *ARNHALDR* and *ARNALDR*". Petersen suggests that *ROHALDR* may be = *ROGNVALDR*, which is not impossible. Probably the name intended is that found spelt *HRÓALDR*, and this may have been originally *HRÓDOR-WALDR*.

Highly interesting is the unique Runic *DULAR*, gen. sing. of *DUL(R)*. This is so scarce that I believe it has not yet been found in Sweden, in Denmark only on this stone, and in N. I. writings only very rarely. This latter dialect has *DULA*, f., a speech, sentence; *DULR*, m., a Speaker, Priest, Reciter, Orator, Poet, and *DULAR-STÓL* his stool, chair or pulpit; the verb is *DYLLA*, to speak, recite, sound. Otherwise, as far as I know, this word is only met with in O. Engl., which has *DYLE*, *DLE*, m., gen. *DYLES*, pl. n. ac. *DYLAS*, a Speaker, Orator; *DYLE-CRÆFT*, oratory. F. Magnussen says that the etymology is unknown. Bosworth connects it with O. Engl. *DELU*, *DEL*, f., *DIL*, *DILL*, *DYLA*, *DYLE*, *DILLE*, a board, plank, flooring, scaffold, rostrum; *DYLING*, *DILING*, *DILLING*, a boarding, planking; *DELL*, a storey; *DILLAN*, *DILLIAN*, to board, plank. All these are represented in modern English by the word *DEAL*, and are connected with the N. I. *DÖLL*, *BELLA*, f., *DOLLR*, m., a pine-tree, *BELLI*, n., pine-timber, now the Scandian *TALL*. Many provincial forms of all these words exist in England and Scandinavia. According to this, *DULR* from *DÖLL*, *DYLE* from *DELU*, would answer to our *PULPITER* (Priest, Speaker, Lecturer, Reader) from *PULPIT*, like as *CHANCELOR* from *CHANCEL*, and other such.

In the *oldest* Old-Northern this word would have been *DULS*, gen. *DULÆS* or *DULAS*, n. ac. pl. *DULÆS* or *DULAS*. In later Scandinavian the nom. mark gradually melted from *s* to *r* or a dim vowel, or fell away altogether. In England from the earliest times it became *e* or dropt off. Thus we get the Scandian *DULR*, the English *DYLE*. In the gen. often and the plural always, in like manner, *s* became *r* in Scandinavia, or a dull vowel, or fell away, while it *remained* in England. Thus we get the Scandian gen. sing. *DULAR*, the O. E. *DYLES*, the N. I. nom. pl. *DULIR*, ac. pl. *DULI*, both in O. E. *DYLAS*.

As the heathen priests were also magistrates, at least those at the head of each Hundred, (*Hundari*, *Härad*, *Herred*), *DULR* might also be popularly translated *SHERIFF*.

O SALHAUKUM is a place which still remains after more than 1000 years! It is the present hamlet of *SALØV* or *SALLOW*, in the parish of Snoldelev. First *ON SALHAUKUM*, it becomes *O SALHAUKUM*, *Å SALHAUGUM*, *AA SALHØVÆ*, *Å SALØVÆ*, *SALØV*, *SALLOW*.

We have still to speak of two remarkable heathen symbols, for which see Dr. Müller's admirable treatise "*Religiose Symboler*", 4to, Kjöbenhavn 1864.

Lowest down are 3 Horns (? Drinking-horns) arranged in the form of the *Triskele*, vulgarly called the *Triquetra*, a variation of the 3-armed Cross, that ancient and widespread sign which has so many localized meanings, but all which melt into the one idea — the hieroglyph of the Sun-God. Here it is doubtless *THE MARK OF THOR*. The employment of Horns to form this figure is here unique, and may apply to the ceremonies and festivals usual in that particular temple or rite in which *KUNUËLT* was the official *DUL(R)*. On the large heathen rune-stone at Helleland in Norway, *one* horn is engraved.

A little higher, and to the right, is the equally famous symbol of the Flanged Thwarts or 4-angled Cross, the token of the Highest God. Here we cannot but take it as *THE MARK OF WODEN*.

So on the *Bracteates* we often have 2, or even 3, Sacred Signs on the same piece.

Thus this block is in every way a striking memorial from the older pagan period in Denmark.

HÖRNING, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 900-1000.

From p. 16 of R. H. KRUSE'S "*Andet Tilleg*" to his *Jutlandic Antiquities*, folio, Ms. in the Archives of the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Chemityped by J. M. PETERSEN.

Found in 1849, in ploughing a field just outside Hörning, in Hjemselev Herred, Skanderborg Amt, North-Jutland, on the highroad from Hörning to Århus. Thence moved to a bridge in the neighborhood, from which Rafn (Pirée p. 203) gave it the name Bering. Shortly afterwards, (with the consent of the finder, the peasant Jens Mortensen), the parish priest, the Rev. Mr. Schinnerup, flitted it to the porch of Hörning Church, where it will remain in safety. It is about 5 feet 9 inches high, 21 to 23 inches broad, and 17 thick. The runes are from 4½ to 7 inches long. First published, but incorrectly, by Prof. J. J. A. Worsaae in "*Illustreret Almanak*", 8vo, Kjöbenhavn 1854, pp. 85-88; again, also with errors, by Rafn, Pirée, Kjöbenhavn 1856, pp. 203-4.

The present drawing, executed with great care and entirely trustworthy, shows that this is an overgang-stone. It has H twice, the first time in the later form (*), the second in the older (H), but here as a bind-rune united with A (+). Kruse's drawing is accompanied by a rubbing, clearly showing that in the centre line we have KUL, not KUD, and FRIHALSI, not FRIALS. The i in the last word is not a letter by itself, but is taken from the bottom line of the Cross.

The inscription begins at the bottom on the left, runs to the top and down again on the right, and continues with the middle line up to the Cross. It is as follows:

TUKI, SMIDR, RID STIN IFT THURKISL, KUDMUTAR SUN, IS HANUM KAF KUL UK FRIHALSI.

S. R.

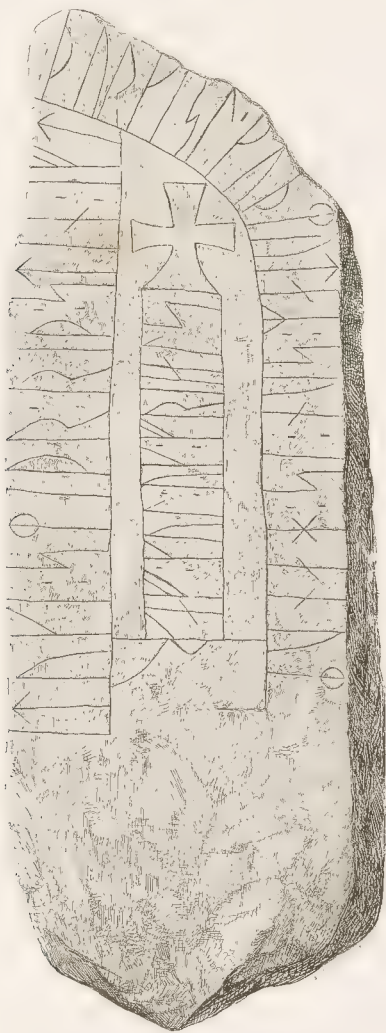
TUKI, SMITH, WROTE STONE - this AFTER THURKISL, KUTHMU(n)T'S SON, AS (who) to - HIM GAVE "COLL" EKE FREEHALSE (- who to him gave son-ship and freedom, - who bought or gave him free and adopted him as his own son).

? S... RAISED - the - block.

It will be observed that depending from the under line of the right column we have i, the usual variation for s, and that added on from the end of the middle row to the under line of the left column we have a plain R. Now both these marks are apparently runes. In this case I take them to be contractions in the usual way, s for some mansname (for instance SUAIN), and R for RAISTI, raised, raised and rough-hewed the block. Thus s. was here the stone-mason employed, while TUKI was the "Rune-smith", who with his own hand performed this filial duty to his adopted and generous father. Taken in son's stead, when he had now nothing more to fear or hope from him, he forgot not what he owed to the otherwise childless THURKISL.

TUKI was probably a home-thrall of THURKISL, most likely an Englishman seized and made captive on some foray to Britain, or a Dane sold into slavery for debt. He was an excellent handy clever

artist, for the word SMITH in all our Northern dialects meant a *craftsman*, master-workman, artificer in general, whether in iron, gold, silver, wood, or any other material, like as *to SMITH* signified to make, fashion, build, &c. But TUKI by his faithfulness and talents gained his master's love, and THURKISL, who had apparently no living issue, at last freed and adopted him.



For the — evidently correct — translation of KUL in this place, I am indebted to a suggestion of Prof. Carl Säve. The word is here remarkable, for it is nearly confined, *in this sense*, to *Jutland*. The O. Danish KOL (now KULD), O. Swedish KULLER, KOLLER, KULDER, KOLDER (now KULL or KULLE), prov. Engl. COLL (but in a different sense), means *Brood, Litter, Covey*, &c., as applied to the collected offspring of men or animals. From this came the properly Jutlandic technical expression in the Old Jutland Law LIUS' I KOLL OG I KYN, in later Danish LIUSE I KJØN OG KULD, now commonly phrased LYSE I KULD OG KJØN, *to adopt*, for which KULDLYSE and ÆTLEDE are now sometimes used. So the Danish AT

LYSE AF KULD OG KJON is to *disinherit*. This proclamation of any one as his heir or child is made at the Sessions in due form. Now the above phrase is not known elsewhere in Scandinavia, where other forms are used, commonly answering to our *to take as one's child*, the shorter words older Norse EETLEDE, later Norse ÆTLEIDE, ÆTLEIA, older Swedish ÆTLEDA being now rare or provincial. But Iceland still keeps its verbs ÆTLEIDA and ARFLEIDA, LEIDA I ÆTT, LEIDA TIL ARFS, &c.

The KAF KUL here before us is therefore equal to the present Danish LYTE I KULD OG KJON, *announced and took into his coll (family) and kin (kind, kindred, race)*, adopted; made his heir.

About 5 or 6 Danish miles north of Hørning is another stone, apparently raised by this same grateful artist. It is at Grensten, and was first but incorrectly engraved by Worm, Monumenta, p. 313, (Liljegren No. 1513). I have had access to other copies, but give it here from the last and best by R. H. Kruse, in his "Nørre-Jyllands Mærkværdigheder", Vol. 2, p. 44, Ms. in the Archives of the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven:

↑NFI : HFIOR : RIB : HFI : BFI : FFI : AFI : HFI :
 FFI : BFI : HFI : FFI : FFI : FFI : FFI : FFI

TUKI, SMIDR, RISP STIN DISI AFTIR RIFLA, SUN ASKIS BIANAR SUNAR. KUP HIAB DARA SALU!

TUKI, SMITH, RAISED STONE THIS AFTER RIFLI, SON of-ASKIR BIAN'S SON. GOD HELP THEIR SOUL!

Here we have the same peculiar M as in the former carving, but there are various differences, such as AFTIR for IFT. The use of A for R at the *beginning* of a word (in RIFLA) is noteworthy. In ASKIS (for ASKIRS) the R is slurred, as in BIANAR (for BIARNAR). HIAB is apparently for HIALB, thus with elision of the L'. Here, as where else several are spoken of, SALU is in the singular, SALU not SALUM.

But it is possible that we have yet a third monument erected by this same TUKI. I refer to the stone at Gylling, in Hlad Herred, North-Jutland, only about 3 Danish miles south of Hørning. This block is 4 feet 7 inches high and from 1 foot 2 to 2 feet 2 broad. It is inscribed on two sides. Rafn has already published it (Pirée, p. 206) but with a faulty text and worse translation. I here give it from a careful and exact drawing by R. H. Kruse, "Andet Tillæg", p. 18:

↑NFI : BNRFIHFI : HFI : RFIHFI : HFI : BFIHFI : FFIHFI :
 FFI : BNRBFR : FFIHFI : INFI

TUKI, BURKISLS SUN, RAISI STAIN DANSI AFTIR ISBIR SIN BURUDUR, KUPAN IUK.

TUKI, THURKISL'S SON, RAISED STONE THIS AFTER ISBIR SIN (his) BROTHER, a-GOOD YOUNGER (youth).

This stone is preserved in the porch of Gylling Church, having been brought in from a neighboring burial-mound. It has not the decisive TUKI SMIDR, but only TUKI. If raised² by TUKI SMIDR, his here calling himself BURKISLS SUN will be an additional argument in favor of the above translation of KUL by *sonship* instead of *gold*. But there are two objections: first, that both TUKI and BURKISL are not very rare names, and *may* here refer to other persons; second, that this stone has no mark of Christendom, not even a Cross. We must remember, however, how often it happened in the *earliest* Christian period — in which TUKI lived — that men relapsed back into heathendom. This *may* have been the case with TUKI himself. There is, however, a *third* possibility. The stone may be heathen, and yet connected with the THURKISL here before us. THURKISL, as yet a pagan, may have been out in foray, in "Western Wiking" to England or some other Christian land. During his absence his son ISBIR dies, and the remaining brother, TUKI, raises this stone to his memory. Some time after, TUKI himself dies, either abroad or at home; but his funeral stone has been smasht, like so many thousands of others. On his return to Denmark THURKISL, who in the mean time had embraced the Christian faith, — as so often happened when these adventurers went out to Christian countries, — found himself childless. After a time he adopted his favorite home-slave as his son, and this man may have assumed the name of TUKI, his master's oldest or best-loved child, on this occasion.

¹ In his Pirée, p. 206, C. C. Rafn copies this inscription (the Runes) from this same drawing by Kruse, but he has silently changed the F (A) into the bind-rune F (AL). Worm has F. Possibly the L-mark may have fallen away. But this is not likely.

² Kruse gives a plain i in RAISI (thus — RAISSI for RAISTI). The bad copy printed by Rafn has RAIST.

SÆDING, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

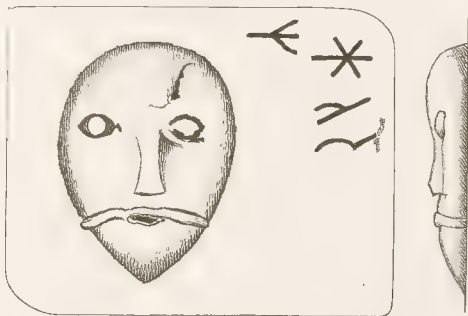
? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1000-1100.

From Drawings in the Museum of Northern Antiquities. Copenhagen.

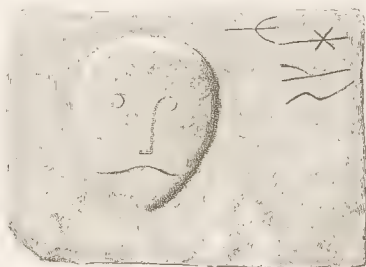
As this stone is one of those monuments which cannot be dated or translated until we know the class to which they belong, I must be allowed some words of description and digression.

It is 2 feet long by 16 inches broad, and is about 5 feet above ground in the northern outside wall of the church at Sæding, Bølling Herred (Hundred), Ringkjøbing Amt. I give it here from two copies, the one older, the other later.

The first, by J. Elling, was taken July 9, 1797, is very exact, and is accompanied by a careful copy or tracing of the runes *full size*, about 3 inches high. Below the first letter the stone is slightly damaged, but this flaw, as Mr. Elling remarkt at the time, has nothing whatever to do with the rune. Whether the mark on the forehead is intended to represent the death-blow, or an old wound, or is later and accidental, we of course cannot say. The woodcut shows the head separately, in profile. This is therefore a *unique* Danish runic monument, in so far that it bears a figure carved *in relief*.



The second copy is by R. H. Kruse, 1857, in his "Andet Tillæg" to his Jutlandish Antiquities, Ms., p. 30.



Other drawings are before me, but none so good, and these will be sufficient. — The earliest copy known to me is that by Pontoppidan, in his "Marmora Danica", 2 vol., folio, Hafniæ 1739-41, vol. 2, p. 82. It is most barbarously done, quite a caricature, and the four runes are all given in one line. Pontoppidan adds, that the tradition on the spot asserted that this stone had been removed from a heathen grave-mound in the neighborhood when the church was built, and was consequently older than 1210 the date of its erection, and that the face was that of a Giant named MAHOR or MEHAR. This absurd name was of course obtained by reading the runes upside down, then taking the Y as M in the usual Scandinavian alphabet, reading the 4 staves as one word, and making the last rune R, which it never was or could be. However, the tale is so far of value as it states the broad fact — if fact it be — that the block is older than the church, and brought thither from a heathen barrow. But this local assertion is not necessarily true; it must be confirmed by other evidence, and this is not at hand. All that we can say is, that the stone is exceptional in character, and that the runes are Old-Northern.

What first strikes us, is the *hairless mustachioed skull*. This is a small thing to go upon, but it is at all events a mark of antiquity. We often find, on the *very oldest* carved stones in our churches, &c., that the human head, which often stands for the whole figure, is hewn in bare outline, sometimes with and sometimes without liphair or beard.

The heads on the *Golden Bracteates* are usually both mustachioless and beardless. Very rarely have they liphair, still more rarely also beards. But on a small *Silver Coin* found in Bleking. (No. 155 in Thomsen's Atlas), supposed by Thomsen to be the very oldest monetary piece hitherto discovered of Scandinavian origin (Om Guldbracteaterne, p. 323) and to date from the close of the Heathen or beginning of the Christian period, an opinion in which I entirely agree, we have a similar conventional outline-head, but *mustachioed*. This is therefore an exact counterpart to that on the Sæding stone, so much so that I engrave it for comparison:



To judge from the solder still remaining at the top, Thomsen believes that this Coin has been treated as a Bracteate, has been provided with a loop and worn as a pendant ornament.

By referring to the KROGSTAD stone, Sweden, we shall see that the head of the man carved there is almost the same as the two here given, only so barbarous that we cannot know whether the rude mouth, which stretches from ear to ear, is intended to express mustachioes also. And as that older unclothed and *hairless head on the almost skeleton figure* signified an armed warrior, so *the head alone* on the Stone and Coin conventionally and sufficiently symbolized a whole man or a highborn chieftain.

We have a similar head on another runic monument. In Sjöborg's Samlingar, 4to, Vol. 3, Fig. 74, 75, (p. 113), less distinctly in Cumming, Plate 4, Fig. 13, d, the scale being there smaller, — is given the elegant 4-sided pillar-stone at Kirk Michael, Ile of Man. The front, back and one side are taken up with decorated Crosses, figures and ornaments; the fourth side bears a long runic inscription, No. 1 in Prof. P. A. Munch's Kirk Michael pieces. At the top of the rising, which runs upward, is the figure of IUALFIR, who raised the stone to his mother FRITHA. He is in ring-mail, the belt shown by an opening, with a halberd in his right hand and a small round shield in his left. His head is bare and hairless — the mere skull —, while he has long mustachioes. Between his legs is a sword, or maybe a Cross.

But the great feature of this piece is, that it is *in relief*. Is it therefore necessarily Christian? I trow not. My friend Archivary Herbst, who is always so willing to dispense to others from the store of his archæological acquirements, has drawn my attention to two pieces of the same kind¹, both

¹ This is of course independent of several Brooches &c. from the Early Iron Age with animal or human figures or heads in relief, the human heads always with the mustache. See for instance No. 420 in Worsaae's Nordiske Oldsager, a Bronze Fibula; No. 421, a Bronze Fibula; No. 423, a silver-gilt Fibula; No. 429, a silver-gilt Clasp. Closely allied are the hoops or thin laminas of

of them in the Danish Museum. The first, of copper or bronze and from the Iron Period, is from a pagan barrow. Its date it is impossible to fix, but, roughly speaking, we may say between 500 and 1000 years after Christ. It is, as far as I know, one-ly in Europe. Some have supposed it to be a Wizard's Staff, but it may also have been a Rod of Ceremony, or, quite simply, some rich man's "curious stick". It was found in 1823 in Lolland, Denmark, and was given to the Museum by the Chamberlain Bertouch, of Söeholdt in that island. Its Museum-number is CMX, and it is concisely described as follows in "Antiquariske Annaler", Vol. 4, 8vo, Kjobenhavn 1827, p. 265:

"CMX. A copper or bronze knob of a stick, at the top bearing a hoop or guard from which hangs a thick ring [all of the same metal]. The Staff, which was 4 feet long but fell to dust when taken up, had, fastened to its sides:

"a) a short figure with mustachioes, and

"b) a mustachioed head with a beard [the heads only hairless skulls].

"Found in a gravemound in Söeholdt Wood. This is the only piece of the kind yet obtained by the Museum."

Still older is the second example of such raised figures, a piece found in Vi Moss, Allesö, Fyn. It was imbedded in a turf, and was only perceived when the turf was burning on the peasant's fire. It has therefore suffered considerably, but the general features may be well made out. It is a head, in relief, with a down-combed mustachio in the way shown by a couple of the golden Bracteates. As we see by the long tung or hook behind, it has been fastened on to some article of wood.

Mr. Herbst informs me that no "bilds" of this kind have been found older than the Early Iron Age (from about the time of Christ to about the 6th century). They are unknown to the Bronze Age, which hitherto offers nothing in relief, and the few heads exhibited in that period are all shaved — have neither beard nor liphair. The Vi Moss or Allesö piece, from about the beginning of the 4th century, is therefore the oldest of this class yet discovered.

Thus a question is opened which may be of value in Oldlore, whether figures *in relief* may not be older, even *on stone*, than the Christian period, and whether it is a fact that the mustache (with or without the beard) be a characteristic of this early period. The Norman fashion was, to shave both above and below the mouth.

Certain it is, that *projected* figure-carving abounds on pieces — gold, silver, bronze, wood, &c. — from the heathen period, and why may they not have sculptured stone also in this way, occasionally? At least this must have been done a little later, when the Northmen everywhere saw specimens of *raised stone-carving* both at home and abroad, and they may as well have imitated this as they did a thousand other things.

Besides, the very earliest stone heads and other shapes found on Church-walls, Fonts, &c., are so desperately barbarous, that they can scarcely have been executed by any but *native* workmen. But, if so, why may not these pieces have been a continuation of the kind of relief-carving in stone to which these "barbarian" stone-cutters were accustomed? To suppose these earliest Christian stones the work of Roman or Italian or other "skilled" workmen, is utterly impossible. They were therefore produced by Northern and native hands. Thus there will be a gradual development and transition in this also, and the Sæding stone *may* have been heathen.

This is all very well, and we may admit that the runes and skull-like mustachioed head show that the stone is very old, while its being in relief is no absolute argument against its being pagan. — But the shape of this slab is quite unlike any other heathen rune-stone, and quite like the usual run of carved slabs in churches. So I desired further information, which Mr. Herbst kindly procured from the clergyman of the parish, the Rev. Chr. Vilstrup. Turned into English, that gentleman says, in his reply to Mr. Herbst, dated June 7, 1864:

"1. I have no idea whence the stone has come, nor has any of the parish authorities. I am inclined to think it must have been taken from some old stone building. Several other stones in the

gold, with figures stamped or hammered up from behind, and thus in partial relief, on the Silver Goblets found at Himlingöje. On the one of these, engraved in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed" for 1862 and above p. 331, a piece probably from the 4th century, are two human heads, both with the mustachio. The heads on the Golden Horos, and on the ornament found at Thorsbjerg, are shaved, or rather entirely hairless. Either the hair was here *understood*, or the absence of the mustache may be connected with the influence of classical art on these pieces.

church seem to show they have been brought hither in the same way. There are two whose lower edge betrays their having formed the upper part of a round arch. A stone at the western end, so low down as now to be covered by the pavement, has a half-globe carved in relief upon it.

"2. The slab is of the same kind of stone as nearly all the rest of the church, a kind of coarse-grained granite, and it is also of the same shape and size. They are all nicely tooled.

"3. It is in the northern wall, close to the western end. There is a large stone between it and an entrance now walled-up. It is to the east of this old door. At present it is not conspicuous, but formerly it must have been seen by all who entered the building.

"4. The head bulges on the stone from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches. Seen in front, the face is flat, the nose being little prominent, and the face not rising high towards the nose."

These details are decisive. The stone cannot be heathen, but has doubtless belonged to some older church or chapel, pulled down as being too small or injured by some fire or other accident.

The runes most likely refer to the older building. They are redd from below upward, to the right of the head. The first stave is the Old-Northern γ , the second the usual Scandinavian-runic κ , the third the Old-Northern — provincial Scandinavian — π ; the fourth is the rune α , strictly speaking the α -final. I take it to be a contraction, and to stand for the usual RISTI or RAISTI, *risted*, *carved*, or *raised*, *made*, *built*. The first three, then, will be the common mansname YK π = INGE, the fourth is the verb. Similar runic carvings, some of them as short, are not so uncommon on buildings, church-doors, founts, &c. In fact it is apparently the name of the master-workman who built the original chapel to which this stone belonged.

I read, then:

Y K π α

Y K π α R.

INGE RISTED (or RAISED).

Should it have been a grave-stone (which is not probable), and should the α be ψ upside-down, as on the VOLDTOFT block (which is still less likely on so late a piece), we shall then have:

Y K π α A.

INGE OWNS (this tomb).

The stones hitherto found bearing outstanding runes or carvings in relief, or both, are very few, and are all evidently Christian. One such, very similar to this Sæding piece, is or was in the quire-wall of Skieberg Church, Smålenenes Amt, Christiania Stift, Norway, (Lilj. No. 1920). At the end of the narrowish block is a head projecting boldly from the stone. It has neither beard nor mustachio. The inscription is, according to Sjöborg, Saml. 1, fig. 124, 125, p. 137:

STEIN DENNA GERDE BOTOLFR STEINMEISTARÆ.

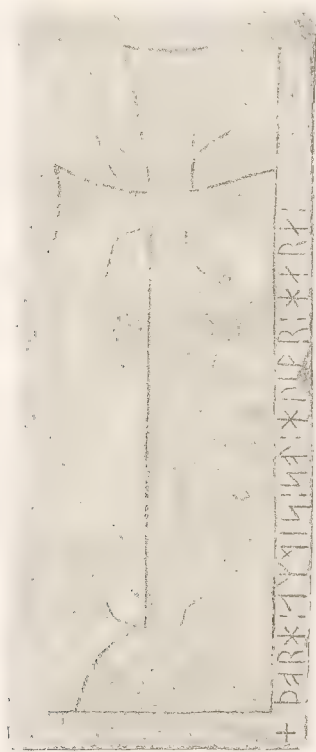
STONE THIS GARED (hewed) BOTOLF STONE-MASTER (stone-mason).

But the labors of Carl and P. A. Sæve have of late years brought to light in the island of Gotland a whole group of Runic monuments *evidently heathen*, and of a peculiar type (the head of the stone semi-circularly rounded), largely decorated with figures IN RELIEF. One of these blocks is so old that it bears Old-Northern letters. See the TJANGVIDE stone, under Sweden, and the HABELLINGBO, LAIVIDE and SANDA stones in the Appendix.

THISTED, NORTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1100-1200.

From a Drawing by R. H. KRUSE (Förste Tilleg, p. 2) in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Copenhagen. Chemityped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN. — Size of the Slab 4 ft. 2, by 1 ft. 8.



The above grave-slab, with its elegant Calvary-cross, is near the ground on the south side of the Tower of Thisted Church, in the shire called Thyland, North-Jutland. Several excellent drawings, made of late years, are in the Museum; the best is the one here engraved, a colored sketch by Kruse.

Fin Magnusen was the first to read this carving. But he made a great mistake in the second word. His own good sense told him that Ψ could here not be μ , such a word as TMDIS being im-

possible. He therefore guest at a vowel, and fixt upon γ , thus reading TYDIS, and this he translated THYLAND. But this cannot be. The oldest form for Thyland known to us is in Norse-Icel. writings, where it is ÞÓÐ, fem., with the dative as ÞÓÐU and ÞÓÐI. The genitive would therefore be ÞÓÐAR. Its middle-age name was THJUTH, THJUD. Such a genitive sing. feminine as TYDIS cannot be thought of. But the whole difficulty vanishes when we see that this is an overgang stone, the Υ still lingering here in its old power of A. All is then clear. The name is TADIS, the genitive of the well-known mansuame TAT or TAD.

We also see that the stone, tho so young, is old-fashioned in its letters, from the fluctuation in its use of the \mathfrak{z} . It is evidently \mathfrak{z} ($\frac{z}{\beta}$) in the first word, but \mathfrak{h} afterwards. Just in this way we show *our* learning by carving or painting crabbed and unintelligible "black-letter" and "medieval" staves in our modern churches, — theoretically for the edification of others than ourselves!

We have also 2 uncommon Bind-runes here, the OL in SOL and the ER in HUIER. I read:

THOR \mathfrak{u} , TADIS SOL, HUIER HER \mathfrak{e} .

THOR \mathfrak{e} , TAD'S SOL (*sun*), WHILES (*rests*) HERE.

(= Here reposes Thor \mathfrak{e} , the *sun* of Tad.)

TAD was thus the beautiful THOR \mathfrak{e} 's Father or Husband or Lover, and she was his *Sun*, his *Darling*. This is a poetical and feeling way of expressing tender affectation, of which more or less similar and equally striking examples occur on other runic monuments. — Still TAD not impossibly may have been the name of a place, tho none now exists with which it can be identified. The *sun* or *pride* of her village or province¹ is a boast during life, and a funeral formula after death, even now in use.

See BJORKÖ, (EKE), KROKSTAD, in the Appendix.

As we see, our third Northern Province, Old Denmark — once so mighty and still so noble — boasts not a few "Yore-Runic" Relics of her former greatness. And these laves are peculiar in character and mostly of surpassing interest. Here also we may hope for fresh discoveries; out of the above 21 pieces 14 have been found or identified since this work was commenced! The whole array now is, besides a crowd of BRACEATES:

RINGS.	SHIELD-BOSSSES.	SCABBARD-CLASPS.	BROOCHES.
1. Dalby.	1. Thorsbjerg.	1. Thorsbjerg.	1. Himlingöie.
		2. Vi Moss.	
ARROWS.	COMBS.	PLANES.	? KNIFE-HANDLES.
1. Nydam.	1. Vi Moss.	1. Vi Moss.	1. Kragehul.
			1. Kragehul. (Lost.)
? LIDS.	HORNS.	STONES.	
1. Kragehul. (Lost.)	1. Gallehus. (Lost.)	1. ? Veile. (Lost.)	
		2. Voldtofte. (? Overgang.)	
		3. Vordingborg. (Overgang.)	
		4. Helnæs. (Overgang.)	
		5. Kallerup. (Overgang.)	
		6. Snoldelev. (Overgang.)	
		7. Hörning. (Overgang.)	
		8. Sæding. (Overgang.)	
		9. Thisted. (Overgang.)	

¹ The death of Hakon Jarl (Yarl, Earl) of Norway, in 995, was caused by his lust after the beautiful Guthrun, daughter of Bergthor of Lund in Gauldard, where she dwelt with her husband Orm. She was therefore called LUNDA-sól, the *Sun of Lund*. "Guthrun var kallit Lundasól, þriat hún var kvenna fríðust". (Guthrun was called Lunda-sol, for that she was of queens [women] fríðest [fairest]). Olaf Tryggvason's Saga, Ch. 102. — In the same manner the Landnæma mentions the Icelandic beauty ÞÓRÞÓR \mathfrak{e} RÓLMA-SOL, *Thorborg the Sun of the Holms (Holds)*. — So of the yeoman Thorkell the Bjarnar Saga says (H. Fríðriksson, *Sagan af Birni Hítelakappa*, Kjöbenhavn 1847, 8vo, p. 4): "Hann átti dóttur, er Oddný hét, kvenna vænst ok skörungr mikill; hon var kölluð Oddný RYNDILL". (He had a daughter who Oddny height, of women weneest [fairest] and noble in her bearing; she was called Oddny *Ric-Candle*). — We have yet another example in the Droplaugarsona Saga (Sagan af Helga ok Grími Droplaugarsonum, besögget og ledsaget med en Analyse og Orðsamling af Konrad Gislason, udgivet af det nordiske Literatur-Samfund, Kjöbenhavn 1847, 8vo), p. 19: "Fara þeir þá um heiði austr ok koma til Þorkels á Torfastæði; dóttir hans var RÓFA, er kölluð var HLÍÐARSOL; hún var hjalskona Helga Droplaugarsonar". (Fare they then along the heath eastwards, and come to Thorkel on [of] Torfastead; daughter his was RÓFA, who was called LITHE-SOL [the Sun of the hill-side]; she was the friend [Sweetheart] of Helgi Droplaugarson).

E N G L A N D.

IN MINNE

OF

THE RUNE-SMITHS OF ENGLAND;

WITH MANY GREETINGS

TO

THE REV. DANIEL HENRY HAIGH,

OF ERDINGTON.

ASPATRIA, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 400-500.

We now come to ANGLE-LAND, whither flockt for so many centuries the flower of the Scandian population, especially from the lands now called Denmark and South-Sweden¹. The Roman-Britains and other clans gave way before them. In the north and south and center of the iland they

¹ Confirmation of this has just reacht us from an unexpected quarter — the science of Botany. The great Swedish Flower-King, Prof. Elias Fries of Upsala, has just publisht a paper ("Jemforelse mellan inhemska växternes namn i Skandinaviska och Engelska folkspråken" in "Upsala Universitets Årsskrift" for 1866) on the Names of Plants in the Popular Dialects of England and Scandinavia, with comparative tables, from which I beg to translate a sentence or two (pp. 3, 4):

"The Plant-names, those of Trees excepted, which occur in English dictionaries and the book-language are still more than the Swedish derived from Romance sources, tho some few are Keltic; but those used in the folk-talks are mostly of Germanic [= Scando-Gothic] (Anglosaxon [= Old-English or Anglic] and Scandinavian) origin. Prior includes them all in his work, but omits several in the English middle-age literature. But of course many Plant-names in common to the English and the Swedish tings cannot be therefore spoken of as derived from Scandinavia, for many are common to all the Arian daughter-dialects, and some have their root in Anglo-saxon. But I cannot help expressing what may perhaps be thought an unguarded hypothesis, — that 1000 years ago, or more the language of Southern Sweden, Sealand, &c., was almost the same as what we call Anglosaxon. It has already been observed (for instance by Allvin) that the folk-speech of retired districts in the most southerly Sweden is remarkably like Anglosaxon, both in words and in pronunciation, and I can myself vouch that the same is the case with the western dialects. It is said that the Bleking runic stones are in Anglosaxon, and many places in Scania, such as Engelholm, Engeltöfta, still remind us of the Angles. But the most important argument for this view is the declaration [to King Alfred] of the Norwegian Othar in the 9th century, that in his voyage to Slesvig, which is regarded as the chief homeland of the Angles, he sailed past Scania, Sealand and other smaller ilands, and he adds expressly — "in these lands dwelt the Angles, before they came over to England"."

The whole valuable passage referred to by Prof. Fries is in King Alfred's Old-English Orosius, Book 1, Ch. 1, Sec. 9, (p. 5 of Prof. Bosworth's splendid facsimile edition in folio of "A Description of Europe, and the Voyages of Oththere and Wulfstan", London 1855; p. 21 of the same scholar's "King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the Compendious History of the World by Orosius", 8vo, London 1859; and p. 253 of Mr. Thorpe's edition appended to Dr. Pauli's Slesvig-Holstein "Life of Alfred the Great", 8vo, London 1853). To be as accurate as possible, I copy from the facsimile folio plates of Prof. Bosworth, page 11 b.

I will first premise that *Skiringsheal* has been identified by Prof. P. A. Munch (Hist. geogr. Beskrivelse over Kongeriget Norge, p. 30; and Det Norske Folks Historie, Vol. 1, p. 380) as — SKIRINGS-SALR (properly SHERRING-HALL, the Hall or Temple of Purification), a heathen Temple-place and Kings-seat and Harbor in a district of the same name in the southwest of Westfold, the present Thjølving Parish, between the mouth of the river Lågen and Sande-fjord, at the eastern entrance to Christiania-fjord, South-Norway. This *Skirings-Salr* was afterwards represented by *Kaupang* (KAUPANG), Cheaping, Market-town, on the Viks-fjord, and afterwards, as this latter fell away, by *Tuneberg*, a little further to the north in the same fiord of Christiania. — As to *Sillende*, by almost all authors taken as the iland of *Sealand* in Denmark, it is sometimes regarded as meaning *South-Jutland*. In either case the sense is the same, as far as the present argument is concerned.

There can be little doubt that the words "in these lands earht the Angles ere they niðer on land came" are those of King Alfred himself, and not of his spokesman the Norwegian Magnate Oththere (Ottar).

And of sciringes heale he cweð þæt he sēglode on fif dagan to þem porte þe mon hæst æt hēþum. se stent betuh winedum and seaxum and angle, and hyrd in on dene. ða he þiderweard sēglode fram sciringes heale, þa wæs him on þæt bærcbord dēnawearc, and on þæt steorbord wið sē þry dagas; and þā twegen dagas, ær he to hēþum come, him wæs on þæt steorbord gotland and sillende and iglanda fela; on þæm landum eardodon engle ðær hi hider on land coman, and hy[m] wæs ðā twegen dagas on ðæt bærcbord þa igland þe in dēnawearc hyrað.

Thus Ottar sailed from the fiord of Christiania along the Cattegat and the Sound, past Halland and Scania (then Danish), between Møn and Sealand and thro the Langeland Belt, to the famous sea-port Hedeby (also Danish) now called Slesvig. On this last part of his voyage the "Danish ilands" on his left were Møn, Falster, Lolland, &c.

And from Skirings-Hall he quod that he sailed in five days to that Port which is called Heleby; this stands between the Wents and the Saxons and the Angles, and belongs to Denmark. When he thitherward sailed from Skirings-Hall, then had he on his larboard (left) Denmark, and on his starboard (right) wide sea for three days; and then for two days, ere he came to Heleby, was on his starboard (right) Jutland and Sealand and ilands many; on those lands dwelt the Angles ere they hither to this land came; and then for two days he had on his left those ilands which belong to Denmark.

made good their footing, and continued from a date at least as early as the 4th century in successive waves — first commonly known as Angles, then as Vikings, then as Normans — to hold their own, till all, conquerors and conquered, colonists and Kelts, have now become fused into one noble race. And this was no mere triumph of "Barbarians", a thing in itself physically impossible. The new-comers had many advantages of arts and arms and their native high civilization and discipline, and they carried with them from their Northern homes not only mighty hearts and keen and costly weapons — but also their mother-tong and their olden letters — the RUNES. But in England as elsewhere the inscribed Runic monuments have almost disappeared, destroyed by time and by Christianity and the Roman culture which they everywhere met. For a time indeed the "heathen staves" were adopted by the Church, but the Latin alphabet eventually triumphed with far greater rapidity than in the so late Christianized Scandian countries. Hence the common Old-Northern Staverow only lived long enough in England to admit a couple of minor modifications, and had been nearly laid aside ere the later provincial Scandinavian futhork assumed its altered and impoverished form. "Scandinavian" runes in England are therefore chiefly found on objects belonging to or made by the men who came in during what is vulgarly called the "Danish" or Wiking period, which was so largely Norwegian in character, especially in the North and West of Britain.

Still, in England as in the Scandian hive, we have memorials sufficient for our argument. The chain of evidence is unbroken. Endless changes and improvements and fires and wars — civil and uncivil —, the fury of fanaticism and the rapid progress of tillage and the plough and road-making in a flat and rich corn-country, and the 'spare-not' instincts of a population which has multiplied ten-fold since these runic times, have done their worst. Notwithstanding all, some Old-Northern pieces still remain to us. Besides Coins — which as I have said elsewhere¹, I do not dwell upon — and Bracteates — most of which have been melted down —, England can still show its Runic Stones, as well as Jewels, and other inscribed "minnen of the past".

If the statement made to Aubrey be correct, it is likely enough that 2 or 3 Runic stones may have existed in Wiltshire down to 1640, and if Runic they must have borne Old-Northern runes. The British Barrows in Wiltshire seldom or never had standing pillars or foot-stones or the like; the Romans and Roman-Britains in that province seldom or never buried in Barrows at all. Therefore the Lows referred to must — if there were no mistake — have been the graves of English settlers. Sir Richard Colt Hoare says²: —

"Passing through Vespasian's Camp, I deviate on the left to the little hamlet of West Amesbury in search of some antiquities thus recorded by Mr. Aubrey, in his [Ms.] *Monumenta Britannica*: "There is a place called the *King's Grave*, where is now the sheep penning of West Amesbury. Here doe appeare five small barrowes, at one corner of the Penning. At the ends of the graves there were stones, which the people of late (about 1640) have fetch't away: for stones, except flints, are exceedingly scarce in these partes. 'Tis said here there were some letters on these stones, but what they were I cannot learne." In vain I searched for all these matters, for the remembrance of them exists not even by tradition."

The Aspatria GOLDEN ARMING, found in December 1828, is now hidden in some private Cabinet or else melted down. I can hear nothing of it. Mr. Hamper redd its runes GEROT, which is not likely. So I pass it over. See pp. 160, 161, above.

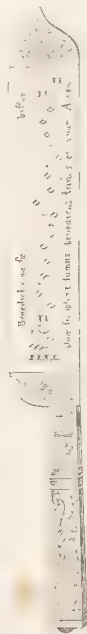
¹ In my chapter on BRACTEATES.

² The Ancient History of South-Wiltshire, fol. London 1812, p. 198.

Sword which once belonged to the Emperor Vespasian, and which is now in the Cabinet of M. Raoul-Rochette, Nancy, there may not only be a long inscription of ownership, but also a formula of Dedication or talismanic Protection.

But blades with more familiar carvings, such as the above Stave-row, anything to be "sung or said", are very rare. That we should find the Alphabet on such a piece is not so surprising as might appear at first sight. Letters were at this time no mystery; on the contrary, they were carved on all sorts of objects. See the remarks on the Charnay Brooch and Braç-teate No. 22.

As a happy example of something very similar even from a late period. I copy the beautiful Knife in the Louvre, as given by Charles Knight in his excellent edition of Shakespear, Comedies, Vol. 2, London 1851, 8vo, p. 422:



Mr. Knight thus speaks of his woodcut:

"We subjoin a drawing of an ancient *knife*, upon the blade of which a Latin metrical grace is engraved, with the notes to which it was to be sung. This very curious specimen of ancient musical taste is to be found among the miscellaneous collection of early French antiquities preserved in the Louvre. The blade of the knife is of steel, upon which is engraved the "Blessing of the Table", or Grace before Meat, which may be literally translated thus: — "What we are about to take, may Trinity in Unity bless. Amen." This is accompanied by the musical notes of the *bass* part only, so that there must have been a set of four or five knives, upon each of which the other parts necessary to make the composition complete were engraved."

SANDWICH, KENT, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 428-597.

From Photographs obligingly forwarded by Canon J. C. ROBERTSON of Canterbury, and Casts of the whole stones, from the originals in the Canterbury Museum, procured for me by J. BRENT Junior, F. S. A., of Canterbury. These Casts, which I have since given to the Cheapinghaven Museum, may now be seen there by my Scandinavian readers. — Chemityped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN.

In my anxiety to do justice to these unique heathen monuments, I have given my friend Mr. Brent excessive trouble. He provided me with divers Casts in thick Paper and in Gutta-percha of the inscribed parts, before I decided on having the Stones taken in their full size in Plaster-of-Paris, and was then indefatigable in carrying out my wishes, besides furnishing me with all the information he could collect. To that never-grumbling gentleman and excellent archæologist I therefore hasten to offer my heartfelt thanks, as well as to the Worshipful the Mayor of Canterbury and the Committee of the Museum, for the facilities they have given for procuring the Sun-pictures and Casts necessary for my purpose.

I have said that these monuments are unique, in good English *only*. They are so. All our other stone memorials in England bearing these Runes are evidently *Christian*. These two pieces are as evidently *Heathen*. As such, they are not only inestimable as specimens of the *oldest* class of funeral blocks ever found among us, not belonging to the Keltic or Roman-British population, but they are also most precious as having a kind of *date*. Heathen stones would of course not (or scarcely) be erected after the Kingdom of Kent adopted the Christian faith. Now as Kent was ceded to the Angles, Frisers and Jutlanders in the year 428, and was Christianized in 597, there can be little doubt that these small pillar-tokens date from some period between the above limits, — at all events, from the year 600 at the very latest. They cannot have been raised over dead wikings belonging to the second rush of Scandinavian adventurers in the age of Alfred and later, for the High North had by this time cast aside the Old-Northern stave-row and adopted the "Scandinavian" Futhorc. — As to the other, the Christian, limit, there were Christians in Kent as in other parts of England long before the arrival of Augustine with his specifically Roman system. But their numbers were probably not very large, after the general tho not universal fall of the British Churches before the on-rush of Anglie paganism, and I have taken the common date in order not to appear to exaggerate on the side of antiquity.

Mr. Brent informs me that these stones were found some thirty or five and thirty years ago. Laborers in the employ of the late Mr. Boys, digging in an open field not very far from Sandwich, the famous seaport whence the Northmen and Wikings for ages streamed into England on that side, and still one of the Cinque-ports, came upon them down in the earth. Mr. Boys preserved them as curiosities, and afterwards presented them to the late Mr. Rolfe, previous to his own departure for

Canada. Shortly thereafter Mr. Rolfe gave the stones to the County Museum in Canterbury, and there they now remain.

There is no testimony that any other such monoliths have ever been found in Kent. Such minne-stones must have been destroyed or buried out of sight wholesale, when that Kingdom was evangelized, so as not to offend the eyes of the early Christians. The very same thing, as we know, was done under similar circumstances in Scandinavia. Other multitudes have perished in the usual way, — used up as building materials and for mending the roads. As early as the time of King Alfred, the Rune-stone raised over the body of King Horsa, the brother of Hengist, *had disappeared*. That chieftain fell in fight against the Britons, about the year 455, and his Inscribed Grave-block would therefore be more than 1400 winters old if it now towered at Horsted. The Venerable Bæda expressly declares that it still stood in his time, say down to A. D. 735, when he fell asleep. But Alfred the Great, who died in 901, in his Old-English version of Bæda's History *omits* the decisive words of our great chronicler: — “e quibus HORSÆ, postea occisus in bello a Brittonibus, hactenus in Orientalibus Cantinæ partibus monumentum habet sub nomine insigne”¹, (*of whom HORSÆ, who was afterwards slain in battle by the Britons, to this day has a noble monument [— a striking Pillar-stone] bearing his name, in the eastern parts of Kent*). That the Latin “sub nomine” must mean *inscribed with his name*, there can be no doubt. This is its literal translation, and such was the general custom of the Northmen when they buried their great men. But at this early period in England, just after their settlement in the country, they had no other letters than their native Old-Northern Runes. Horsa's monument was therefore a Runic stone. “Monumentum”, especially when thus taken in connection with “nomen”, can and could only signify *an inscribed stone*, not a mere barrow or cairn or other grave-mound. It had its name from “moneo”, *I commemorate by a funeral carving*. Hence the Latin expression “Monumentum nominis”, which is identical with Bæda's “Monumentum sub nomine”, means *a funeral stone with an epitaph*².

Doubtless these stones originally stood in or on large and lofty hows, grave-heaps of stones or earth raised above the dead. The striking feature about them both is, that they are so very small. But of this we have some examples in Scandinavia also and we occasionally find the same peculiarity in the Christian period.

The reader will perceive that I have placed these stones with broader end downwards. Of course we do not know whether they originally stood outside the barrow or inside, with the narrow end stuck in the ground or in the air. The same difficulty meets us with other of these runic pieces. The general rule is, that such tokens stand firmly imbedded in the soil. But in this case rune-stones must have a certain size, else they could not be seen, and the part in the ground is not dressed; the rougher it is, the better will it bite and hold. Now as we have so many instances of runic monuments being found *inside* the grave-hew, like as we still lower our coffins with their *inscribed* plates down into the tomb, just as if there were any other people than Worms to read the details; and as these stones are so very diminutive; and as the pyramidal top has been dressed, — I opine that they have stood *inside* the grave-mound and near the urn or skeleton, the broad part downwards, supported by their own weight and probably by some small stones at their foot. So the large Haverslund stone, which has always had the same position, the broad part downwards, is held firm by its own weight; it has no root, ending near the runes. And so of others. The Sandwich stones, then, were probably deposited *inside* the barrow or barrows. There is a striking parallel in the Thorsbjerg Bauta stone, 6 feet above ground, found by Mr. Engelhardt *inside* the cairn, between two rings of cobbles. It stood on its broad base on the floor of the grave, supported by stones at its foot³.

But these hows or barrows would seem to have past away long ago. This is also common enough. We have hundreds of examples in all the Northern lands of the process of destruction. First the Rune-stone gives way. It falls down, from the action of wind or rain; or, if heathen and there-

¹ Bæda. Hist. Eccl. Gentis Anglorum. Bk. 1, Ch. 15.

² “MONUMENTUM NOMINIS, Lapis sepulchralis cum epitaphio”. — Du Cange, Glossarium Med. et Inf. Lat. Last and best ed., 4to, Vol. 4, Paris 1843-44.

³ C. Engelhardt, “To Gravheie fra Broncealderen”. Slesvigske Provindsialefterretninger, October 1862, pp. 336-44. — Also noticed in “Thorsens Danske Runemindesmærker”, pp. 253-54. See my translation, pp. 74-78.

fore offensive, it is hidden in the ground or smasht; or, if stone is needed, it is broken up or carried away for "a practical and useful purpose". Meantime the plough, if there be one in the neighborhood, creeps on nearer and nearer every year. At last the mound is reacht. Then the foot-stones or other larger or smaller cobbles are removed. Every year the plough takes something away, and the mound becomes lower and flatter. At last, after some generations (but all this *may* take place in *one*) scarcely a trace remains of the grave-mark. Any valuables found are sold or melted down, and thus every lafe of olden times is for ever lost. *Sic transit gloria monumenti!*

In Mr. Kemble's Collection of Old-English Charters about 200 Grave-mounds are mentioned. Sometimes they have no name — "oð ðone hæðenan byrigels" (*to the heathen burial-place*), "oð ða hæðenan byrigelsas" (*to the heathen burial-places*), "ða hæðene byrgenne" (*the heathen burial-place*), "on ða hæðenan beorgas" (*on the heathen barrows*), "on ðone midlestan hlāwe" (*on the middle low*), "tō seofon hlāwan" (*to the seven lows*), "tō ðam broccenan beorge" (*to the barrow which has been broken open*), the Stánbeorh (*Stone-barrow*), "in cūjus summitate lapis infixus est" (*on whose top a stone is fixt*), and so on. But scores on scores still bear the name of the dead, as Ælfstānes byrigels, Beāhhilde byrigels, Ælfrædes beorh, Æðelwoldes beorh, Æscwoldes hlāw, Beāces hlāw, &c. Now it is clear that many of these must have had stones at their summit, in the usual way, some uninscribed — Bauta stones —, others inscribed, — Runic stones. See the late Mr. Kemble's masterly dissertation hereon¹. But of all these grave-mounds not one, as far as I know, can now be recognized.

I have also called these stones *Heathen*. This is plain enough. They resemble the very oldest pagan blocks in Scandinavia; they have not the slightest mark or sign of the Christian faith upon them, a thing never omitted at this early period and even long after; they are found in the heathen field, not in any consecrated acre or Christian resting-place.

For this reason, and from their whole character, both stones are equally valuable. I have therefore engraved both with equal care, half the size of the originals, altho only one of them can be deciphered. The inscription on the other is so almost entirely gone, that it would seem to have been chiseled away as heathen. It may have contained a pagan prayer or other formula, as is sometimes the case in Scandinavia. Perhaps, while near members of the family or families survived, the words were merely obliterated; but afterward, the nearest kin having died out, the stones were dug down out of sight. Or they may have been placed, from the very first, *inside* their grave-mounds.

We will take the illegible stone first, calling it No. 1. It is a little more than 17 inches high, and 5 inches by 5 where broadest. Two of the 4 sides have been inscribed, tho the traces left are so faint that nothing can be made out. But the Cartouche or double border on each of these 2 sides, within which the letters stood, remains. Something approaching to this Cartouche or Label has occasionally been found on *very old* Scandinavian-runic stones, but nothing, as far as I know, *exactly* similar. This may probably arise from the excessive paucity of such blocks. On Egyptian and Phœnician monuments this Cartouche is often met with. — The little that is left of the Runes seems to show that they have been *retrograde*, reading from right to left.

The smaller and partly readable stone, which we will call No. 2, is 16 inches high by 4 inches by 4 at the top and 6 by 6 at the bottom. Also here 2 of the sides have been written upon, both having Cartouches, these latter being here taller than on No. 1 and much worn away, save on the left of one side and the right of the other. On the side to the left of the front no runes are plainly visible. On the front itself we are more fortunate. The hand of the spoiler has spared the name of the deceast, already correctly redd by Mr. Haigh²:

R F N F B D I

R E H E B U L

It is taken from bottom to top. The runes stand between two parallel lines.

¹ "Notices of Heathen Interment in the Cpdex Diplomaticus", *Archæological Journal*; reprinted in his *Horæ Ferales*, edited by Latham and Franks, 4to, London 1863, pp. 106-22.

² *Conquest of England by the Saxons*, p. 52, Plate 3, Fig. 2.

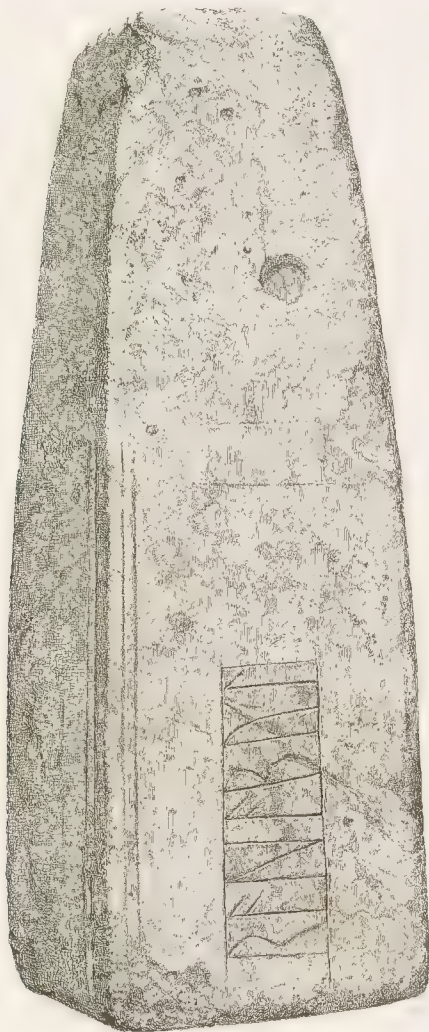
So much for these, so to speak Old-Danish, Runic stones in Kent. Possibly a stray monument or other of the same kind may yet be exhumed, and we will hope *preserved*. Attention has now been directed to the priceless value of these olden remains of our gallant fore-elders.



I have said above that among the oldest rune-stones in Scandinavia, the mother-land, we have some very similar to this in England, the colony. As a specimen I will give one¹, from the

¹ See also the KÄLLERUP and NORTH-STENDERUP stones, in the Appendix.

opposite coast, South-Jutland in Denmark. Everything announces that this block is not only heathen but very "gammel", tho younger than the Sandwich stone. All the runes are "Scandinavian", it is therefore not even an overgang (transition) piece. But it has not the least touch of the Worm



twist. This latter ornament, however, would almost seem to have come into use *later* in Denmark than in Sweden.

The block in question, then, is from

HAVERSLUND, SOUTH-JUTLAND, DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT 800—900.

*From a cast of the block used in Prof. THORSEN'S "De danske Runemindesmærker", Vol. 1, p. 5.
Chemityped by J. M. PETERSEN from a Drawing by H. HANSEN taken in 1857.*



This stone still stands at or near its original seat, on a mound by the Oxway, the old highway past Åbenrå and Urnehoved to Flensborg. It is in East-Lygom Parish, Sønder-Rangstrup Herred, Åbenrå Amt, and is therefore often called the Øster-Lygom stone. The whole Parish abounds in Grave-mounds. Its height above ground is about 7 feet, greatest breadth about 4 feet 8 inches. No part of the stone has the least trace of any other carving or letters than what we now see. The runes are upwards of 5 inches high.

We read, from below upwards:

H A I R U L F R.

This is a mansname, and is the only epitaph of the deceased.

The above block is first mentioned¹ by P. Lindeberg, in his "Hypotyposis arcium, palatiorum, librorum, etc., ab Henrico Ranzovio conditorum", ed. 2, 4to, 1592, and first copied (the runes only) by

¹ See Thorsen, *De danske Runemindesmærker*, Vol. 1, p. 35.

Tr. Arnkiel, in his "Cimbrisches Heydenthumb", 4to, Vol. 2, Hamburg 1703, p. 332. He gives the staves correctly, and adds: "it is said" that in the campaign of 1627 some Imperial Officers of the Regiment Hahnfeder dug close to, this stone and found a considerable treasure. The marks of this digging were, he continues, still visible on the west side of the block. All this is very possible. Arnkiel himself is inclined to doubt it, as he could not believe it was a grave-stone at all. He would have it to have been a "victory-stone" of ROLF, the conqueror of Normandy, and such like. As we do not share his *opinions* we may be allowed to believe his *statement of facts*. If not a mere loose tale, for no earthly purpose invented, there is no reason to look upon what had taken place so short a time before as "a mythic fable". In our own days we have seen similar deeds perpetrated by the same "Hahnfeder" gentry. Not only have German bandit "Professors" in this year of grace (1864) been making *official* excavations in the Danish Mosses of South-Jutland, carrying off the robbers' spoil to Berlin, but equally worthy marauders have done like exploits even in North-Jutland. A few days ago (1864) a party of Prussian soldiers, at the command of their "highborn" officer, set about digging in a grave-mound in that province, broke the urns and other "worthless" antiquities which they exhumed, and carried off a precious golden ring. As we see, the men and the manners of 1627 and of 1864 are as like as two peas!¹

¹ I said above "still stands". But it stands there no longer. In the summer of 1864, by order of certain German military authorities, this venerable stone was torn away from its ancient grave-mound, removed to the nearest railway-station, and thence sent away "down south". Where it now is, no one knows. And this even long before the vagabond and cowardly and unprincipled "conquest" of this always Danish province of South-Jutland was "un fait accompli"; and long before this crown-land was formally withdrawn from the sceptre of the Danish King, in whose name it was "occupied only temporarily", and was formally handed over to the two German Commissaries; and in spite of the stone being Crown or Public or State property, — like all other Public Pieces and Public Buildings and Public Lands an *inalienable* monument of the Duchy of Slesvig. But this shameless "annexation" is part of the system. In this way can Wendish and Slavic Prussians mend their "Germanism". This block can eventually be added to the curious remains stolen from the Danish Tombs and Mosses, and so Berlin may lay the foundations of a Museum of "Primitive Old-German Antiquities", some of them even "Runic". All highminded antiquaries of whatever nation or party, all honest men, all *real Germans*, will unite in privately and openly branding and execrating this brutal beggarliness in the "19th century", this wicked insolence in the midst of what is vulgarly and facetiously called "Bibles and Christianity", Heathen Hottentots and "unconverted" Esquimaux have shown more regard for at least the lowest elements of truth and right, more decency, more chivalry, more religion. But can any Blessing — until South-Jutland be restored — rest upon a "war" that began with Lies, was continued with Lies, was ended with Lies, and which has since spawned such a brood of Lies and Contradictions and Dangers and Infamies and Absurdities, — save that one great blessing, that the result happily threatens soon to overturn the rotten money-clutching dishonored self-murderous contemptible "Peace" of all Europe?

At this moment (May 1866) the great mass of the public men and leading newspapers of Prussia, Austria and the rest of Germany openly and loudly announce that the "reasons" for the war were all a bubble and a humbug, that South-Jutland continues (what it always has been) a Danish-peopled and Danish-minded and Danish-speaking integral part of Denmark and Scandinavia, the key of the whole North and thus of England itself, which must fall when Scandinavia is broken up, and that the "crusade of liberation" undertaken to give grasping Prussia two more provinces and some good harbors, goods graspt (as righteously as all its other "conveyals") with the applause and protection of German mobs secretly hounded on by Prussian agitators, would never have been entered upon could its consequences have been foreseen. But, for all this, no German Person and no German Party and no German Press, either Radical or Democrat, Reactionary or Absolutist, either "Christian" or Infidel, Orthodox or Heterodox, Romanist or Rationalist, Priest or Layman, Socialist or Scientist, "Saint" or Sinner, has had the manliness or decency or honor or justice or good-feeling to say *We are wrong!* and to insist on what is right, to demand that Danish Slesvig shall at once be given back to unoffending Denmark, and every where to preach that a strong Scandinavia is as necessary as a strong Germany. On the contrary; the dragonnading and Germanization of this same unhappy Slesvig is being rapidly and relentlessly carried on by Prussia day by day and night by night, and with every conceivable means, legal (as to the letter of the law) and illegal, silent and savage, official and officious, direct and indirect, fair and foul. But let us not be deceived. Holy Scripture saith: "They have sown the wind, and they shall reap the whirlwind!"

GILTON, KENT, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 450-550.

The many and remarkable finds at Gilton, in the Parish of Ash, are well known. These graves were very ancient. One of the rarest pieces was the rich Hilt of an Iron Sword, on whose Pommel are runes. See page 161. For the reasons there stated I decline to enter upon these runes, waiting till the original Haft may be lent to the Cheapinghaven Museum, or till that Museum can obtain an Electrotpe Cast or some other absolutely trustworthy facsimile, or till I myself may perhaps one day have time and money enough to examine the original in Mr. Mayer's noble Museum.

Meanwhile all the copies agree in the staves nearly in the center, which are sharply and boldly cut, and not worn above and below like the rest:

..... } | X | X
 SIGIM

so that there is no doubt as to the character of the runes. Perhaps, as on the Hilt of the ancient war-blade seized by Beowulf in the sea-cave of Grendel:

Swá wæs on ðæm scennum
 sciran goldes,
 þurh rún-stafas,
 rihte gemearcod,
 ge-seted and ge-sæd,
 hwám þæt sweord geworht,
 irena cyst,
 ærest wære.
 wreopen-hilt and wyrm-fáh.

*Show'd eke its mountings
 of sheer gold,
 in rightly risted
 rune-staves was it
 set and said,
 for whom that Sword,
 falchion costliest,
 was first smithied,
 hilt-wreath'd and snake-rich.*

Beowulf, lines 3392-3400. Ed. Thorpe.

No other Runic War-sword has yet been found. The reason is obvious. Such carving would often be on the *iron blade*. But it is *only in very rare cases* that the blade would be preserved at all, much less so perfectly as to show letters, should such now and then have been *cut* in that most perishable metal. Staves deeply *stampt in* would last much better; but these would almost always be Makers-marks. Several brands bearing these Makers-marks *in Roman characters* have been taken from the Danish Mosses, &c., but not one such weapon *stampt with runes*.

The blade of the Gilton Rune-sword had nearly all disappeared, entirely rust-eaten in the tomb; the runes were inscribed on the extremity of the Silver Hilt. Had the Hilt been of wood or of iron, we should never have heard of the inscription.

ST. ANDREWS, FIFE, SCOTLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From the engraving in the "Proceedings" of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. 1, Part 1, 4to, Edinburgh 1852, p. 22, corrected by careful impressions of the inscribed characters obligingly forwarded to me by JOHN STUART, Esq., F. S. A., one of the Secretaries of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries.



This Bronze Finger-ring was found in the year 1849, in the Abbey Park, St. Andrews. On the 12th of January 1855 it was presented by its owner, Wm. Waring Hay Newton, Esq., to the Scottish Society of Antiquaries, in whose Museum it now remains. It is figured and described, with some interesting observations on this class of antiquities, in the "Proceedings", pp. 22-25.

Apparently this piece is a Signet-ring, for the letters are *sunk*. In this case we must read the name as it appears on a wax impression:

I S A H.

But as it is so strongly beveled, which would render it less convenient for use as a Seal, it may not have been intended for this purpose. We must then read the runes straight on, as they appear to the eye:

H A S I.

Either name is common in the oldest Scando-Gothic times, and the reader must take his choice. With regard to the H, whose side-strokes are imperfect and have been partly worn away, there are still slight traces of their continuations downwards to the opposite stave.

This engraving is repeated by Prof. D. Wilson in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 2nd ed., 8vo, London 1863, Vol. 2, p. 330

TRURO, CORNWALL, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

From "*The History of Herodotus*, by GEORGE RAWLINSON, M. A.", 8vo, Vol. 2, London 1858, p. 503.



This FIG. OF TIN is well known and has often been engraved. It is about 2 feet 11 long, 11 inches broad, and 3 inches high. It is now preserved in Truro Museum, and a Cast is in the Museum of Practical Geology in London. Many such pigs or blocks of this metal have been found in England, but only this one has this particular form and stamp. The others can easily be recognized as the work of Romans or Normans, &c., but this one has its own character. Accordingly it has usually been described as Phœnician, why I cannot say. There is nothing Phœnician about it, as far as I know; nor do any real facts exist, if I remember right, proving the so often asserted existence of the Phœnicians in England. The Phœnicians doubtless traded to England, directly or indirectly (we do not know which), but we have no evidence that they settled there, still less that they worked its Tin-mines.

It is therefore much simpler, tho not so romantic, to look upon this piece as English, so much the more as the figure stampd on this block of "Stannum" is a well-known character in the English Runic futhorc. It is found in many of our manuscript alphabets with the power of *st* and the name STAN (= STONE).

I take the shape and stamp to be both a *rebus*, and to contain the name of the master-workman or manufacturer at the mine where this pig was made. His name was probably STÁN.

Similar rebuses occur frequently in old times. I will only mention a couple of striking and easy instances, both taken from England. — Thus on an Old-English Coin, struck for St. Peter's at York, the reverse bears the figure of a Bow-and-Arrow, the moneyer's name being BOGA (= BOWMAN); and on a Coin of Edward I we have the mark of a Bird pecking at a Twig, the mintmaster's name being FUGEL (= FOWL).

BAKEWELL, DERBYSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

From a Rubbing and Sketch by ALBERT WAY, Esq., F. S. A., kindly communicated by Prof. J. J. A. WORSAAE, Director of the Danish Old-Northern Museum. — Size 1-4th.



Found some years ago in the churchyard of Bakewell, among many other ancient fragments uninscribed. This relic of old Mercia past into the Collection of the late kindly, high-minded and accomplished archæologist Thomas Bateman, Esq., of Youlgrave. By that gentleman's last Will his rich Museum, of which this stone thus forms a part, will not be dissipated, but will be preserved intact as an heirloom.

The size is about 12 inches by 9. The whole being a mere fragment gives no particular meaning. But even this poor broken bit is invaluable, worth its weight in gold. For it bears the Old-Northern Rune X for *ng*, instead of the Provincial English *ǣ*, and this variety of the Rune has hitherto been found only in Scandinavia. We cannot decide what the first stave was; most likely, at least a third of the upper part being broken away, it was *Ṣ* (*m*); the next was *l*; then came *ng*; then *n*, which may have had two cross-bars, but in any case the bar or bars turned in the opposite way to the *n* in the under line, similar variations of runic letters on the same stone being very common; last was *ʀ* (*o*) in its Provincial English shape. Whether any, and if so how many, whole lines are lost, we cannot tell. The whole has doubtless been part of a Runic Cross. What is now left is only:

..... (M) I X H (N)

..... N M I X

..... MINGHO

..... HELG

The first line may have been part of a Place- or Mans-name, the second a fragment of the word HOLY, or of a name.

In a letter to me, dated Aug. 24, 1863, Mr. Haigh observes: "This fragment is very tantalizing, but valuable, as the first instalment of Runic inscriptions from Myrcna-ric. We had already the Coins."

Thus this is a striking instance of what we may hope from accidental diggings and future finds in all our Northern lands. As I have already said, *every* fresh runic piece offers something valuable. Either it gives us a new wordflow, or it confirms an older one, or it clears up some doubtful expression, or adds something grammatically interesting, or it may offer somewhat that is precious in the shape of a particular stave, or geographically valuable from the place or province where the lafe has rested. — For instance, what theories might not have been propounded from the supposed absence of any "earth-fast" runic monument in the broad shires of Mid-England? But part of an old grave-yard is deeply trencht, and a Runic Stone is lit upon! Again, we all know that the Old-English **X**, for **ng**, is merely a provincial variety, whence so ever taken, and that it *must* have been preceeded by the ancient common Old-Northern **ng**, in one of its many shapes — the 2 angular hooks placed *near* but not *upon* each other. But we could not prove it. This Bakewell piece, poor fragment as it is, triumphantly shows that we were right, and offers a living example of the primitive **ng** in question.

Once more, let no opportunity be lost of looking for these precious remains of the past; and, when found, let them instantly be taken care of and at once made public. Our men of leisure and wealth and talent — men who care more for the glories of their "Athel" (in Romance "Country"), and for Science and our mighty Mother-tung, than for our beggarly new Gods *Mammon* and *Materialism* — cannot have a nobler occupation or a pleasanter pastime!

"O England: Modell to thy inward Greatnesse,
Like little Body with a mightie Heart:
What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do,
Were all thy children kinde and naturall!"

Shakespear. King Henry the Fifth. Act 1.

LANCASTER, LANCASHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

The Runic Slab, full size, from a Cast taken by Dr. S. HIBBERT in 1835, and now in the Museum of Northern Antiquities. Cheapinghaven; the Whole Cross, front and back, from the drawings of Mr. MICHAEL JONES, engraved in the Archaeological Journal, Vol. 3, London 1846, p. 72.

Found at Lancaster in the year 1807, in the churchyard of St. Mary's, by some men who were digging a grave. It is 3 feet high. The Cross has been broken from the shaft but is now replaced, tho one Arm is gone. It has often been engraved: — in Whitaker's *Richmondshire*, London 1823; the *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. 2, Part 3, 4to, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1827; in Baines' *Lancashire*, Vol. 4, p. 524; in Cutts' *Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, 8vo, London 1849, Plate 88* Fig. 1, 2; and most elaborately, several plates, among them a couple of the Rune-slab full size, by Mr. Kemble, in the *Archæologia*, London, 4to, Vol. 29, p. 78; &c.

As Kemble is the chief authority hitherto, and as my copy differs from his, which is not correct, a word of explanation may be necessary. He reads:

GI-BIDÆD FORE CYNIBALD CUDBERHT

making the last word a Proper name, our common later O. S. E. CUTHBERT. This involves him in all sorts of difficulties, and he suggests either that AND has been omitted before that word, or that INGE (the ablative of CUDBERHT, i. e. CUDBERHT'S SON) has been carried on round the Cross, both suppositions quite gratuitous and uncalled-for, the carving being correct and complete. The fact is, that the 6th stave in the 3rd line is Ǻ (œ), very narrowly carved but the head quite visible, and the last rune is a plain ƕ (c). This is evident from Baines's facsimile, taken from a cast, as copied by Kemble himself; from Mr. Lonsdale's drawing, as also given by him; both which distinctly have ƕ as the last rune (in Lonsdale's copy by an additional upstroke made into K); — from the engraving in the *Archæological Journal*, Vol. 3, p. 73, as reduced from a cast forwarded by Mr. Jones, who also mistakenly adds an arm at the right top; — and from a beautiful drawing, full size, from her husband's cast, executed by Mrs. Hibbert in June 1835, where the Ǻ and the ƕ cannot be mistaken.

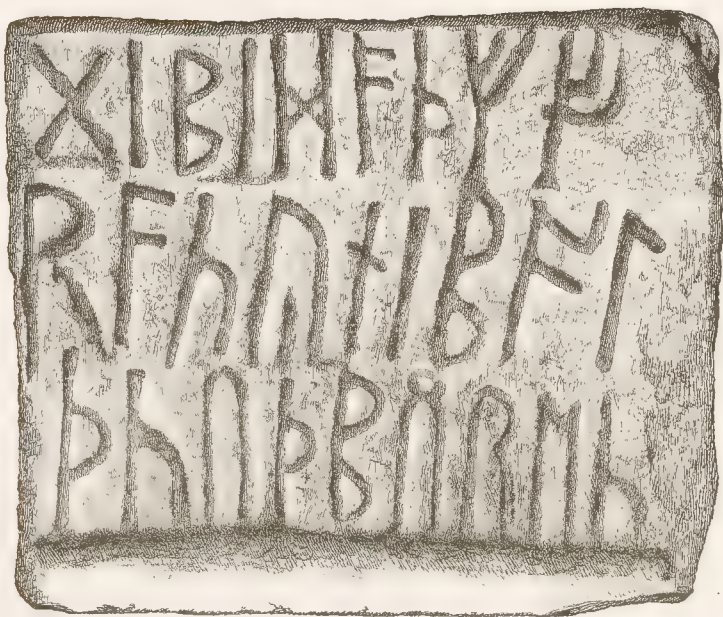
In reference to this latter, I will add a transcript of Dr. Hibbert's letter, communicating it to Fin Magnusen, from the original, obligingly lent to me for that purpose by Prof. Thorsen, in whose hands it now is:

“Wellington Terrace, Harrogate, 28th June 1835.

“Dear Sir

“I had the honor two or three weeks ago of sending you a communication by Mr. Mac-Dougal, in which I enclosed you a copy of the late Mr. Whitaker's engraving of the Lancaster monument, and his interpretation of it. Mrs. Hibbert's first delineation of the relic was effected in extreme haste and under disadvantageous circumstances, but Mr. Whitaker's drawing had none of this excuse to plead for

its great want of correctness. As you might possibly feel some embarrassment from a comparison of the two drawings, I was not easy until it should be removed. Without waiting therefore for a drawing of the monument which I was promised by a friend, I undertook a long journey myself to Kendal. In my search after the relic I am happy to say that I was completely successful. The cross which many



years ago had been stolen from the present Vicar of Lancaster, had been transferred by sale to the owner of a paltry show of curiosities (unworthy the name of a museum) exhibited at Kendal, who, of course, exerted over the abstracted relic a very dubious right of possession. which the Vicar in vain disputed with him. By the death of the wrongful possessor of the cross, it passed into the hands of

his heir, whose ignorance of all objects of antiquarian or natural science is only equalled by his conceit or by his rapacity to make as much profit of the articles in his power as he can, while, at the same time, he is so afraid of selling them beneath their value, that I found a treaty for the Lancaster relic, upon any reasonable terms whatever, quite impossible. It also required no little address and persuasion to induce the man to allow me to take a drawing of the monument, which object however having fortunately effected, I have at least obviated any consequences which might result from the dispersion, or loss, of the relic, by preserving for the use of science such a delineation as may be depended upon.

"A drawing of the monument was made under my own inspection by my son who accompanied me to Kendal for the purpose, while an exact copy of the cast of the inscription, effected by means of tracing paper, has been executed for you by Mrs. Hibbert. Upon the authenticity of these documents you may therefore rely. But in order, if possible, to add to your certainty, I intend to transmit you (free of expense by Messrs. Wintham Brothers of Hamburg) one or two clay casts of the inscription, which I am preparing for you.

S. HIBBERT."

It is one of the casts thus sent which is here exactly engraved on wood by Henneberg and Rosenstand, from a careful and beautiful drawing by J. Magnus Petersen, of Cheapinghaven.

To carry on this eventful history to its conclusion, subsequent efforts were more successful, the Runic Cross was obtained, and is now in the Manchester Museum.

Our lamented and talented Mr. Kemble was the first who approacht the true reading. But he mistook the latter part of the carving, probably from ignorance of the formula intended, of which this is the only example hitherto found in England. But *several* such exist on Scandinavian-Runic monuments, for which I refer to the Word-roll, s. v. BÆREC.

The grave-words, then, are clear:

X I B I D F P P R F K N I B E T P
K O B B A R M K

GI-BIDÆD FORÆ CŪNIBALD.

CUD BÆREC.

BID (*pray-ye*) FOR CYNIBALTH.
GOD BARG-him (*save, bless, him*)!

In a letter to me, dated Erdington, Aug. 24, 1863, Mr. Haigh remarks that he reads the last rune as N, and translates (CUD-BÆREC) the-KITH-BORROW, = *the surety of his family*, this being the equivalent to MÆG-BORH. In this case he would attach great importance to this inscription, "for hitherto it has generally been supposed that the *borh-scype* was one of our great Aelfræd's institutions; but this monument must be older than his time. Neither CUTH nor GUTH is "God" in our language". As I cannot see S on the stone, but certainly and decidedly h, I adhere to my reading. I take CUD to be a mere archaism or localism for GUD and GOD, as repeatedly in certain antique Old-English names (CUD-, CUTH-, CUD-, GUD-, GUTH-, GUD-, &c., as well as GOD-, GOD-, &c.), on old Scandinavian stones (KUD, &c.), and in Ohg. (CUT, COT, &c.).

A valuable paper by W. F. K. Christie on Stone Crosses, with and without Runes, will be found in "Urda", Vol. 2, Part 2, Bergen 1838, 4to, pp. 168-80.

NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 620-650.

Chemityped, full size, by Mr. J. M. PETERSEN, from Photographs of every side, together with a Lightbild a Rubbing and a Cast of the bottom-plate, all taken from the original in the Ducal Museum, Brunswick. For these favors I am indebted to His Excellency Mr. GORDON, British Minister, Stuttgart, and to the Senator FRIEDRICH CULEMANN of Hannover, who personally controlled the execution of every piece and kindly took the Rubbing with his own hand. I also beg to thank the Geheime-Hofrath EIGNER, Curator of the Museum, for his courtesy on this occasion.



If¹ not absolutely the oldest, this NORTHUMBRIAN CASKET, NETHI'S MASTERPIECE, still in fine preservation, is certainly the most elaborate and most precious specimen of this kind of Western Art

¹ I first published this article — text and plates — in 1863. It was communicated, by request, to the "Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society", Vol. 4, New Series, Dublin 1863, 8vo, pp. 267-76. — I have here chiefly added a few notes. — The title there was: "On an Ancient Runic Casket now preserved in the Ducal Museum, Brunswick". — Some strictures on this article, by Mr. Alexander Nesbitt, appeared in the same Journal, Vol. 5, New Series, Dublin 1864, pp. 14-16; to which I replied in the same volume, pp. 134-37.

now known. It is made up of thin plates of the ivory or tusk of the Walrus, with settings of a sort of yellowish Bronze, all whose ornaments are still quite sharp and clear. The bottom-plate is also of Walrus- or Morse-ivory, in a similar manner fixt in slips of Bronze on which are carved the Runic letters. These repeat the inscription twice over, the 2 long lines and the 2 short ones answering to each other. The shrine now holds a couple of unimportant Relics, but Senator Culemann pronounces these to be — as it was natural to expect — of far later date, perhaps from the 13th century. He also informs me that no memorandum exists in the Ducal Museum as to *whence* this remarkable Box came, or *when* it was obtained, but he thinks it might *possibly* have been acquired in the 12th century by the Duchess Gertrud, mother of Henry the Lion, who when in France purchast Relics to the value of 100 pounds of silver. But he adds, that this is only a guess. In fact it may have been given or purchast to the curiosities of the Palace at any time, hundreds of years later. We are therefore entirely in the dark. Would that we could have followed it in its wanderings from Northumbria to Gallia, and thence far away in to Germany!

The small holes at the corners of the ivory plates were bored for the better fastening of the Bronze framing-slips. The staves are plainly and correctly cut, and any doubt which might arise from slight accidental peculiarities of form is at once dissipated by comparison with the parallel line, as the two inscriptions exactly agree.

Before attempting to "uncipher" the characters, we must examine the object on which they stand. This strikes us at once as of high antiquity and of undeniable Old-Western workmanship. This Old-Western style is often difficult to discriminate, the Keltic, the English, the Gallic, and their sub-



divisions or crosses running into each other in a way not to be too narrowly or pedantically fixt. Paucity of monuments renders everything uncertain, besides which the style is often to a certain extent modified by the material, parchment and stone and metal and bone being very different things and producing very different results. We see this in Runes and Letters, but we can also trace it in carved Ornaments.

Still less can we sometimes determine with absolute certainty the date of a particular piece. Excellent judges occasionally differ even by 2 or 3 centuries. In Art as in Language there may be

local or personal retardations or anticipations, archaisms long kept up, or new tendencies develop at a bound and elsewhere long and slowly struggling upward.

Anything absolutely similar to the thoroly harmonious and richly composed and delicately rounded and softly modeled and minutely finisht work in this coffer, I have not met with before. We might call it Gallo-Frankic, or Gallo-Irish, or Gallo-English; but for all we know it may be pure Gallic, or pure Keltic, or pure English. Every new "find" modifies our science of "classification", which is yet in its infancy.

Nor are we more fortunate as to the date. It *may* have been executed in the 7th century. At first blush we might guess at the 9th. *Later* than the 8th or 9th is unlikely; for after that date I think no inscription on so costly a piece (intended for some member of the very richest and *most* "civilized" and "Romanized" classes) would have been carved in RUNES. *Roman characters* would have been employed.



But these *Runes* are not Keltic. They are in no variety of the Keltic Oghams. They are in the usual Old-Northern staves, and, still more distinctly classified, they are *Old-English*, not Old-Scandinavian.

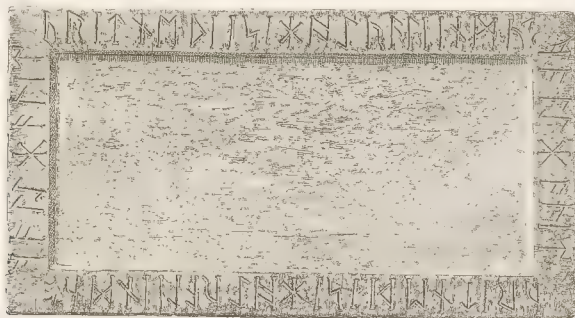
If we now turn to their contents, we shall perceive that the language is *Northumbrian*, Old-North-English, announcing that the Casket was made for a certain Lord *Æli* in Gaul.

We have, then, a remarkable and apparently contradictory combination, a rich and beautiful Coffer made by a *Gallic* or *Irish* or *English* Artist in *North-England* for a *Gallic* personage.

But before we go farther, we must "rede the Runes".

The first practical hint I obtained in this direction was from the Rev. D. H. Haigh, who obligingly forwarded me the late J. M. Kemble's own copy of the bottom-plate, size of the original, on which he had made the memorandum that the Runes were "in the Irish language". In spite of my veneration for that great scholar, I could not but doubt this statement, especially when the Rubbing with which Senator Culemann favored me showed that Mr. Kemble's transcript was far from correct. To obtain certainty at once on so vital a point I requested the assistance of the Rev. J. Graves, M. A., Secretary of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, Thro his kind mediation I was fortunate enough to obtain the authoritative opinion of the three greatest Irish scholars then living. They all declared, that

the line of letters I had forwarded was neither in Irish nor in any other to them known Keltic dialect. So my way was now clear, and I returned to my task.



As I said, I take the carving to be in the same language as the Runes, English. And as the letters are plain, the only difficulty is in grouping them. They are carved twice over in exactly the same order and nearly identical in form. 23 staves in each of the long lines, 9 in each of the short, thus 32 in all. We might have wisht that 64 letters had contained more than 32, but still we must not complain. Better 32 characters twice written, and therefore clear and undoubted, than 2 or 4 times that number in a broken or nearly illegible shape. Here only a single rune (the NG) has suffered, the one at the end of the undermost long line, but a glance at the corresponding letter at the end of the upper line shows that it was ƿ. Taken consecutively, the letters are:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	
h	R	↑	↑	M	↑	|	|	h	↑	↑	h	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	
U	R	I	T	N	E	D	I	I	S	I	G	H	Y	O	R	Æ	L	I	I	N	M	U	NG

24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
h	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑		
P	Æ	L	Y	O	G	Æ	L	I	E	A

Comparing the letters on both sides, the one with the other, remarking the great likeness here as so often between the U and the R, and remembering that the runes for ƿ and EA are decisively provincial English, I read and divide as follows:

URIT NETHII
SIGHYOR ÆLI,
IN MUNGPELYO GÆLIEA.

WROTE (*carved—this*) NETHII
for—the-SIG-HERRA (victory-lord, most-noble) ÆLI,
IN MUNGPELYO (Montpellier) of-GAUL.
(= *Nethii carved this for the most noble Æli, in Montpellier of Gaul.*)

Now we will take first the *Makee* and then the *Maker*.

Do we know of any man in Gaul named ÆLI, in the 7th or 8th century, likely to have procured from North-England this costly box?

We do.

To avoid other and more recondite sources, which of my readers is unacquainted with that charming book of Dr. Maitland's — "The Dark Ages"? Let him turn so to Chapter 6, pp. 81-122.

"The Goldsmith"¹. He will there find a noble vindication, as well as a true and popular account, of one of the really "great" men of France, one of the best men that ever adorned the Christian Church, the first art-workman of his day in all Europe, the Benvenuto Cellini of the 7th age, the illustrious ELIGIUS, born near Limoges towards the close of the 6th year-hundred. After serving his apprenticeship to Abbo, Mint-master in Lemovicina, and wandering, as journeymen did, far and wide thro the land, he became Master of the Mint to Clotaire II. His surprising talents as a worker in the precious metals have made him the hero of many a popular half-mythical tale. But he was also distinguished for humility, zeal, truthfulness, helpfulness, endless generosity, and devotion to Christ and His Poor. At last he gave up all to become a lowly Priest, was eventually consecrated Bishop of Noyon and Tournay, and was indefatigable in building Churches and Monasteries, in ransoming prisoners, in evangelizing the heathen, in preaching the Word and in serving and glorifying God. He died shortly after the middle of the 7th century².

What his name may have been in his own Frankish³ mother tongue, we do not know. The less, as he was born in a southern province, which may have given a dialectic color to the word⁴. In its Latin form it was ELIGIUS, ELIGIUS, in popular French ELOY or ELOI. As the patron saint of the Goldsmiths he is known by this latter name in every land⁵. Un-Latinized, his name may well have been ÆLI, or something very like it.

But this cunning artificer had an English foreman in his shop, a man of great skill and parts. He had been sold as a slave into Gaul, and ELIGIUS bought and freed and taught him. He soon converted him from Paganism, and he became a wondrous artist, thanks to his master's lessons. But at last he turned Monk and eventually became a Saint. He was called Tillo, (or Tillon, Tillonius, Tilmennus, in France commonly St. Théau). His day is the 7th of January, while ST. ELOY's was the 1st of December, and under these dates we must look for their biographies in the various Acta Sanctorum.

Now if we put these things together, — that the age of the Casket is given, somewhere about the 7th century, — that no other ÆLI is known at this time in Gaul at all likely to have wisht for a specimen of Northumbrian workmanship, — and that he had a foreman who was an Englishman, and may have described to him the excellence of the masterpieces he had seen in his native land, — it seems very probable indeed that this ÆLI in Gaul was ELIGIUS the Master of the Mint. If so, he had perhaps not yet become a Priest, at least not a Bishop. At all events the epithet applied to him is not ecclesiastical, and there is nothing distinctively religious in the ornamentation employed.

It is true that the Casket says he was IN MUNGEÆLOY, and I am not aware that any record connects ELIGIUS with Montpellier⁶. But what know we of the thousand and one details of these old

¹ I use the 1st edition, London 1844, having no other at hand. The paging may be different in the 2nd.

² See his life, "Vita S. Eligii Episcopi et Confessoris, scripta a S. Audoueno Archiepiscopo Rotomagensi", in L. D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, folio, Vol. 2, Parisiis 1728, pp. 76 & fol.

³ "Patria et parentibus Francorum". *Id.* p. 78.

⁴ "Igitur Eligius Lemovicis Galliarum urbe, quæ ab Oceano Britanico ferè ducentorum millium spatio sejungitur, in villâ Catalanense quæ a predictâ urbe sex circiter millibus ad Septentrionalem plagam verit, oriundus fuit pater Eucherius, mater verò Terrigia vocitata est." — *Id.* p. 78. — It is mentioned p. 82 that he was sent by Dagobert as Ambassador to a Prince "in partibus Britannie"; but we must not be misled; this was Brittany, not Britain.

⁵ ST. ELOY was also the Patron Saint of the Farriers. This appropriation was founded on a charming Legend, delightfully told by Alexandre Dumas in his "Impressions de voyage en Suisse". Thence it has been transferred by Paul Boiteau in his "Légendes pour les Enfants", Paris 1857. 8vo, pp. 15-22, as an episode of the tale "Le Roi Dagobert". ELOY or LOY was well-known in Great Britain also in this capacity. Thus in Brand's *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* (by Ellis, Vol. I, 8vo, London 1849, p. 361): "St. Eloy, or Eligius, was the guardian of farriers. Bridges, in his *History of Northamptonshire*, i, 255, speaking of Wedon-Pinckney, says: "In this church was the Memorial of St. Loy's kept, whither did many resort for the cure of their horses: where there was a house at the east end thereof, plucked down within few years, which was called St. Loy's house". In the *Ordinary of the Smith's Company in Brand's History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, ii, 318, the fraternity is ordered to meet on "St. Loy's day". — And well-known are the lines of Sir David Lyndesay (*The Monarchie and other Poems*, edited by F. Hall, Part 1, 8vo, London 1865. Early English Text Society. Pages 75 and 77):

"Sanct Eloy he doith stailly stand,
Ane new hors shoo in tyll his hand.

Sum makis offrande to sanct Eloye.
That he thare hors may weil couueye."

⁶ Mons Pessuli. Mons Pessulus. Mons Pessulanus. Mons Pelium, Mons Peslerius — for all these, and yet other forms, does its early Latin name assume. The French spelling differs as widely. The above Runic mention of this place is perhaps the oldest known.

times? What we *do* know is, that his biographer oftentimes informs us that the Holy Smith repeatedly wandered over Gaul, both in the land and to the sea-ports, and that it was in this way he became acquainted with Bobbo the Royal Treasurer. Even while yet a layman he went from village to village, from harbor to harbor, relieving the poor and freeing the captives — Romans, Gauls, Britons, Moors, but particularly English and Saxons — landed and sold by the sea-rovers. As ecclesiastic his labors were still more incessant in every part of France, and nothing is more likely than that in one of his artist- or missionary-expeditions he may have spent some time in Montpellier. It was then a small place, perhaps a mere hamlet; but, however small, *it existed*, and from its happy situation it rapidly increast on its gift to the Bishop of Maguelone in the 10th century, and its creation by him into a fief under the Knight Guido. In Montpellier ELIGIUS may have been settled for a time.

There was a *Welsh* Saint ELLI, probably about contemporary with ELIGIUS, whose day was the 23rd of February. See about him the Rev. W. J. Rees, *Lives of the Cambro British Saints*, Llandovery 1853, 8vo, under the life of St. Cadoc. But there is no mention of his ever having been in Gaul.

So much then for the Orderer or Buyer or Receiver of this Chest.

But I think that I have also identified its *Maker*.

In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is preserved a Ms. copy of the Latin Gospels said to have belonged to, or to have been written by, the great Irish Saint Colum Cillé, usually called St. Columba, who was born A. D. 521 and died in 597. This codex is now known as "*The Book of Durrow*". A facsimile of the writing, three several specimens, is given by Professor Eugene O'Curry in his valuable and learned "*Lectures on the Ms. materials of Ancient Irish History*", Dublin 1861, 8vo, Plate 3 (p. 650-51). The second of these, a mere loose scribble or memorandum or passing remark of a kind common in ancient manuscripts, is:

† miserere dne næniani †
† fñi neth †

As this is all in Latin, the contractions must be extended in the usual way in that language. We must therefore fill in with Latin, not with Gaelic. Premising that 'næniani' may also be redd 'næmāni', as it has been by Prof. O'Curry, I would resolve the above into:

† miserere domine næniani †
† filii nethii †
(*Have mercy, O Lord, on Nænian, the son of Nethii.*)

Now here the name NETHI (or NETHI), *one of the very rarest in all Europe*, is plain. It is doubtless the old Irish Proper name NEDHE, which in very ancient times now and then occurs, but which disappeared at an early period. So uncommon is it, that Prof. O'Curry says at p. 650: "Nor has any name yet been found of which NETH could be the first part".

The exact date of the above entry we cannot ascertain, but as the whole codex and every thing in and about it savors of the earliest times, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that it may have been inscribed not later than a hundred years after the death of St. Columba in 592. But this will exactly harmonize with the date of this Kist. For,

If we remember that NETHI is not an Old-English name, nor Scandinavian, nor German, nor Romance, but only *Old Irish*;

That it is so scarce in Ireland as only to have been *once* met with in the early Christian period;

That this once it is entered in a book connected with St. Colum Cillé, the founder and Abbot of the great mission-cloister at Hi¹ (Iona), whence he and his disciples spread Christianity and a High Civilization thro various parts of Scotland, and assisted in evangelizing the great Kingdom of Northumberland, whose dialect this Casket bears;

¹ Hi, Hii, Hy, Yi, I, Jo, &c.: Icolmkill (Ee-choluim-chille), among the Gaelic population of the island; now frequently called by the Highlanders Inis nan Druidheanach, = the Island of the Druids. It is often mistakenly written and pronounced Iona, originally a mere clerical error for Iona = of Jo or Hi, the old word Latinized by Latin writers in the early times and used as an adjective in the feminine gender, to agree with *Innda* (Iland) exprest or understood. — See this admirably proved by the Rev. W. Reeves, in his *Life of St. Columba*, 4to, Dublin 1857, pp. 258-62.

That nothing was more common than for Art-workmen, lay and clerical, to pass from place to place on their errands in the service of religion;

That this Shrine is evidently and strikingly *early Western*, maybe from about the 7th century;

That the short inscription in the Codex is also, as far as we can see, from a date as early: —

The conclusion will be almost irresistible, that the NETHU the father of Nænian in St. Columba's Gospel-book and the NETHU in ancient Northumberland who made this master piece is — *one and the same person*, who possibly received the general plan of the work from ÆLI himself.

But this argument is strengthened by another coincidence; for I think this same artist occurs, at about the same time, in another Irish codex, the famous "*Book of Dimma*", an illuminated Ms. of the Latin Gospels (O'Curry, id. p. 335, facsimile No. 4, pp. 651-52). This volume is usually supposed to have been written "circa 620" by a scribe of that name for St. Cronan of Roscrea, who died in the beginning of the 7th century. It was preserved in that neighborhood till the early part of the present century, when it went into the library of Trinity College, Dublin, "which also possesses another shrine and book, namely of St. Moling, now St. Mullins, in the county Carlow" (O'Curry, p. 336). Now the writer of this book signs himself DIMMA MACC NATHI. From the facsimile, this NATHI may possibly be redd NETHI. But the difference is of little moment¹. In either case I think he was the same person as the NETHU mentioned in the Book of Durrow. If so, the Book of Dimma is a few years later than the time generally supposed, or NETHU must have married early and died late. If Nænian and Dimma were both his sons, and the latter wrote "the Book of Dimma" "about 620" — say when he was about 25 — NETHU must have been born about 575. If he carved the Casket about 630, he would then have been about 55. The difficulty is very small either way. The codex may have been copied "circa" 630-40, or NETHU may still have been an able artist at the age of 60 or 70.

I do not know when ELIGIUS was born. The usual tradition would seem to point to something like the date 590-600. His consecration as Bishop is assigned to some year between 635 and 646. His death is fixt at 640, 646, 659, 663, 665, &c. Say born 590, made Bishop 640, died 660. He was still young when he became Goldsmith, and afterwards Master of the Mint, to the King of the Franks, a time when he may well have ordered the Coffer to be made. If he were then 40 years of age, this would be in 630. But we have 30 years to fall back upon. At all events the Shrine cannot be later than about 650.

It is evident that this costly piece was, in the language of its Irish maker, a CUMDACH, in Northumbrian a CIST or TIGE; but for what were these early Celtic Shrines or Caskets intended? Scarcely for Relics. The age of Relics was not yet come, compared with after-developments. These *earliest* shrines were all of them made, as far as we know, to contain *holy writings*, some book or books of the *Old or New Testament*. There is a striking example of this in the *Domhnach Airgid*, the shrine or box containing a Ms. of the 4 Gospels in Latin, now preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. But this Casket has *gradually* become 3-fold. First we have the original chest, of wood, probably of the 5th century; then a 2nd, made some 2 or 3 centuries later to honor and preserve the first, is of copper silver-plated; so a 3rd, of silver gold-plated, of the 14th century. This last, among other words, bears the inscription:

JOHANNES : O BARRDAN : FABRICAVIT.

(JOHN O'BARRDAN MADE - me.)

There is little doubt of the correctness of Dr. Petrie's supposition, that the original wooden Casket, with its Ms., was the identical *Domhnach* presented by St. Patrick to St. Mac Carthainn, who died in 506 after having founded the see of Clogher².

¹ The learned Prof. O'Curry, alas now no more! — a blow to Ireland only less than the decease of that mighty scholar and amiable gentleman Dr. O'Donovan, — has confirmed my opinions on the probable identity of these names. I stated the case to him, and in a reply dated the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, March 24, 1862, he says:

"As for NETHU itself, it may or may not be intended for NEIDHE, NETHI or NATHI. . . . The nominative and genitive of proper names of men, beginning with a non-aspirate consonant, and ending with a vowel, are the same. It is certain that *n* and *r* are often written indiscriminately, but the genitive does not take an additional syllable, but merely a final liquid vowel *r*, as NEIT, &c. The name NEIDHE appears to have been little used for many ages — indeed at any time — but it was revived by poetic fancy in Connaught in the twelfth and fifteenth centuries by the Bardic family of O'Maelchouairé. . . . It is true that *a* and *e* are sometimes written the one for the other."

² See O'Curry, Lectures, pp. 322-27, and the authorities there cited, especially Mr. Petrie.

Yet another instance occurs in the *Cathach* or Book of Battles¹, a box or casket from about the middle of the 6th century, enclosing a fragment of the Psalms on vellum, doubtless written by St. Collum Cillé. This shrine is the property of Sir Richard O'Donnell, but is deposited by him for public inspection in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It also has more than one case, the one within the other, the last and richest dating from the close of the 11th century, and bearing among other words the name of the maker, Sitriuc (= Sitric), the son of Aedha. This is a remarkable proof how little we can depend on mere names. The artist was undoubtedly an Irishman, the son of Aedh (Hugh). Yet he bears a Scandinavian name, Sitric, given him perhaps to commemorate kindredship with that nation thro some marriage tie in the family or thro connections on the mother's side.

Several other such shrines or caskets exist, but none approaching the above in antiquity. They are usually flat and square, like the Domhnach Airgid; but one of them, that of Mr. W. Monsell, M. P., now deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, where the two others may also be seen, is more in the shape of a Church, something like that now preserved in the Brunswick Ducal Museum. They are mostly small. The Mss. enshrined for more than 1000 years in the *Domhnach* and the *Cathach*, and facsimiled in O'Curry p. 664, are *not too large* to be deposited in the Brunswick Casket.

To sum up. My opinion is that this Coffin was made by NETHU, an Irish artist (perhaps an ecclesiastic²) then settled in Northumbria, for ÆLI or ST. ELIGIUS or ELOY, Bishop of Noyon and Tournay in Gaul, in the first half of the 7th century, and that it was made not as a Reliquary in the vulgar sense, or as a common Jewel-box, but as a *Gospel-casket*, a precious receptacle for a precious portion of the Word of God. Besides the well-known import of certain articles from Gaul, even from the Roman period, there were two streams of Christianization and Civilization at this time flowing into England, especially into Northern England, the one — perhaps the fullest and mightiest — from the Gaelic missions of Ireland, both direct and over Scotland, and this Irish Civilization was then the highest in Europe, the Roman only excepted; the other Italian, directly or indirectly from Rome chiefly. Both met in the 7th century in Northumberland. NETHU'S CASKET seems a specimen of Anglie or Kelto-Anglie or Gallic or Gaelic culture; the fine Runic Pillars at Bewcastle and Ruthwell are instances of the Roman, for *their* ornamentation is evidently Roman and Roman-arabesque. But the Bewcastle Cross is also richly decorated in the style of the Kelts and the Northmen, the King over whom it was raised being a Northman on the father's side, but a Kelt on the mother's.

Of course all this depends on the interpretation of the Runes. If this be correct, there can be little doubt that ÆLI was ELIGIUS, and the Shrine is then of the 7th century — at which time here was still a GAUL³. But if a better reading can be found, and ÆLI and MONTPELLIER and GAUL disappear, then of course the casket may have a much later date, and all my "ingenious combinations" will disappear, and "leave not a rack behind".

¹ See O'Curry, Lectures, pp. 327-32. The Gaelic inscription is given p. 599.

² "It will be observed that, in the foregoing legend, Conlaed is said to have been 'Brigid's principal artist'. The word denotes an artificer in gold, silver, and other metals, and we know that the ancient Irish ecclesiastics of the highest rank did not consider it beneath their dignity to work as artificers in the manufacture of shrines, reliquaries, bells, pastoral staffs, croziers, covers for sacred books, and other ornaments. The ecclesiastics of that period seem to have been in fact the only artists; and several beautiful specimens of their work are still preserved, chiefly belonging to the century or two centuries before the English invasion of Ireland; for almost all the older monuments of this kind, especially if formed of the precious metals, appear to have been destroyed or melted by the Danes." — J. H. Todd, *St. Patrick the Apostle of Ireland*, 8vo, Dublin 1864, p. 26.

³ In his note to Adamnan's passage, Book 1. Ch. 28 (p. 57 of Reeves' edition): "Et antequam præsens finiatur annus, Gallici nautæ, de Galliarum provinciis adventantes, hæc eadem tibi enarrabunt" — the learned editor remarks: "There existed, at this period, frequent intercourse between the British isles and Gaul. When St. Columbanus was at Nantes, and the authorities there wished to send him back to Ireland, a ship was found in the harbour ready for the purpose, 'quæ Scottorum commercia vexerat'. — Jonas, Vit. S. Columbani, cap. 22. (Fleming, Collectan. p. 236 a; Messingham, Florileg. p. 234 b.) Even at the inland Clonmacnois, 'in illis diebus quibus fratres S. Kiarani segetes suas metebant, mercatores Gallorum venerunt ad S. Kiaranum, et repleverunt ingens vas de vino illo quod S. Kiaranus fratribus suis dedit'. — Vit. S. Kiarani, c. 31 (Cod. Marsh. fol. 147 bb)". — William Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba, founder of Hy*; written by Adamnan, ninth Abbot of that Monastery, 4to, Dublin 1857, p. 67.

It may be observed here that St. Columba was born in 521, died 597, while his biographer saw the light in 624, fell asleep in 704. All thro Adamnan's Life of his great foreganger, *France* and the *French* are only known as *Gallia* and *Galli*.

NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 600-700.

*From a Transcript by the late JOHN M. KEMBLE, F. S. A., kindly communicated by Prof. J. J. A. WORSAAE,
Director of the Danish Old-Northern Museum.*

I am in despair about this OLD-ENGLISH FIBULA. All I know of it is, that in 1865, when arranging a mass of old papers and letters which had been accumulating in his Library for years, Prof. Worsaae happened to light upon a note from our late lamented scholar and rune-smith Mr. Kemble, written to him when he was in England in 1847. Among other things this letter contains the following passus:

"The inscription on the brooch is, I think, of the usual character: without much violence to the present reading I think we may suppose it to have stood thus:

‡ N H R W M M P P N R H T
M F F N R I T N M P N H

GUDRID MEC WORHT
E. ÆLCHFRITH MEC AH.

GUDRID WROUGHT ME
ÆLCHFRITH OWNS ME

"The name of Alchfrith is a common one among the noble families of Northumbria, and was borne by their kings. You can best judge whether the ornament was of a kind to be worn by such a person. The TH in a separate form instead of being represented by one Rune \mathfrak{d} or \mathfrak{v} , is characteristic of Northumberland: so is \mathfrak{d} for TH in such a word as Gudred or Godred; and still more strikingly so, is CH for H in Alchfrith: the Southern, Westsaxon form being EALHFRID. This reading therefore I look upon with some degree of security."

Now here, as far as we can see, the "violence" done by Mr. Kemble "to the present reading" consists in this, that he has taken GUDRD to stand for GUDRID, and that he has added a T to the end of the first line and an H to the end of the other, the Brooch perhaps having been damaged at these places. Otherwise no information is given.

But whence came this Fibula, where and when was it found, what was it made of, how was it decorated, and where is it now?

To all these questions I can only answer, I do not know.

All that Prof. Worsaae can say about it is, that *nearly twenty years ago*, when he was only a young Runologist, a gentleman in Northern England showed him an ancient English Fibula bearing two lines of runes. But, at this distance of time, he cannot remember more than that he transmitted a copy of the inscription to his friend Mr. Kemble. The epistle from that scholar of which the above is an extract, was the answer he received to his communication, and was found by him in his drawers in 1865. With his usual courtesy Prof. Worsaae put this letter into my hands, and I here — with his permission — make use of it to add a *Runic Brooch* to our stock of inscribed English-Runic remains. But of course, as we have no other details to guide us than the language and the form of the staves; my approximate date is here more than usually vague. Still I fancy that the * instead of X for G, and the ʀ instead of k for C (or K), will not allow us to place it higher than the 7th century.

It is clear that the risting is in the usual style of *ownership*, and that the formula here employed:

GUÐR[E]Ð MEC WORHTE. ELCFRITH MEC AH.

is an exact counterpart to the

GONRAT FUDE MIC. MAH OH MIC.

of the Brooch found at Osthofen, to which we shall come among the "Wanderers".

Since Prof. Worsaae favored me with a sight of Mr. Kemble's precious note, I have spared no pains to ascertain something about this missing jewel. I have written *dozens* of letters to gentlemen in England and Scotland, but all my responses have been a *shake of the head*. Like the Aspatia Ring, it is now perhaps sleeping in some private Cabinet. For surely no one would be so heartless or headless as wantonly to destroy such invaluable treasures. We will therefore hope that this Inscribed Prene may yet turn up, and will be made known to the European and American Public.

But altho I cannot engrave this English piece, I can lay before the reader a similar Fibula found in Sweden and bearing Scandian Runes, but *probably of English make*. This is the

RUNIC BROOCH. SKABERSJÖ. SKÅNE.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 500-600.

? DATE OF INSCRIPTION ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

*Full size. From the Original, now in the University Museum, Lund. Drawn and Chemityped
by J. M. PETERSEN.*

This striking and elegant decoration was found in 1856 near Skabersjö in Oxie Härad, Malmöhus Län, south-west Skåne, and came by purchase to the Museum in Lund, in whose Catalogue it is numbered 3828. It was first made public by Lector Nils Gustaf Bruzelius, in his interesting "Svenska Fornlemningar", 2 Häftet, 8vo, Lund 1860, Pl. XI, 1 a and b, where it is engraved 2-thirds of the natural size. But the runes on the back are so given that I could make nothing of them, and supposed them to be unreadable or barbarous. Nor was I assisted by the text (p. 117), for this does not agree with that in the engraving, and is equally unintelligible. So I long past it over. But, a short time ago, in the course of conversation with Archivary Herbst, I learned that an independent facsimile was made by him shortly after the fibula was discovered. Mr. Herbst kindly put this into my hands, and, on examination I could read it! So in May 1866 I requested Prof. Worsaae, Director of the Cheapinghaven Museum, to oblige me by obtaining the loan of this piece to the Danish Collection for a few days, that my artist might engrave it. The Consistory in Lund in the most friendly way consented to Prof. Worsaae's request, — a courtesy for which they deserve our warmest acknowledgments, — and the result, Mr. Petersen's admirable and faithful transcript, is now before my reader. It shows that Archivary Herbst was quite correct.

Here are no points or spaces of division, which adds so much to our toil. The first stave is a bind-rune, AU († and ʀ in one), as is the 15th, AN (4 and ʀ in one, in the way so common in runics). I read, taking the whole to be 4 half-lines in the stave-rime:

AUPTAUK FAUKA
FIA ANSIS,
IN AI AKASUD
UK LAUN AL.

EATH-TAKEN (light to take, easy-gotten) FEAK (flutter, drive, drift, away) the-FEES (treasures, jewels) of-the-ANS (the chieftain, hero), IN (but) NOT his-AKI-BARK EKE (and) his-LENES (rewards) ALL (Lightly melts away from the generous Sea-king the rich spoil which it was so easy for him to win; but his battle-ship and all his honors and rewards abide yet with him.)

In this translation I take AKA-SUD to be the SUD (Hull) of-AKI, = a Wiking-ship; AKI being doubtless a Sea-king name used in the usual manner for a Wave-ruler in general.

Imitated in English stave-rime, the above might be rendered:

QUICK GOTTEN, QUICK GO
THE GAUDS OF THE SEA-KING;
BIDE YET HIS BATTLE-SHIP
AND HIS BRIGHT ACHIEVEMENTS.

This is a very elegant way of making a gift appear a trifle. The Gilt Brooch could easily be replaced. The donor still kept his fleet War-galley, his fame, his rank — as a Lord High Admiral of his day — and his rich and beautiful Lady, won by his tale "Of moving accidents by flood and field", so that her wooer could say:

"She lov'd *me* for the dangers I had past;
And I lov'd *her* that she did pity them."

Doubtless the other now nearly illegible runes have contained the names of the gallant Captain and of the friend to whom the keepsake was presented.

Excessively remarkable in a grammatical point of view are the nom. plural FIA, here found for the first time, and the noble archaism ANSIS, also here first met with in Scandinavia, with the N still left and the S not yet softened into R. So old is this language that I cannot think it later than the 8th century. The Brooch itself is evidently a couple of hundred years older.

But the style at once arrests us. We cannot say positively. It may perhaps be Scandian, but it is far more likely *Western*. The fibula has every appearance of being *Anglic* or *Kelto-Anglic*. This is supported to a certain degree by the runic risting. If war-spoil, it may well have been among the other "AUPTAUK FIA" seized by the Sea-king during inroads on the British Islands. The intricate and graceful pattern within the border, with its Bird in the center and its many intertwining snakes or dragons, reminds us of the time of the Bracteates. But the borders themselves, with their varied sculpture of knotwork and ropework, seem decidedly British.

However this may be, I have great pleasure in communicating so fine and rare a specimen of our Northern art, and congratulate the Museum of Lund on possessing such a treasure.

COLLINGHAM, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 651.

From Photographs and Rubbings kindly forwarded by HENRY DENNY, Esq., Curator of the Museum of the Leeds Phil. and Lit. Society, and by the Rev. B. EAMONSON, M. A., Rector of Collingham. The latter gentleman has also obligingly supplied a Drawing of the 4th (nearly obliterated) side, which is so close to the trees as not to allow the execution of a Photograph.

This elegant Runic Cross — or rather the Shaft alone, for the upper piece or pieces have altogether perisht — came to light in 1841, at Collingham near Wetherby, when the Church was repaired. It was discovered near the foundation, 2 feet below the ground. The base, on which is the Runic inscription, is 11 by 7½ inches. The total height of the shaft is 2 feet 9 inches. Several other fragments of curious sculptured Grave-crosses were found at the same time in different parts of the walls and foundations, but nothing else bearing Runes.

Unfortunately, but little of the epitaph remains. At all that I can make out from the materials furnisht me is:

ƿ ƿ ʀ ƿ ƿ ƿ ʀ ƿ ʀ ʀ ʀ

EFTAR ONSWINI, CU(ning).

AFTER ONSWINI, KING.

The c is very indistinct, and the u not quite plain. The Rev. D. H. HAIGH was enabled to decipher nearly the whole of 8 lines, 2 on each of the 4 sides. I have not been so successful. In my opinion there are only *traces* of another letter or two, and the under-lines are now too illegible to give any trustworthy result.

This funeral pillar was therefore, in all probability, raised to the memory of that amiable sovran ONSWINI (OSWINI), son of King (ONSRIC) OSRIC and ruler of Deira, the lands between the Humber and the Tyne. He was defeated at Wifaræsdun (now Wilbarston¹ in Northamptonshire) by King (ONSWIU) OSWIU, and murdered by his order or instigation at Ingetlingum (now Collingham¹), Aug. 20, 651.

In order to be quite sure, I have applied to the Rev. B. Eamonson and Mr. Denny for their opinion as to the correctness of the above reading, and for their verdict as to whether any other staves can be made out on the stone itself.

The former gentleman has obligingly forwarded me a reply, dated Collingham, June 18, 1862, to the effect that he agrees with me in my opinion, and adds: "The shaft, as now built up, consists of three parts, which are joined so as to appear as one stone. The lowest part is 2 feet 9 inches

¹ These identifications are by the learned Mr. Haigh, "On the fragments of Crosses discovered at Leeds", Report, Leeds 1857, p. 512 and following.

high. The second is 1 foot 4 inches. The upper part, having the appearance of an arm, is 8 inches high. The second part and the arm are not of the same kind of stone as the lowest (the Runic base), and *there can be no doubt that we have here parts of 2 if not of 3 separate Crosses.*"

Mr. Denny in a note dated Leeds, Aug. 29, 1862, states that, to be absolutely certain, himself, Mr. Eamson and another Clergyman, and Mr. O'Callaghan formed themselves into a roving anti-



quarian commission *quoad hoc*, went down to the Collingham monument, carefully examined the whole, and came to the conclusion that my reading is correct, that the second Rune in the name is a distinct ʁ (s), and that there are but faint traces *now* of any second (or under) lines of staves.

I think we may therefore conclude that nothing more is clearly to be made out on the stone than the words given above; at least not without a long and careful study of the original or of a perfect cast. I may add, that the Church is said to be dedicated to ST. OSWALD.

HARTLEPOOL, DURHAM, ENGLAND.

(A.)

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 650-700.

Size of the original 11½ inches square. Engraved from the plate in the Archæologia¹, Vol. 26. London 1836. p. 480. compared with a Cast of the stone itself, preserved in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheaping-haven. The Cast shows that the Archæologia drawing is perfectly correct.



Heiu, a noble Northumbrian lady, established a Convent at Hartlepool and became its first Abbess. In 649 she retired to Tadcaster, and was succeeded by St. Hilda, who continued to discharge the duties of that office till she founded her own famous monastery at Whitby, called at that time Strenaschalch, where she died in 680. This St. Heiu was of Irish origin, and was also called Begu, from her famous Beigh or Bracelet².

"Of the monastery founded by S. Begu at Hartlepool, we have no notice in history after S. Hilda's departure. Its situation on the coast exposed it to the first fury of the Danes, in the ninth century, and it was never restored. All traditional recollection, even of its site, was lost; until, in the

¹ Since then, copied on a reduced scale in the "Notes" of Mr. Haigh; in the Manual of Sepulchral Brasses by the Rev. E. L. Catts, London 1849, Pl. 3, No. 1; and in T. J. Pettigrew's Chronicles of the Tombs, 8vo, London 1864, p. 29.

² Haigh's Notes on St. Begu, p. 7.

month of July 1833, in the course of some excavations in a field called Cross Close, about one hundred and thirty-five yards south-east of the ancient church of S. Hilda, the cemetery which belonged to it was discovered."¹ In July 1833, then, this and the following piece was found, together with others, Latin-inscribed, most of them since dispersed. Graves were also met with in 1838 and 1843, from which were obtained 3 more of these small stones, also carved with Latin inscriptions.

In the volume of the *Archæologia* whence the engravings have been taken, John Gage, Esq., communicated information connected with the discovery of these stones, and further historical details have been given by Mr. Haigh in his elegant and instructive papers on this subject. They were found three feet and a half beneath the surface, immediately on the limestone, marking the site of two rows of skeletons, tall, and with thick fore-skulls, apparently most of them females. Upon each of these stones, nearly north and south, rested the skull of a human lie. Nothing else turned up, save a long brass pin or brooch with an oblong head². The bones were placed in order, close to each other, the heads lying upon the stones as upon pillows.

But Mr. Haigh gives a different statement. In his *Notes on S. Begu*, p. 17, he says: — "Their heads were resting upon small flat stones, as upon pillows; and over them were other stones, marked with crosses and inscriptions, in Runes and Romanesque letters." And again, at p. 23: — "It has been stated, but I do not feel disposed in the least to credit the assertion, that some of them, and particularly No. 7, were found under the heads of skeletons. If, however, this could be proved to be the case. I could only suppose, that as it was usual in early times to translate from their usual place of burial to a more honourable one, the bodies of those whose sanctity was believed to be evidenced by miracles, these stones were buried in the graves of those of the community who were most remarkable for the holiness of their lives, in order to assist, at a future time, the search which might be made for their remains. Still, I should consider that Nos. 5 and 6 must be exceptions, for these were evidently intended to be seen and read, as they bear inscriptions, requesting prayers for the repose of those who were buried beneath them. Beneath the grave-stone of S. Breacan, in the Great Isle of Aran, there was indeed found a smaller circular stone, marked with a cross, and around it an inscription, *Or ar bran nailither*, "a prayer for Breacan, the pilgrim", but, I believe, this was the original memorial placed over his grave, and that figured in Mr. Petrie's *Essay on the Round Towers*, the work of a later period."

These observations are by no means convincing, but the whole dispute shows how careful we should be in marking the minutest details connected with antiquarian finds.

But whether pillow-stones or no, there can be no doubt that these small slabs must claim a high antiquity. "The pagan Saxons [— English] had not, I believe, any fixed rule in this respect; yet, in by far the greater number of their sepulchres, which have been opened from time to time, the bodies have been found lying north and south, as in this Christian cemetery at Hartlepool. A peculiarity which has been observed in the teeth of the skeletons found here, viz: — that the five molars on each side, and in each jaw, instead of exhibiting the usual prominences and depressions, were worn quite smooth, as if they had been filed down: and that of the use of small pillow-stones, under their heads, have occurred likewise in some Kentish barrows. This will be admitted as a proof, that the interments in barrows, and those at Hartlepool, are of nearly the same age; and as the barrows, if they have contained the remains of Christians, must be referred to an early age of Christianity in this country, we are justified in considering these Hartlepool graves to be of nearly equal antiquity."³ — But the shape of the letters and of the crosses, and the very early spelling of all the proper names, is a sufficient proof of this. — In the Burgundian graves at Charnay, from the 5th and 6th centuries, small stones were used, sometimes as pillow-stones, sometimes placed over or all round the head, as if to preserve it from contact with the raw earth. As this was done only in the more considerable graves, it would seem to have been a mark of distinction. The Charnay stones are usually from 5 to 10 inches high, and broad in proportion, are of various often irregular shapes, and are nearly without exception striated or grooved with long lines running close together⁴. Other examples of similar memorials might be brought

¹ Haigh's *Notes*, p. 16. — ² Mr. Haigh adds: "and some bone pins". — ³ Haigh, *Notes on S. Begu*, p. 23.

⁴ "La tête de certains squelettes reposait sur une pierre, ou en était quelquefois entourée, comme pour la préserver du contact des terres qui devaient la recouvrir. L'une de ces pierres est cintrée et creusée en gueule de four, comme on le voit par le dessin

together. Five such, from 7 or 8 to 14 or 15 inches, with Latin carvings, have been found in Germany, and are engraved in L. Lindenschmit's excellent work: "Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit", Mainz 1859, Heft. 3, Taf. 8. — One such is found in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven, a drawing of a small stone, 13 inches high by 9 broad. It was communicated by a Scottish gentleman, Dr. Wood, as found by him in a grave opened at Koliness, island of Sanday, in March 1828. The slab bears only a rudely carved very early cross, oblong-squared in the centre and somewhat ornamented at the 4 ends, almost identical in shape with the cross on the Hartlepool stone now before us. This piece formed the south-side of the grave. The skeleton was entire, lying on its left side, the head to the East and the arms folded as in prayer. Several other graves were opened at the same time, and all the skeletons were in the same position. One of them had its head split in two, as if by an axe. Small minne-tokens are also found in connection with the earliest Christian Church in Rome. Of the grave-slabs in the Catacombs of Rome, which range from about the 1st to about the 5th age after Christ, Mr. Burgon says: — "How those early Christian monuments do differ from one another! Some, — three or four feet long, yet ranging in height from a few inches to two or three feet. Some, only a few inches across either way. Some, (not many certainly, but still some,) — admirably cut, (between horizontal lines carefully ruled,) — and accurately spelt: others, — exhibiting every variety of deflection from the standard of strict grammatical propriety, as well as betraying the hand of a most illiterate and unskilful artist. It is obvious that a very imperfect notion, at best, can be formed of an inscription of which it is impossible to reproduce the general arrangement and method, — to copy the accessories of design or ornament, — as well as to give a notion of the area covered by the writing."¹ — I need not add that this absence of "grammatical propriety" and this presence of "a most illiterate and unskilful artist" are doubly precious in the eyes of the Speech-skinner, even as much so as the "accurate spelling" indulged in by the more wealthy or educated families of the deaceat. They open out to us glimpses of that most ancient and widely spread and popular *Lingua Rustica*, in its various dialects, which, rather than the Book-Latin, of which it was independent, is the base of all the Romance tungs now flourishing in Europe, with all their various and old patois.

These tiny slabs, buried with the dead and not intended for erection outside the grave, remind us of the Leaden Plates similarly used in the early ages in different parts of Europe. For the history of such Leaden Plates found in Denmark, see Prof. J. J. A. Worsaae's "Minder fra Valdemar den Stores Tid", 8vo, Kjöbenhavn 1856. Two discovered in Lincoln, the one of them cruciform, are figured and described in the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute, London 1848, p. XLIV and p. 248. The former was 5 inches by 4, the latter 13½ by 8½. Two, each about 12 inches square, were found beneath the altar of St. Peter's in Bremen, in 1840, mentioning the 'death-days of Bishop Leuderik (d. 845) and Archbishop Unni (d. 936). They are engraved and described by Königsfeldt, in Annaler for Nord. Oldk., 1858, p. 321, and fol.

A similar small sheet of lead, measuring 9½ by 8 inches, was found in 1786 beneath the skull of Gunilda, daughter of Godwin, Earl of Essex. She died in 1077, and was buried in a sepulchre hollowed out in the thickness of the wall in the church of St. Donatian in Bruges. The church and its contents were destroyed by the French revolutionists in February 1804, but the leaden plate was bought of the soldiers for three francs, and was given to the Cathedral of St. Sauveur². — Quite lately a similar small leaden plate has been found along with the bones of William, the first resident Bishop of Orkney, in his tomb accidentally opened in the quire of the Cathedral of St. Magnus, at Kirkwall in the Orkneys, to which his remains were translated at the lengthening of the cathedral towards the close of the 12th century. The resting is in Latin³. — Sometimes, particularly in England and France, graves contain small leaden Crosses bearing an Amuletic Latin inscription of sacred character, or more frequently, in addition to the name &c. of the deaceat, a form of Absolution in Latin. They were

ci-dessous: les autres de formes très-irrégulières, mais toutes striées comme la plupart des tombes de cette époque, dont quelques-unes de ces pierres, ici reproduites, pourraient bien avoir été des fragmens. Ce devait être un signe de déférence; car elles n'ont été trouvées qu'en petit nombre et dans les sépultures les plus importantes." — Henri Baudot, *Mémoire sur les Sépultures des Barbares de l'Epoque Mérovingienne, découvertes en Bourgogne*. 4to. Paris 1860, pp. 17, 18.

¹ "Letters from Rome to Friends in England. By the Rev. John W. Burgon, M. A., 8vo. London 1862", p. 175.

² See Notes and Queries, 3rd Series, vi, Nov. 26, 1864, p. 437, where Mr. W. H. James Weale has copied the long and interesting Latin inscription.

³ D. Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 2nd ed., 8vo, London 1863, Vol. 2, p. 291.

scratcht or carved with the stylus, and their use continued down thro the twelfth century. The lead is mostly cut into a *Greek Cross*. This Absolution-tablet was thus a kind of spiritual Passport¹.

This tradition, of placing a small object, markt with some particular figure, on or under the head of the corpse, may be connected with very early rites. — "The scarabæus therefore being consecrated by the Egyptians as the emblem of manhood for the reasons stated, they were accustomed also to place it on the mouth of their male dead, wherefore many such *androsema* have been discovered in the Egyptian coffins, containing the life of the deceased concisely engraved on them in Hieratic, and sometimes in Demotic letters. A somewhat similar custom prevails among the Eastern Christians, for they place an earthen vessel on the mouth of the deceased, marking it with the sign of the cross, and writing the inscription "Jesus Christ conquers". Many of them, instead of an earthen vessel, mould a cross in wax and lay it on the mouth."²

But to return. A few only of the small slabs found at Hartlepool are in Museums or known hands. The rest are lost, let us hope only temporarily. They were all only a few inches each way. Some had inscriptions in Latin, with or without crosses in relief. Casts of 4 of these are in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven, presented by Albert Way, Esq., thro Prof. Worsaae. As being in Roman characters they do not belong to this work. All these Latin stones have the name or names, alone or with the letters Alpha and Omega, or else with the formula ORATE PRO. One, circular and elegant, is a mere fragment. It may be redd (two or three letters missing) REQUIESCAT IN PACE. What more it may have borne, or whether it bare anything more, it is impossible to say.

I add the closing paragraphs of Mr. Gage's Communication (pp. 481-82):

"The alpha and omega occur at Rome, Verona, and other places, in some of the earliest Christian inscriptions; and the same Greek letters are to be found in sepulchral inscriptions in Spain, of the sixth century.

"The Anglo-Saxons, as we learn from Bede (Lib. iv, C. xi), sometimes buried the dead in stone, using cushions for the head, of which these stones were doubtless an imitation; but I do not find any other example than the present of the use of such sepulchral stones.

"It is well-known that St. Hilda, who died in 680, had a monastery at Hartlepool, which the holy abbess quitted for Whitby, and it may afford matter for conjecture whether the dormitory discovered had not some connection with the monastery."

Undoubtedly it had. The burial-ground which has been laid bare was the God's Acre of the Nunnery. Both the Runic stones have *female* names. They would therefore seem to commemorate two Nuns, sisters who had removed to Hartlepool or ladies who had been received there as Myunchens. At this period it was unfrequent for slabs to undistinguisht secular persons to bear writing. Usually they had symbolical carving, the Sword for the Knight, Forging-irons for the Smith, the Shears or Spindle for the Lady, &c. — The inscription, then, records the name of the female deaceast, who sleeps under the shadow of Our Blessed Lord, "THE ALPHA AND THE OMEGA, the Beginning and the End".

A O
H I L D I D R U P.
A (l p h a) O (m e g a).
H I L D I T H R U T H.

The name is = HILDE'S STRENGTH or FRIEND, (the Darling of the War-Goddess); that on the stone next following probably means HILDE'S PRIESTESS (Bellona's Lady). Both originally referred to an Amazon-life, signifying rank as Wæl-cyries (Under-goddesses sent to mark and choose those "fey" to fall in battle). But family names, tho often heathen, long continued in use. It was not uncommon in old times for the *first* part of such compounds to be borne by *all* or nearly all the children. Likely enough, especially as both these names are in Runics and therefore probably the oldest found at Hartlepool, and show a *family* feeling for the use of the national letters, — these two ladies were *sisters*.

¹ See the interesting remarks of W. M. Wylie, Esq., "On certain Sepulchral Usages of Early Christian Times", in The Gentleman's Magazine for May 1864, pp. 608-12. — A similar custom still continues in some parts of Russia, where a printed sheet of Russian Prayers, adorned with pictures of Christ S. Mary, &c., is placed in the coffin of the deaceast. A copy of one of these scarce and curious lie-charms is in my collection. It is in folio, printed only on one side.

² C. Simonides. Facsimiles, &c., folio, London 1862, p. 5. note.

HARTLEPOOL, DURHAM, ENGLAND.

(B.)

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 650-700.

Size of the original 7¼ inches by 6½. Engraved from the plate in the Archaeologia¹. London 1836, 4to, Vol. 26, p. 480.



Mr. Kemble correctly deciphered this and the last inscription. The Runes contain only a female name:

HILDDIGUD.
HILDDIGÛTH.

It will be observed that a letter in the carving was apparently omitted, tho afterwards added above; and therefore the simplest thing would be, in the usual manner, to call this the mistake of "a blundering and illiterate stone-cutter". But I do not believe in "blundering and illiterate stone-cutters" as employed to write the epitaphs of considerable and illustrious personages in early times, these "blundering and illiterate stone-cutters" being often, unfortunately, men of skill or rank, sometimes the near kinsmen of the deceased. Here and there, but *very* seldom, there may be some accidental mis-hewing, usually at once corrected, but 99 out of 100 of these "blunders" are no blunders at all, except in ourselves, the present readers, with all our immense ignorance of the olden races and the olden dialects.

¹ Since then copied, reduced, in Mr. Haigh's Notes; and i. Mr. Pettigrew's Chronicles, p. 29

I have elsewhere, in the Chapter on the Runes (under *ʀ*), spoken of the tendency of the hard *g* to become vocalized, and even to disappear altogether, in the same way as certain other letters.

Probably this may have been the case here.

In the particular dialect of this part of Northumberland, the *g* in this name, as quickly and popularly pronounced, may have been altogether elided. So *HILDDI-GÜTH*¹ would become *HILDDI-YÜTH*. *HILDDI-ÜTH*. Those days not rejoicing in Academies and Spelling-dictionaries and other impediments to the natural flow of the language, and every body in those ages all over Europe more or less spelling or trying to spell as they pronounced, the Stone-cutter may very properly have risted *HILDDI-ÜTH*, the name of the Sister so well-known to him in the little Nunnery. Just so in our own time, in a similar case, a stone-mason in a country place, happily out of harm's way from critics and pettifoggers, might score on a funeral slab *SAMWEL* or *TOM* for *SAMUEL* or *THOM*. The schoolmaster might condemn the *SAMWEL*, call it "mis-hewn", but the *TOM* would remain even with the permission of the mandarins.

There is plenty of space on the stone for all the staves and more, and it is incredible that a man, however "illiterate" — and he was as probably quite the reverse — setting about to carve 9 letters, the name of a person of some rank — for the *poor* had *certainly* no such written stone memorials in any part of Europe at this period — should be so admirably stupid as to leave one out!

The fact has more likely been, that the Lady Abbess thought it better that the strict and formal sound of the name should be given, and not the colloquial pronunciation, and therefore requested him to add the *g*.

It is as if we should prefer on a public monument the formal *AUGUSTIN* instead of the familiar *AUSTIN*.

There is an exact parallel in another female name compounded with this same *GÜTH* (or *GÜTH* or *GITH*, for the spelling is immaterial, only the *ü* is the oldest form, then the *û*, then the *y* and then the *i*), in the word *ED-GÜTH*. This of course is our *ED-ITH*, with the *g* elided. But this same spelling (*without* the *g*) can be traced back (in the form *EDIDA*) to the 9th century². There may be earlier instances, but even this is a respectable antiquity, especially as the name is scarce and consequently seldom occurs.

Should *we* begin to inscribe paper or stone or brass with *RITE* (as they have done for 800 years in Scandinavia, for so long ago the *w* became silent there and was not continued in the spelling) instead of *WRITE*, or *NARL* instead of *GNARL*, or *NEE* for *KNEE*, and so on, we also mayhap might meet some "Superior" who would gently remark: — 'It is not pronounced, my son, it is true; but you had better add the consonant'.

Fortunately, as I have said, the spelling of the first 1500 years after Christ, and to some extent the first 1700, was mostly "fonetic" all over Europe. Hence the immense value of every scrap of ancient writing for the elucidation of language, and particularly of etymology and of dialect. For some centuries we have preferred to wear fetters intolerable and absurd. Our Alphabet of 24 letters (instead of one of 30 or 40 which we ought to have and which we have had before), copied by free men from the enslaved and debauched Romans, renders it impossible for us to represent any sound in our own or any other speech, and is daily, thro the eye, corrupting the sounds themselves; while our spelling has become a chaotic nuisance, a grave stumbling-block in the education of our children and our people, and a serious obstacle to the critical knowledge and appreciation of our noble and beautiful mother-tung. — But a reform must come ere long. We are a conservative, but we will hope not a doggedly stupid nation.

¹ Observe the usual *single n* in *HILDDIÜTH*, and the *double n* in the seemingly contemporaneous *HILDDIGÜTH*. So much for the "regularity" and "consistency" demanded by pedants and system-makers!

² *Liber Vitæ Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis*, 8vo, London 1841. p. 15, col. 2 (Surtees Society).

BEWCASTLE, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 670.

From Sketches, Photographs and careful Rubbings kindly forwarded by the Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN, A. B., Rector of Bewcastle, assisted by that gentleman's "Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle". The completed drawings, founded on these materials, were again checked and corrected from the stone itself by the same friendly archaeologist, previous to their final engraving. Also compared with a mould of the central slab, from the cast in the British Museum, presented in 1865 to the Danish Museum of Northern Antiquities by the Rev. D. H. HAIGH. — Chemically typed by J. M. PETERSEN.

This splendid four-sided column, situate about 20 miles north-east of Carlisle, was originally more than 20 feet high, from the base of the pedestal to the top of the Cross. It stands within a few feet of the Church, in the precincts of an extensive Roman Station guarded by a double vallum. The Pillar itself rests on a nearly cubical block of bluish stone, 4 feet square and 3 feet 9 inches high, (now sunk deeply in the ground), tooled off at the upper corners. Fixt with lead on to this fundament is the Runic Obelisk, quadrangular, of one entire gray free-stone, 22 inches by 21 at the bottom and tapering to 14 inches by 13 at the top of the shaft. Its height above the pedestal is $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet. On the summit formerly stood a small Cross, long ago removed from its still visible socket. "From Gough's edition of Camden we find that a slip of paper had been found in *Camden's own copy* of his "Britannia" (Ed. 1607, in the Bodleian Library), accompanied by the following note — "I received this morning a ston from my Lord of Arundel, sent him from my Lord William. It was the head of a cross at Bucastle." Now Camden died in 1623"¹.

"The tradition of the country points out the place from which the stone was taken, a ridge of rocks called the Langbar, on White Lyne Common, five miles to the north of Bewcastle, and this tradition is verified by the fact that in the same place there is still lying a stone the very counterpart of this, which shows distinctly on its western side, (which is much fresher than the others), the marks of the chisels which were used in splitting the block when the monument was taken from it which now stands in Bewcastle churchyard. Only at the Langbar, and in the neighbouring rocks on the south-side of the White Lyne river, and in no other part of the country, is the same kind of stone found"².

The monument before us is then one of those Runic Crosses, raised over the dead, in which England was once so rich, but of which only a couple of examples now remain. It was, for its time, a fine work of Art. The Christian Civilization of England, and particularly of Northern England, had

¹ Maughan's Memoir, p. 13.

² Haigh's The Saxon Cross at Bewcastle, p. 151, as communicated to him by Mr. Maughan.

a double origin, the one and earlier and wider *Keltic*, the Irish-Scottish missions which so largely evangelized the English kingdoms, the other *Latin*, the Roman missions which aided in the same good



work and ultimately absorbed the whole into their system. And here both these streams of Art meet, harmonized by ornamentation of a general Northern character. The figures and foliage and Roman

arabesques all point to Italy; the chequer-work may be Celtic¹; the truelove-knots and interlacings are both Celtic and Northern. The letters are Old-English Runes².

Such a costly monolith could only have been erected to a person of high rank. The inscription shows us that it was uplifted in memory of a King. The man who slept beneath it was ALCFRITH, raised by his father OSWI, who was sovran of all Northumbria, to be King of Deira, the southern part of that powerful state, as distinguisht from Bernicia, its northern portion, both which afterwards coalesced. ALCFRITH was a pious and brave prince, and is famous in history as the friend of St. Wilfrid. The year of his death is not ascertained. But as he is *not* mentioned among the victims of the Great Plague in 664, which carried off so many of his countrymen, he probably died in 665 or 666. As this tomb-stone was not finisht till the first year of ECGFRITH, his successor, its date is about 670.

¹ It is true that similar chequers may be found in Roman Monies, &c.; but this ornament is here so largely employed and so peculiarly prominent, and was so distinctively Celtic, that it can scarcely on this Pillar be merely Roman. Such chequer-work however is also found on some very old stones in the Swedish island of Gotland.

² I will here add the valuable remarks, in a work just publisht (years after the above was written), of the Rev. James Raine, on this class of North-English stones:

"I shall now speak more minutely about the remains of Saxon [Old-English] work at Hexham. This is a point of the very deepest interest, because at no other place in England do we find Christian architecture brought into closer contact with the handiwork of Roman builders, native as well as foreign. Wilfrid, [the great North-English Saint, Apostle of Frisland, Bishop of Hexham, died in 709], we are expressly told, had a number of Italian and French masons in his employ, and I think that some of their work may still be recognized. At Ripon, when any excavation is made on the site of Wilfrid's monastery, a number of small white tesserae are discovered such as are only found in this country in or near Roman camps. In the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, close to the same town, before the altar, lies a coloured tessellated pavement which cannot but be traced to the same source, and which has evidently been constructed to fill a position such as it at present occupies. At Hexham Wilfrid and his band of artisans found on the spot, and in its immediate vicinity, the remains of Roman buildings of considerable grandeur and importance, and his workmen would recognize with pleasure the workmanship of kindred hands. There are a few sculptured stones at Hexham, which will be alluded to hereafter, which it is difficult to appropriate with certainty either to Christian or Pagan hands. With regard to the church that Wilfrid built at Hexham, we are told plainly that in this country it was unsurpassed; and that in sculpture, painting, and architecture in general, there was nothing like it on this side of the Alps. It owed nothing, in fact, to Pictish or Irish taste, nor was it intended that it should owe anything, for it was obviously Wilfrid's wish to assimilate English architecture to the French and Italian, just as he had united those countries in ecclesiastical uses and observances. Hexham was the first church that he built in Bernicia, and at Hexham, therefore, we may expect to find some traces of French or Italian art. The principal remains that we have of Saxon [— Anglie] sculpture are fragments of crosses, and at Hexham we observe on them that peculiar use of the vine which is so often seen in the earliest churches on the Continent. This is shewn by the crosses which are engraved in the first volume of this work, and by one which is still preserved at the Spital. In the case of the cross which may possibly have commemorated Aoca, there is a beauty of execution and design which suggests at once its foreign origin. The same thing may be said of the sculptures represented on the following page, which are now in the possession of Mr. Fairless. The larger of the two was used for steps on the site of St. Mary's church. There is a classic severity of style in the treatment which is at once observable. The same influence may be traced on the banks of the Tyne, where the religious houses were, through Benedict Bishop, connected immediately with Rome. The sculptures at Jarrow bear strong testimony to this. There is one in particular representing two doves seated on the tendrils of a vine, — a design which is seen frequently in Italy and France.

"That it was the design of Wilfrid to bring a new character of architecture into England, and that he did so to a great extent successfully, is evident, I think, from the similarity between the greater part of the Saxon (= Anglie) sculptured remains that have been discovered in the tract of country which was ruled over by the bishop or archbishop of York and his suffragans. That tract comprised at one time the whole of the Lowlands of Scotland up to the Frith of Forth [at that time all English ground]. Beyond that barrier, the stones, covered with mysterious symbols, are found in great abundance: on this side a very different class at once begins; and at Abercorn itself, the seat of a bishop for a very short period, we have on a cross a vine represented in the same remarkable way in which it is treated at Hexham. The same pattern may be seen at Bewcastle and at Ilkley; and I may say, generally, that the crosses from the Frith of Forth southwards, throughout Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkshire, bear evident traces of having been created by the same school of art. The influence of the monks of Iona upon the old kingdom of Northumbria lasted for too short a time to enable them to make such a school; nor is it likely that plain simple men, as they were, should have Wilfrid's magnificent spirit, or any wish to make architecture a direct means of nursing devotion. It seems to me that Wilfrid was the originator of the beautiful forms that appear at Hexham and other places, and which overran Northumbria. I do not say for one moment that sculptured crosses had not been in use in that country before his time; far from it. They had come into it perhaps with Paulinus, perhaps from Ireland; but in the hands of Wilfrid's foreign masons they appeared in a new character, with foreign designs and ornamentation. The lessons of taste which these men gave must have been soon lost, as the crosses in Northumbria are often somewhat rude. There is little of that marvellous beauty which characterizes the sculptured memorials in the north and east of Scotland, and which, although derived perhaps more immediately from Ireland, is at the same time of an Eastern character. I am not speaking now of the strange symbols which the zeal and intelligence of the Scottish antiquaries will, I trust, be soon able to explain. — *The Priory of Hexham, its Title Deeds, Black Book, &c., Vol. 2, &c., Durham and London, 1865, pp. xxviii-xxxi. (Surtees Society.)*

I am sorry I cannot add Mr. Raine's woodcuts of many of these olden decorated stones. But — they bear no runes!

The details of the monument are as follows.

THE EAST SIDE

has now¹ no Runes. A grape-bearing Vine, starting boldly upward from below and terminating in curves and clusters, offers fruit to various creatures. First, what looks like a fox-hound, then two nondescript animals, then a bird like a hawk or eagle, afterward apparently a raven, followed by two squirrels. The ornamentation here very much resembles that on two sides of the Runic Cross at Ruthwell. The sculpture on this side is still comparatively uninjured.

THE WEST SIDE.

A. Near the top, the remains of

𐌹 𐌺 . . 𐌹 . . 𐌺

K . . S . . S

doubtless the Holy Name KRISTUS.

B. Below the figure of JOHN THE BAPTIST with the Agnus Dei,

𐌹 𐌺 𐌹 𐌹 𐌺 𐌺

𐌹 𐌺 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌺 𐌺

† GESSUS

KRISTTUS.

† JESUS

CHRIST.

C. Below the figure of Our Saviour, holding in His left hand the sacred roll and His right uplifted to bless, each foot resting on a swine, alluding to the miracle by which He cast the devils possess by swine into the sea, the principal inscription in 9 lines. — I am not quite sure of my reading, which is nearly identical with that of Mr. Maughan, but I think it must be substantially correct. At all events it is fully borne out by the Rubbings so kindly forwarded me by Mr. Maughan; besides which, long residence on the spot has of course given that gentleman great advantages for ascertaining, by repeated examinations, what really stands on the stone. Mr. Haigh's noble gift to the Cheapinghaven Museum has not assisted me very much. Being a mould from a cast, it is necessarily imperfect, and I suspect that the cast itself has not been so good as it ought to have been, and that it has suffered considerably during the very many years it has been lying in London. The lower lines especially are comparatively ruinous². What is clear on the mould agrees with the Rubbings, which I have therefore made my authority. Most of the runes are more or less clear and perfect; some of them are not quite so sure. As usual, there are several chips and weatherings in the stone. Remarkable are the bind-staves 𐌹 (= 𐌺𐌹, THU), 𐌹 (= 𐌺𐌹, ON), 𐌹 (= 𐌺𐌹, ET), and 𐌹 (= 𐌺𐌹, HU). Judging from my materials, I take the whole to be:

¹ "There is no inscription now on the east side. It is probable however that there have been some letters near the top of the shaft on a part which has been broken off." Maughan, p. 14.

² Since writing the above, I have received (in the summer of 1865) the following information from Mr. Maughan, which at once explains what to me was so evident and so mysterious in this Mould, — its helpless indistinctness:

"The Cast in the B. Museum was not a good one. The mould was not properly fixed to the stone to bear the weight of the plaster poured in, and slipped just as it was setting. This has rather injured it and made it not so valuable, and especially in those places where it was most required. It was taken for me about 10 or 12 years since, by a plasterer who was working in the neighborhood."

† Þ I ʒ ʒ I X B M K †
 A T ʒ M † † E H
 P P † R M M P P †
 X F R F I P I P F I
 A F I † F I K I R I
 A M F † A M I X
 M F K F ʒ P I N X
 † X M B I H H M
 N ʒ I I F F ʒ F P H I F

† DIS SIG-BECN ÐUN
 SETTON HWÆTRED
 WODGAR, OLWFOWOLÐU,
 AFT ALCFRIDU.
 EAN KUNING
 EAC OSWIUNG.
 † GEBID HEO-SINNA SOWHULA.

Literally translated: THIS SIG-BEACON¹ (victory-column, noble monument = CROSS) THIN (slender, tapering, lofty) SET-up HWÆTRED, WOTHGAR, and OLFWOLTHU, AFTER (in minne of) ALCFRITH, ONCE (lately) KING, EKE (and) OSWI-UNG (son of Oswi). BID (pray) for-the-HIGH-SIN (crime) of-his-SOUL!

In the stave-rime of the original:

† THIS SPIRING SIGN-PILLAR
 SET WAS BY HWÆTRED,
 WOTHGAR, OLUFWOLTH,
 AFTER ALCFRITH,
 SOMETIME KING
 AND SON OF OSWI.
 † PRAY FOR HIS SOUL'S GREAT SIN

There is something peculiar and uncommon in this expression HIGH-SIN, *great offence*. If taken literally we may perhaps consider it as referring to his having borne arms, in his youth, against his father King OSWI². But as this prefix, tho intensitive, has not always a signification so emphatic as this, there is no necessity for conceiving it to apply to any particular and great wickedness. ALCFRITH's fighting against his father was a deed by no means exceptional in early times, and even in later, and may have been a political movement, just as we afterwards, in 655, find him warring, on the side of his father, against his father-in-law PENDA, the King of Mercia. — Possibly there may have existed an adjective SIN in this old Northumbrian dialect, equal to the usual SIN(N)IG, *sinful*. The meaning would then be — *Pray for his most sinful soul!* HEO-SINNA would then stand, with the slurring (elision) of the final N so common in the Old-North-English, for HEO-SINAN, dative singular feminine.

Below, is a carving of a gentleman with his hawk. It may have been the figure of ALCFRITH himself. — We now pass over to the lowest adjoining compartment on the

¹ I take this SIG-BEACON, triumph-mark, trophy, to be here used as a Kenning or Poetical Synonym for a cross, the Cross of Christ being the mark and trophy of His victory over Death, Hell and Sin. In the Dream of the Holy Rood the Cross, in a similar way, is called SIG-BEAM, the Beam or Tree Victorious!

² Bæda, Hist. Eccl. Bk. 3, Ch. 14; Geoffrey of Monmouth mentions the same circumstance.

SOUTH SIDE.

Here, thus beginning at the bottom, is carved an intertwined knot-ornament, and above this is — A — the Sign of the Cross followed by a line of Runes:

† † R N M † X M R

† FRUMAN GEAR

remarkable for the tie M (= MF, MA).

In B, the division above, are two interlacing Vines, headed by the word

† N † † † X M †

KUNINGES

Then, C, another double truelove knot, above which are hewn

R I R M † † M †

RICES DEES

where we again have a monogram, M (= FM, EE).

D, another Vine, near the centre of which has been added, at an early period, a Sun-dial, whose principal divisions are marked by Crosses. Above the whole is

M K X † R I †

ECGFRIDU

offering another instance of the bind-rune A (PN).

Lastly, E, a third knot-link carving, and above this, at the very top, Runes of which the upper part of the last staves has been broken off. LICE is clear. The other letters may have been HE. This will give us

† I R M [R M]

LICE [HE]

The top of the East side is also broken away. It has doubtless borne one word, like the other 3 sides, and this may have been

[† R I † M †]

[FRIDES]

or something equivalent. As the stone tapers, the number of letters in each line gradually diminishes.

We thus get (5 lines on the South side and one on the Eastern):

† FRUMAN GEAR

KUNINGES

RICES DEES

ECGFRIDU.

LICE [HE

FRIDES].

† In-the-FIRST YEAR

of-the-KING

of-RIC (realm) THIS,

ECGFRITH. —

LIE [HE (May-Alcfrith lie)

in-FRITH (peace)]!

This gives us the date, 670, by the regnal year of ECGFRITH, the sovran who succeeded ALCFRITH, that prince's brother on the father's side. OSWI's first wife, a Keltic lady called RIEMMETH,

daughter of ROYTH son of RUM, bore him ALCFRITH. King ECGFRITH'S mother was EANFLÆD, daughter of King EDWIN of Northumberland. — We now turn to

THE NORTH SIDE.

This has also 5 decorated divisions. A, the lowest, Vines with foliage and fruit; above, the Runes

𐌹 𐌺 𐌸 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹

KUNNBURUG

There are *three* apparent bars or marks across the last *u*. But I cannot conceive of the *upper two* as making 𐌹 = TH, the Bind-rune which occurs several times on this stone. I look upon them *all three* as chips and flaws, of which there are many scattered up and down among the letters, and all of which it was impossible to engrave unless the scale had been much greater. Any such form as KUNNBURUG I consider an impossibility. If it ever existed, it must have been some old Northumbrian *burr* in the pronunciation of the *u* which we never heard of before.

B, still ascending, elegant knot-work, and above this another and more indistinct line of Runes

𐌹 𐌺 𐌸 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹

KUNESWIDA

We have then, C, a lengthy division of only chequers. Above are the staves

𐌹 𐌺 𐌸 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹

MYRCNA KUNG

Another piece of knot-work, D; then the name

𐌹 𐌺 𐌸 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹

WULFHERE

Next, E, a grape-vine decoration, and, at the very top

† † † 𐌹 𐌺 𐌸 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹 𐌹

†† GESSUS

the 2 last runes (N and H) being carved close. — All this is a family group:

KUNNBURUG: ALCFRITH'S Queen;

KUNESWITHA: her sister;

MYRCNA KUNG: }

WULFHERE: } WULFHERE, King of the Mercians, son of PENDA and brother of KUNNBURUG.

The whole is surmounted and sanctified by 3 Crosses and the name JESUS.

A large folio lithograph of this Pillar, showing all the 4 sides, will be given in the forthcoming 2nd volume of Mr. Stuart's "Inscribed Stones of Scotland".

Thus, thanks to the zealous labors of our Northumbrian Archæologist Mr. Maughan, who has made such use of the noble opportunities afforded him by his position as the official guardian of this magnificent monument and has so unsparingly laid the results before me, this towering grave-pillar is now restored to us. For many interesting details on the earlier attempts to read its Runes and on the historical personages whose names it bears, I refer to that gentleman's afore mentioned Memoir, and to much similar valuable explanatory information in the Rev. D. H. Haigh's excellent Paper in the Archæologia Æliana. To both these Scholars I again tender my grateful thanks for all the assistance they have so largely and so generously given me.



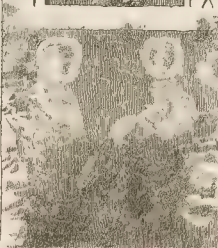
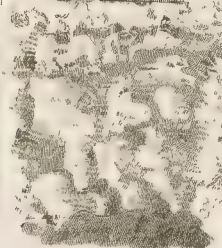


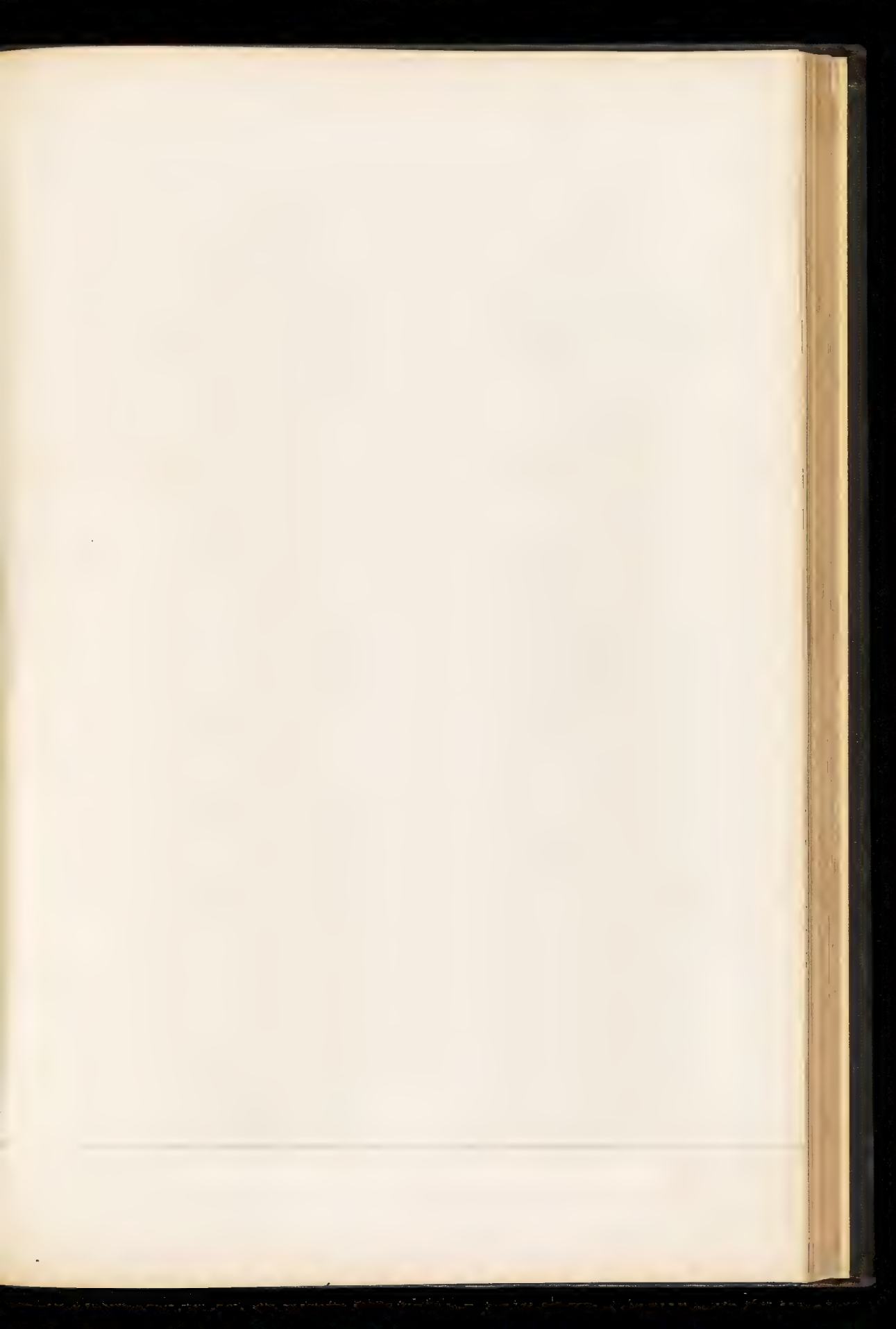
XMRM

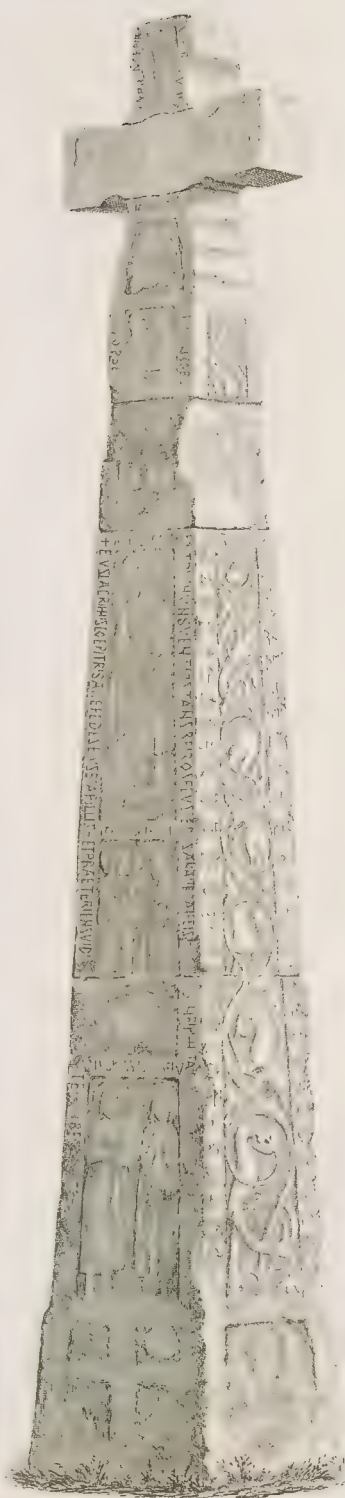
The image shows a detailed section of a medieval manuscript's decorative border. On the left side, there is a vertical column of large, stylized letters in a Gothic script, likely representing the initial letters of text. To the right of this column is a wide band filled with intricate illustrations. This band features a continuous vine motif that winds through several circular medallions. Each medallion contains a different animal, possibly a fox or a bird, depicted in a stylized manner. The entire illustration is set against a background of fine, parallel lines, giving it a textured appearance.

10 R I T P F H F Y

MI	RF
b4	MI
IRM	NP
IN	MB
MX	RF
IP	BM
NT	RF
MM	N4F
FM	ETR
XMN	RFI
INIF	APF
NIIF	MNF
IMP	PPF
RIX	FTI
FXI	FIN
4TF	Mih
MMN	BITF
MM	TRI







RUTHWELL, NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

(NOW A PART OF THE SCOTTISH LOWLANDS.)

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 680.

From the Engraved Plates of the Rev. Dr. H. DUNCAN, compared with the older Plates of HICKES and CARDONNEL, and corrected by careful Casts and Tracings of the Runes taken by the Rev. D. H. HAIGH, and by fresh copies of the Roman letters &c. kindly furnished by the Rev. J. MAUGHAN, A. B. The above precious Runic Casts were given by Mr. HAIGH to the Cheapinghaven Museum, where they may now be seen set up on wood fashioned in the shape of the Cross. — Drawn and Chemityped by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN

This¹ famous Runic Cross, here for the first time correctly engraved, for which I have particularly to thank the Rev. Mr. Haigh, to whom accordingly belongs all the honor of this noble achievement, is now in the Manse Garden, Ruthwell, Barony of Ruthwell, near Annan, Dumfriesshire, not far from the present English border. According to Pennant it was in his time 20 feet high, besides the capital and base. It is now about 17 feet 6 inches high. The stone is a hard red grit found near Dumfries some miles away, and might have come by sea. The Ruthwell railway-station appears to be from the same quarry. The stone of the Bewcastle district is not the same. The style of the sculpture also is different. Neither are the runes alike. Those at Bewcastle are as to breadth tolerably in proportion to their height, whereas at Ruthwell the runes are $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, the lines about $\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad, and where two lines are required for one letter they are scarcely half an inch apart. The Bewcastle monument has many bind-runes, the Ruthwell only one.

Some readers may wonder at my placing this Rood under "English" monuments, rather than "Scottish". But the fact is that Ruthwell has nothing whatever to do with Scotland, the *real* Scotland of *old* days, but is a part of the ancient English kingdom of Northumbria. Forgetfulness of this

¹ This treatise on the Ruthwell Cross has been lying ready for the press for several years. In September 1866 I bought a copy of an interesting pamphlet by Prof. F. E. C. Dietrich: "De Cruce Ruthwellensi et de auctore versuum in illa inscriptum qui ad Passionem Domini pertinent", 4to, Marburgi 1865, pp. 19. Its chief contents are his discovery that the lines on the Cross were taken from an old Northumbrian poem on the Holy Rood, found in a South-English dress in the Verelli Codex. But this fact had been made public by Mr. Kemble in 1843! In the notice by himself of this essay "De Cruce Ruthwellensi" in "Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen", 27 Stück, 5 July 1865, Prof. Dietrich acknowledges that he had been anticipated by Kemble. In his essay he also insists that the poem on the Holy Rood was written by Cynewulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne 737-780, died in 782. But the lay is a century older, as the stone itself shows. He also proposes (approved of by Grein in his notice of Dietrich's pamphlet in "Literar. Centralblatt für Deutschland", Leipzig 1865, 4to, No. 25, p. 660) that we should read *TIL ANUM*, not *TI LANUM*. But this is forbidden by the stave-rime, for if we read *ANUM* we should have the same vowel as the *AL* in the next half-line, which is inadmissible. In his abovementioned notice of his essay Prof. D. also gives strange readings of the two Thorbjörg pieces and some Bractates.

In March 1866 I was enabled to see a copy of Prof. D. Wilson's valuable "Prehistoric Annals of Scotland", 2 vol., 8vo, 2nd ed., London 1863. In vol. 2, pp. 319-29 we have a good tho rapid sketch of the history and translations of the Ruthwell Cross, and the clear announcement that F. Magnusen's Thorkelin plate is one of the two printed in the *Vetusta Monumenta*.

former geographical and political and linguistical extent of the older North-England has occasioned endless errors and absurdities, so that even now our brave bold North-country speech is often called Scotch or Lowland-Scots, and Jamieson's grand and learned Dictionary of all these North-English dialects, here and there more or less colored by the Keltic of Scotland proper, is called a "Scottish Dictionary". Instead of dwelling on the subject, I will content myself with a short simple pithy outspoken sentence or two in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for August 1862, pp. 125-26. The writer is discussing an excellent book, Mr. Small's "English Metrical Homilies from Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century", 4to, Edinburgh 1862:

"Mr. Small is rather amusing with his "colony of Saxons" settling "in Northumberland and in various parts of Scotland between the Tweed and the Forth". First of all, his Saxons are not Saxons but Angles, and the distinction between "Northumberland and various parts of Scotland" would have seemed very odd in A. D. 547. The simple fact, which people seem to have such difficulty in understanding, is that south-eastern Scotland is really not Scotland at all, but England, England in the very strictest sense, the land where the true English tongue has been better preserved than anywhere else. Lothian is a part of the old kingdom of Northumberland, and the Scottish capital still bears the name of the great Northumbrian King Edwin. By a political accident this essentially English district became subject to a Scottish dynasty, who soon identified themselves far more with their English than with their Scottish subjects. Further political accidents led to bitter feuds between these Northern English and the English south of Cheviot. The English subjects of the King of Scots got to be called Scots and their country Scotland, exactly as, before the late revival of the Kingdom of Italy, Piedmont and Piedmontese were constantly called Sardinia and Sardinians. All this is perfectly plain as a matter of history, but it will never be understood by people who are slaves to modern maps and modern nomenclature. Once realize that Lothian is only politically Scotch, that in blood and speech it is as English as Yorkshire, and no one need go discussing "the Dano-Saxon origin of the literary language of Scotland", or thinking it needful to prove "that the same broad dialect was common at an early period to Scotland and the North of England".

"The Homilies then are written in the language of Northumberland, the language of a people essentially Anglian, though doubtless with a considerable mixture of Danish blood. As Mr. Small truly says, in Northumberland (of course including Lothian) English long continued to be spoken with a much less infusion of French than in the southern part of the island, and the spoken speech of the country still contains many noble old Teutonic words and forms which have quite dropped out of modern literary English."

But to return to the Cross. We will first transcribe the information put together for us by Dr. Duncan:

"The later history of this remarkable column is not much more indebted to tradition than that of an early date. In Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of the parish of Ruthwell, a report is mentioned of its having been set up in remote times, at a Place called Priestwoodside (now Priestside), near the sea, from whence it is said to have been drawn by a team of oxen belonging to a widow. This tradition is still common in the parish, with some additional particulars. The pillar is said to have been brought by sea from some distant country, and to have been cast on shore by shipwreck; and while it was in the act of being conveyed in the manner described, into the interior, the tackling is reported to have given way, which was believed, in that superstitious age, to indicate the will of heaven that it was to proceed no farther. It was accordingly erected, if we are to credit the report, on the spot where it fell, and a place of worship was built over it, which became the parish-church of Ruthwell. It is not improbable that this tradition may bear some vague reference to the period when the alteration took place in the form, and perhaps also in the object, of the column, at which time its site may possibly have been changed. It is remarkable that the remains of an ancient road, founded on piles of wood, leading through a morass to the Priestside (which is a stripe of arable land inclosed between this morass and the shore of the Solway Frith), were in existence within the last thirty or forty years.

"Whatever truth there may be in the tradition, it is at least certain that, at a very early period, the pillar was erected in the church of Ruthwell, where it remained, and was held in the highest veneration, till the Reformation; and where, even after that period, it was preserved from de-

molition to the middle of the 17th century, probably by the influence of the Murrays of Cockpool, the ancestors of the Earl of Mansfield, who were the chief proprietors as well as the patrons of the parish, and who had espoused the cause of the Episcopal party, in opposition to that of the Presbyterians.

"In 1642, however, when the latter were triumphant over the court and its satellites, by whom they had been at once cajoled and oppressed, and when the progress of the dispute between Charles I and the country party, which was rapidly coming to a crisis in both kingdoms, had greatly inflamed men's minds, an order was passed, by the General Assembly of the Church, for the destruction of this ancient monument, as idolatrous¹. The order seems to have been but partially and reluctantly obeyed by the local authorities. The column was indeed thrown down, and broken in several pieces, it should seem, by the fall; and it was probably at the same time that some of the emblems which were peculiarly obnoxious, because objects of popish idolatry, such as the crucifixion, were nearly obliterated; but, after this act of obedience was performed, it was allowed to lie within the church, beside the ancient site of the altar, on the spot where it fell, and probably served for more than a century as seats to part of the congregation, who weekly assembled to worship God under more simple forms, and with a purer faith than had formerly rendered it an object of adoration². In 1722, when inspected by Mr. Pennant, it was still lying within the church; but, soon after this, it was removed to the church-yard, the increasing population, and the improved taste of the times, having rendered necessary better accommodation to the congregation.

"In its new situation the prostrate column became more exposed to injury, for the church-yard was then nearly uninclosed; and, when the present incumbent acquired the living, he found it undergoing such rapid demolition, that he resolved to preserve it, by transferring it to a place of greater security. This resolution was carried into effect in the summer of 1802, when it was erected in a garden, which he had newly formed in the immediate neighbourhood of the church-yard.

"Previous to this, however, a discovery had been somewhat singularly made, of a part of the column which was amissing both when visited by Gordon and by Pennant. A poor man and his wife having died within a day or two of each other, it was resolved that they should both be buried in the same grave, which, on that account, required to be made unusually deep. The gravedigger in the course of his labour came to a fragment of sandstone of considerable bulk, which was found, on one of its sides, to contain the upper part of the image of the Supreme Being, with the *Agnus Dei* in his bosom, and, on the reverse, a representation of the upper part of two human figures in the act of embracing. On applying this fragment to the monument, it was found to coincide with that portion of it which Pennant mistook for the top of a cross, the limbs and flowing robes of the image of the Deity being that which he describes as "the lower part of a human figure in long vestments, with his feet on a pair of small globes". It had probably been surreptitiously buried along with the body of some votary of the church of Rome, from a superstitious belief in its supernatural virtues.

"The only large fragment of the column appearing to be irretrievably lost, is what contained the transverse arms of the cross, which may probably have been much shattered by the fall when the whole was thrown down or entirely destroyed by the zeal of the agents of the General Assembly. It was, however, quite evident at what part these arms must have originally projected; and the writer of this article, on comparing the monument with drawings of similar Popish relics, flattered himself that he could restore them in nearly their original form; which in the year 1823, by the aid of a country mason, he attempted to do. In this he was guided by the shape of the capital, which is nearly entire, and which, besides being in all probability a counterpart of the arms, contains, on two opposite sides, segments of a circle corresponding with similar segments in the stone immediately below, evidently indicating that the circle, on both sides, was originally completed, and formed the centre of the transverse limbs of the cross.

"Before giving a detailed account of the sculpture and inscriptions on this ancient monument, it may be proper to take some more particular notice than has yet been done, of its form and general

¹ "This order is dated 27th July 1642, at St. Andrews, where the General Assembly was then sitting."

² "This bears no distant resemblance to the conduct of the South Sea Islanders, who, when converted to Christianity, are said in many instances to have degraded their hideous idols into seats, in which they listened to the preaching of the missionaries, in those very Marae which had, but a few months before, been stained with the blood of human sacrifices offered by the same worshippers to these very idols."

dimensions, which will be more easily followed by referring to the Plate. It consists, as has already been stated, of two distinct stones. Of these, the lower is formed of parallel sides to the height of four feet from the bottom, which may be called the base of the column, and which, as it at present stands, is sunk one foot nine inches into the ground. The breadth of this base, on the Roman sides, has been originally about two feet, and, on the Runic sides, nearly one foot seven inches. Above the base it begins to decrease in breadth, tapering gradually and uniformly on all the four faces, till at the top it is, on the Roman sides, fifteen inches broad, and, on the Runic sides, eleven inches and a quarter.

"The upper stone is of such dimensions at its base, as to fit exactly the top of the under one on which it rests, and the same tapering continues on the Roman faces to the very top of the pillar, and on the Runic faces till it is interrupted by the curves beneath the arms of the cross. The top of the shaft of the cross, which crowns the whole column, is, on the Roman sides, nine inches in breadth, and, on the Runic sides, nearly seven inches.

"The whole length of the pillar is seventeen feet six inches, of which the lower stone measures twelve feet six inches, and the upper part five feet.

"The Roman sides are divided into compartments of various sizes, separated from each other by a raised border or bar, of from two to three inches broad, which is joined to a margin, equally raised, and of a similar average breadth, running along the edges of the pillar, originally without interruption from top to bottom. These represent the figures as it were within picture frames, and serve as a convenient surface for the inscription of the various legends.

"On the Runic sides there is also a raised margin, carried round the whole of the sculpture, of nearly the same breadth with that on the other faces. On this the Runic characters are inscribed *across*, with the exception of the few letters which appear on the upper stone, where, as already stated, like the Roman inscriptions on the other sides, they run *along* the margin. Beyond the surface line of the margins the sculptured figures scarcely project.

"The lower block is broken in two, about seven feet eleven inches from the bottom, and the upper stone is in several fragments. On its re-erection it was found necessary to fill up deficiencies, by the insertion of several new pieces of stone, which was done without any attempt to supply the place of the lost sculpture, except in the transverse limbs of the cross, already mentioned."¹

An opinion of some consequence has been expressed, that this pillar was originally much shorter, and that the upper third part was raised after the lower block, either immediately after by orders of the designer himself, or some time after by some other person. Dr. Duncan says:

"In the first place, the column is formed of two separate blocks of sandstone, both of them probably taken from the neighbouring hills, but evidently from different quarries; for, although they are both of a coarse texture and of a reddish colour inclining to gray, such as is to be found in the vicinity, the upper stone is distinctly of a deeper hue than the other. This, of itself, affords no slight reason for supposing that the former, which terminates in a cross, was added at a later period; for it is far from probable that dissimilar blocks would have been employed in its original construction, though necessity or convenience might have required this on its being remodelled.

"In the next place, on examining the sculpture, there is found a bar or border of the width of three inches at the top of the lower stone, which runs horizontally round all the four sides, and on which there are inscriptions. This bar divides the vine work on the Runic sides into two compartments, and awkwardly interrupts its elegant convolutions — an intrusion which can only be satisfactorily accounted for by supposing that, on its original formation, the pillar at this point was made to terminate.

"There is yet another argument in favour of the supposition that the sculpture has been executed at different periods, which, in the eyes of an artist, may probably appear stronger than any of the others. It is founded on the manifest superiority of the work, both in elegance of design and skill of execution, on the sides inscribed with Runic characters, when compared with those on which the Roman letters are found. There is a boldness, a freedom, and a beauty in the sculpture on the Runic sides, which would not disgrace a classic age, and which the Christian figures on the other sides are far from exhibiting in an equal degree. It is scarcely possible, indeed, that they could have been designed by the same artist, or executed by the same workman. This is apparent even where the sub-

¹ Dr. Duncan. "An Account of the Remarkable Monument in the shape of a Cross", &c., pp. 317-20.

jects are different; but there is a still more striking proof of what we are contending for, in the inferiority of the workmanship on the Runic sides of the upper stone, where the design coincides. Here, an attempt has been made to carry on the vine-work in a manner similar to that on the lower stone; but the execution is so imperfect as clearly to indicate the hand of a bungling imitator. It may be of some importance also to mention, that the Runic letters of the upper stone, which run along instead of across the border, are formed considerably broader, while they are cut deeper and more sharply, than those below, of which they appear to be an imitation.

"It may be proper to remark, that to the argument derived from this difference in the sculpture the engraving does not do sufficient justice, as it is difficult to give full effect, in a drawing, to the inferiority alluded to."¹

Mr. Haigh observes hereon:

"The design of the sides of this cross is the same as that of the eastern face of that at Bewcastle, a scroll, with fruit and foliage, interspersed with animals, viz.; a quadruped, two birds, and two monsters appearing upon each. Much of the lower part of each side is defaced. On the lower stone, which is about three fourths of the entire length, the composition is complete, and bounded by the inscribed border. What is above is on a stone of a different kind, but the pattern is of the same character. It is evident that the monument was intended to be complete, when much less than at present, but that the artist whose task was to carve the imagery, finding it not long enough for all the subjects he wished to introduce, had it lengthened by the addition of the upper stone, and then an ornament was carved, resembling that on the lower part. That this was a different artist from the person who worked the scroll is very probable; for Dr. Duncan says that the upper scroll is of inferior workmanship to the lower; and the inscription on the upper stone is written along the descending line of the border in the same way as the latin inscriptions on the two fronts, whereas that of the lower is so written as to be read at one view, all the letters being upright. This inscription on each side begins at the top in the left hand corner, is continued down the right side, begins again at the top of the left side, and probably was continued along the bottom to the right hand corner. It is evident that what remains is not much more than half what was originally engraved upon the monument, nearly as much being obliterated in the middle and at the end of each as can still be read."²

But, any slight differences notwithstanding, it is a most unlikely thing that this whole monument should not be *one*. The higher and less exposed parts may have been left to a secondrate workman. In fact, what on earth could a 12 feet high square pillar, covered with sculpture and curious inscriptions all about Christ and the Crucifixion, have been made for? Nothing that we can guess at. But as a *Cross*, in the manner of the times, it was quite in its place, whether originally made to stand inside a church, or out in the church-yard or by some road or market-place.

The first distinct mention of this relic in a literary point of view is by Bishop Gibson, in his *Additions to Camden's Britannia*, 1695, p. 982, where he calls it "a pillar curiously engraven with some inscription upon it", altered in the 2nd edition to "with a Danish inscription upon it".

Copy No. 1. Next, in 1703, Hickes, in his *Thesaurus*, folio, Part 3 Tab. 4, gave a draught of the Pillar, both the 2 Runic and the 2 Roman sides, but no explanation. Only the inscribed part of the lower block is engraved; but the letters only, no figures. The runes are better given than the Latin staves. His runic text begins:

A. ...GEREDA HINÆ, the last staves being ...*(g)æd(r)A IC*, and ends with

B. + KRIST WÆS ON, concluding with the letters ...*GISTODDUN HIM*.

This draught is 6 inches high, in Mr. Kemble's copy reduced to 4 inches.

Copy No. 2. He was followed by Gordon in the year 1722, who, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, Tab. 57, gave a second view, but only of the two runic sides. This was 8½ inches high, reduced in Kemble's copy to 4 inches. It begins and ends in the same way as Hickes, the text sometimes better but more frequently worse.

Copy No. 4. So things remained till the beginning of this century, when Dr. Duncan re-erected the obelisk. He also copied all the sides, for the use of Mr. Repp, an Icelandic scholar then Vice-

¹ Dr. Duncan. Account, pp. 315-16.

² *Archæologia Eliana*, Nov. 1856, p. 169.

librarian to the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Dr. Duncan's plate is 1 foot high, and the separate enlarged runic plate is 7 inches high¹. Mr. Repp, whose treatise was in Latin, was the first who attempted a translation. But after a time he was followed by another still more learned Icclander, the great Fin Magnusen, who published a voluminous Dissertation and Translation "Om Obeliskene i Ruthwell" in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed", Kjøbenhavn 1837, 8vo, pp. 243-337. This was turned into English by J. McCaul, Esq., and printed in the "Report of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries", Kjøbenhavn 1836, 8vo, pp. 81-188.

Of these versions the less said the better. Their ingenious authors were entirely out of the track. Both invented a new language in which the words were said or *mada* to be written, some kind of bastard Pictish. The former asserted that the monument recorded the gift of a Font (which, according to him, the runes call a *Christ-bason*!) and of certain cows and lands in Ashlafardhal, a place which never existed, by the monks of Therfuse, a monastery never heard of. — The latter makes the whole to be the record of one Ashlof's marriage-settlements, adding all sorts of wild and absurd statements, the whole amid a cloud of misplaced erudition. The fact was, neither of these gentlemen knew Old-English, the language of the venerable pillar which they were then studying.

The next Knight Errant in this field was a very different personage, John M. Kemble, England's great linguist and historian, whose brilliant career was obscured in his latest years, when he became half Germanized. His attention was excited by the discussion which had been going on, he was anxious to show that England had men quite capable of explaining her own antiquities, and in 1840 he produced his great Essay on "The Runes of the Anglo-Saxons". In this valuable paper he discussed Runes in general and Old-Northern in particular, printed several Old-English poems in which Runes are mentioned or explained, appended 6 quarto plates of Runic Alphabets and Inscriptions — especially the Ruthwell Cross from Hicces, Gordon and Duncan — and translated the runic carving. In all this he was eminently successful. He showed that this Cross was a Christian memorial, and that the letters were 20 lines, more or less complete, of a poem in Old-North-English (commonly called Old-Northumbrian) on the Holy Rood, the Cross of Christ. All was now clear. Everybody was charmed and satisfied, and Fin Magnusen was the first to announce that Kemble was right and that he himself was wrong.

But this runic drama was not yet ended. A great discovery had mean time been made. A German man-of-letters, Prof. Blume, undertaking a literary pilgrimage to Italy in 1823, found in the old Conventual Library at Vercelli, in the Milanese, an ancient half-ruined skinbook in Old-South-English (the usual Southern or Wessex dialect) of the 10th century containing homilies and 6 Poems, some of them of considerable length. The then existing Record Commission instantly entrusted to Mr. Thorpe the task of copying and publishing the verse, which that gentleman accomplished with his usual ability. The Poems appeared (undated, but in about 1836 or 1837) in a miscellaneous volume of Old-English pieces as Appendix B to Mr. Cooper's "Report on Fœdera". One of the pieces, entitled by Mr. Thorpe "The Holy Rood, a Dream", in 314 lines, attracted Mr. Kemble's notice in 1842. It describes the vision of the Cross to a pious Sleeper, and gives the beautiful and sublime Address of the Cross itself, picturing the Passion of Our Saviour. Mr. Kemble was arrested by certain lines, and on comparison found that they were the identical inscription which he had previously deciphered on the Ruthwell obelisk!

Accordingly he published, also in the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries of London (1843, pp. 31-46) "Additional Observations on the Runic Obelisk at Ruthwell, the poem of the Dream of the Holy Rood, and a Runic Copper Dish found at Chertsey". This was indeed a triumphant vindication. So exact had been his text and version, that the discovery of this manuscript copy only led him to correct some 3 letters.

It was now seen that this Poem was in substance a work of the 7th century, and was originally written in the (Northumbrian) North-English speech. But its author was still a mystery.

¹ Dr. Duncan's interesting paper, "An Account" &c., with its beautiful, tho not quite exact, engraving of the Cross, all 4 sides (Vol. 4, Plate 13), and of the Runic Inscription enlarged (Plate 14), was published in *Archæologia Scotica*, 4to, Vol. 4 Part 2, Edinburgh 1833, pp. 313-36. But it also appeared as a separate pamphlet, an overprint from the *Archæologia Scotica*, 4to, Edinburgh 1833. T. Allan Jun, and Co.

A daring guess hereon was first made by the accomplit Mr. Haigh, in 1856. In that year he printed ("Archæologia Æliana", Nov. 1856, pp. 149-95) a paper on "The Saxon [Old-English] Cross at Bewcastle", with engravings of several Old-English remains and inscriptions, and with another copy (Dr. Duncan's original one) of the Ruthwell text, to which he thus added 5 staves. He also announced that, in his opinion, the Poem of which this inscription is a fragment must have been written by our great CÆDMON¹.

This bold supposition has now received as unexpected confirmation. By the help of the Casts since taken by Mr. Haigh and of the Vercelli codex, I have not only been enabled to amend the text and add some words to the carving, but I have also found the name of the Immortal Bard — CÆDMON.

But all this brings up so much fresh matter, that the subject must be treated *de novo*. The facsimile plate used by Fin Magnusen must no longer remain nearly unique. It must be multiplied. And Cædmon's beautiful Poem must be re-edited and translated. It has not appeared in England save in the scarce Record volume, where it has neither version nor note nor comment. The whole subject will then be placed in the light which it deserves, and all classes will learn to appreciate the surpassing interest of this Ruthwell Cross.

It is true that the whole lay is now extant only in the orthodox South-English or Wessex or Book or Court dialect, into which everything was duly transcribed in the later times previous to the Norman period. But we are now familiar with this operation. It deceives no one. And even still we can often perceive in these South-English transcripts peculiarities distinctive of far older texts or distinct shire-speeches, sometimes of a clearly North-English original from which the scribe was making his "amended" "Lindley-Murray"-ized and more or less interpolated copy.

I have just mentioned "the facsimile plate used by Fin Magnusen". And this brings me to

Copy No. 3. In his dissertation, Fin Magnusen continually refers to an ancient engraving of the monument as then in his possession. He says that it was in large folio, struck off from a copper plate, and was then (in 1837) about 150 years old. Its size was about 20 inches high by about 12 broad. It was given to him by Thorkelin in 1828, who had procured it during his antiquarian visit to England. In his Runamo, pp. 616-20, Magnusen again refers to it, copying therefrom (p. 617) the top-piece Runic side and in the Annaler (p. 266 and 271) giving an engraving of both the sides of the top-piece, not broken as mentioned by Pennant in 1772 but whole, and taken from the said copper plate. By the kindness of my old friend Mr. H. H. J. Lynge, the esteemed bookseller and clever bibliophile of Cheapinghaven, who purchast it at the auction of Fin Magnusen's effects, I am enabled to print this Runic side from the identical block used by the learned Iclander:



¹ "Of him Venerable Bede records that he was the first to compose sacred poems in the English language; that their subjects were the Incarnation, Passion, and other mysteries of the life of Our Lord; and that, although others after him attempted to do the same, no one could be compared to him. As then what is related of his inspiration (Bede's Eccl. Hist., book iv, cap. 24) must have taken place about this time, for the monastery of St. Hilda was founded in the year 655, are we not justified in regarding the lines upon the Ruthwell cross as fragments of a lost poem of his, a poem, however, which a later poet in the tenth century undertook to modernize and adapt to the taste of his own times, as Dryden did with some of the poems of Chaucer? I submit to the judgment of others this conjecture, based upon these grounds, viz. that on this monument, erected about A. D. 665, we have fragments of a religious poem of very high character, and that there was but one man living in England at the time worthy to be named as a religious poet, and that was Cædmon." p. 173.

Again in his "Conquest of Britain", London 1861, p. 39, the same learned gentleman says: "The poem of which these fragments was probably one of those which Cædmon, who was living at the time when these monuments [the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses] were erected, composed. That they belong to the seventh century cannot be doubted; they contain forms of the language which are evidently earlier even than those which occur in the contemporary version of Bede's verses in a Ms. at S. Gallen, and the copy of Cædmon's first song at the end of the "Historia Ecclesiastica", which was completed two years after its author's death."

As seeing is believing, F. Magnussen at p. 618 of his *Runamo* very justly protests against the ridicule cast on the old engraving by Mr. Kemble, and adduces the evidence of several distinguished Danish artists to the fact of its existence, to its antiquity, and to its being of English workmanship. Kemble, however, never retracted his doubts. In fact there was some reason for his bantering assumption (On Anglo-Saxon Runes p. 45) that "Thorkekin misled both himself and Finn Magnussen". The mistakes made by the worthy Iclander were so prodigious and the whole result was so ridiculous, that an English critic might well suppose he had been simply imposed upon.

The facts however were as stated. The Old Plate existed, was undoubtedly old, and *was bought by me* at the sale of the great Iclander's Library after his lamented decease. And since then another copy has turned up, and is now in the Archives of the Cheapinghaven Museum.

So here we were all at a dead stand. What was to be done?

And now comes the cream of the jest. Mr. Kemble, who had so unsparingly lasht Fin Magnussen about this plate, was for some years an *officer of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, and as such might be supposed to have a knowledge of its Library, or at least of the works *published by the Society itself*. Now among the books printed by the said learned body was one entitled "*Vetusta Monumenta*", in folio, with many plates of antiquities, whose second volume is dated London 1789. Plate 55 of this second volume is the long-lost mysterious anonymous plate of Fin Magnussen!

All is now clear. The Icelandic archæologist and linguist Grimur Jónsson Thorkekin, assisted by a grant from the Danish Government, visited the British Islands in 1786 and returned in 1791, when he first made known our immortal Epic Beowulf. While in Great Britain he made the acquaintance of all our chief literary men, and doubtless was then presented by Cardonnel with a copy or two of this runic plate — struck off *before the letters*. He gave one to Fin Magnussen, and this gentleman very properly used it for his Essay on the Ruthwell Cross.

This identification, so simple in itself, has cost me a world of labor. No copy of the "*Vetusta Monumenta*" exists in Denmark, and it is a scarce book even in England. I have never seen it. After having printed my facsimile of Fin Magnussen's "anonymous plate" I sent several copies to Great Britain for examination. But no one knew anything about it. At last it was recognized by Professor Dr. J. Y. Simpson, F. R. S. E.¹, of Edinburgh, and that accomplished scholar obligingly communicated the intelligence to me. To him therefore is due the honor of this discovery. So much for this curious passage of arms about the "anonymous plate", which is of course a valuable document for us when minutely examining and fixing the text of the stone. As it is here re-engraved, the reader will see that it gives only the two runic sides; but these on a very large scale and from drawings made nearly a century ago².

¹ Now Prof. Sir James Simpson, Baronet.

² In December 1865 — years after the above was written — the Danish National Library in Cheapinghaven succeeded in purchasing from a London Bookseller a fine copy of "*Vetusta Monumenta*, or Ancient Monuments illustrative of the History and Topography of Great Britain, Londini sumptu Soc. Antiq.", London 1747-1842, fol., 6 vols. Plates 54 and 55 give the principal stones of the Ruthwell Cross. Plate 54 the two Roman-lettered sides, Plate 55 the two Runic-lettered sides; in details, both as to letters and figures, the former is far from correct; the latter is better, as the reader will see by comparing my facsimile with the large chemiotype of the Cross as it stands. On Plate 54 the upper part, down to the first break (where we see the word *ADORAMUS*) is altogether wanting. It is on the same scale as Plate 55. These plates are followed by 8 pages of descriptive letter-press, signed R. G. (= RICHARD GOUGH, F. S. A.). His text thus begins:

"This curious monument is preserved in the church of Ruthwell, in the stewartry of Annandale, in the shire of Dumfries, about four miles west from Annan, and on the estate of the earl of Stormont, who is patron of the church. It consisted originally of three divisions, a base, a shaft fifteen feet high, charged with two compartments, and a capital or transverse piece. The four sides are of different dimensions, the whole broadest at the base; the total length about twenty feet. It was broken into three pieces by order of the General Assembly 1644, under pretence of its being an object of superstition among the vulgar."

Mr. Gough rightly conjectures (p. 3) that the Latin letters at the very top should be redd:

In principio erat verbum.

He continues (p. 3):

"This ancient monument was first laid before the public by Mr. Gordon, in his "*Itinerarium Septentrionale*", plates LVII and LVIII and described p. 161. But besides that his drawing of it is far less faithful than the present, he does not appear to have read the inscription with exactness; not to mention that he did not see all the several parts of the stone.

"Mr. Pennant (*Tour in Scotland*, 1772, in *Voyage to the Hebrides*, p. 85) saw the fragments of what he calls "the capital of the stone, with letters nearly similar to the other, and on each opposite side an *engle* neatly cut in *relief*. There was a piece of another with *Saxon* letters round the lower part of a human figure in long vestments, with his foot on a pair of small globes: this too seemed to have been the top of a cross." But neither has this gentleman copied the inscription faithfully, nor given a new drawing of the whole, or of the parts hitherto unpublished."

Cardonnel's plate was thus unknown to Dr. Duncan, to Kemble, to Haigh, to everybody. It is precious as giving the inscriptions on each side of the top-piece, which were unaccountably omitted in Dr. Duncan's elaborate engravings. This omission doubtless helpt to mislead Mr. Kemble. But it is clear that neither glass-house Kemble nor glass-house Magnusen can throw stones at each other. They each of them made a blunder equally great, but different in kind.

Being thus at home with regard to the history of the monument and its various editors, we now pass over to its details. These may be conveniently classed as Ornamentation and Roman letters, and the Runic Inscriptions. We will first glance at the former.

THE EAST SIDE.

A. Top-stone. A Bird (? Dove or Eagle) holding a branch. If a Dove with Olive-twigg it may be the emblem of peace.

[B. Arm-piece. Modern, added and "invented" by Dr. Duncan. In my engraving I have therefore given it only in outline, that no one may be misled.]

C. Lower limb of the Cross. Two half-figures. Subject not recognized.

D. St. John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei. Inscription, in ancient Roman uncials with here and there a minuscule, partly gone and partly illegible. All that we can now make out is (a) DORAMVS (*we adore*).

The Roman letters on this stone are of great interest from their form and age. Note particularly the lozenge-o as well as the round, the peculiar m, the two forms of c, the s, the e, &c.

E. Our Lord Christ, his right hand uplift to bless, his left holding the sacred Scroll. He treads on two swine, the miracle of the posset swine, and emblematic of His triumph over all Unclean Things. The words begin at the top bar, run over to the right side of the block to the first s, then continue along the opposite edge, and so return to the right to the staves SERTO. Thus:

+ IHS XPS IVDX AEQVITATIS. BESTIAE ET DRACONES COGNOVERVNT IN DESERTO SALVATOREM MYNDI.

(† *Jesus Christ, the-Judge of-Equity. Beasts and Dragons knew in the-desert the-Saviour of-the-world.*)

F. St. Paul and St. Antony break a loaf of bread in the desert. The staves are:

SCS PAVLVS ET A(ntonius eremitae) FREGER(un)T PANEM IN DESERTO.

(*Saint Paul and Antony. hermits, broke their-loaf in the-desert.*)

"The incident represented in this panel is thus related by St. Jerome in his life of St. Antony. — "St. Antony having attained the age of ninety years, was one day thinking that no one among the religious of Egypt had penetrated farther into the wilderness than himself. Whereupon he was admonished in a dream that there was one still farther on in the desert, much better than himself, and that he should make haste to visit him. In compliance with this divine admonition he set out at break of day in quest of the servant of God, and after travelling for two days at length found him, when falling each upon the other's neck, and mutually embracing one another, and each calling the other by his proper name, they united in giving thanks to God. Whilst they were conversing, St. Antony perceived a raven alighting upon one of the branches of a neighbouring palm tree, which, descending

He concludes by stating that he therefore wisht an exact representation of the whole, secured for this purpose "the very accurate pencil of Adam de Cardonnel, esq. whose merit has been sufficiently displayed in his "Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland" and obtained the support of the Society of Antiquaries.

As a postscript, are added the following important words:

"* Since this account was read before the Society, the drawing has been shewn to Mr. Professor Thorkelin, who has been investigating all such monuments of his countrymen in this kingdom; — but he has not returned any opinion upon it."

Here it is clearly announced that a copy of the Runic Plate had been handed to Prof. Thorkelin, thus entirely confirming my supposition in the text, and explaining how from Thorkelin it could pass to Fin Magnusen. As Fin Magnusen's copy, the one from which my exact lithograph was taken, was *avant les lettres*, I may as well state that Plates 54, 55, when finishd, were inscribed below:

"Stone at Ruthwell in Anandale. Sumptibus Soc. Antiquar. Londini. A de Cardonell del. Publish'd as the Act directs. June 4th 1789. Basire Sc."

¹ After its re-erection by Dr. Duncan the stone now stands so that the East-north sides are West-south, and the West-south have become East-north.

gently, dropped a loaf of bread before them, and then flew away. "Behold", said Paul, "how our loving and merciful Lord has sent us a dinner. Sixty years have now elapsed since I have daily received from Him a loaf, but upon thy coming Christ hath been pleased to send His soldier a double portion." Then, after praying and giving thanks, they sat down by the edge of a spring to take the food that God had sent them, but not without an humble contention who should break the loaf, which they at last decided by breaking it conjointly. After taking a moderate refreshment, they lay down to sip at the spring, and then returned to prayer and the praises of God, and in this holy exercise they spent the evening and the whole of the following night."¹

G. The flight into Egypt. The Blessed Virgin with her child on an ass. The head of St. Joseph, who leads them, is seen in the upper corner. Letters nearly gone. All that remains is:
† MARIA ET IO(seph).

H. Lowest compartment, defaced.

THE WEST SIDE.

A. Top-stone. Two half-figures. Probably St. John the Evangelist and his Eagle.

[B. Modern.]

C. A Bowman taking aim, sitting figure.

D. The Visitation. S. Mary and S. Elizabeth. Nothing can be made of the fragmentary Latin letters which remain.

E. St. Mary Magdalene washes the feet of Our Lord, whose left hand holds a book or else a box (? of spikenard) whilst he blesses with the right. The resting is from the Latin Vulgate, Luke ch. 7 v. 37, 38:

† ATTVLIT AL(ab)ASTRYM VNGVENTI & STANS RETROSECVS PEDES EIVS LACRIMIS COEPIIT RIGARE PEDES EIVS ET CAPILLIS CAPITIS SVI TERGEBAT.

(† *She-brought an-alabaster-box of-ointment, and, standing behind-him at-his-feet, with-tears began to-wash his feet and with-the-hairs of-her head did-wipe-them.*)

Remark the small T under the A in TERGEBAT, and the peculiar contraction for ET.

F. Christ heals the man born blind. The words, partly obliterated,

† ET PRAETERIENS VIDI(t hominem coecum) A NATIVITATE ET S(anavit eum a)B INFIRMITA(te).

(† *And, passing, he-saw a-man blind from his-birth, and he-healed him from his-infirmitiy.*)

The first part of this sentence is from the Latin Vulgate, S. John ch. 9 v. 1.

The B for V in NATIVITATE is redolent of antiquity.

G. The Annunciation. or the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin. Gabriel and Mary both standing. Both heads have the Glory. The angel seems to have wings. The legend, nearly defaced, from the Vulgate, Luke ch. 1 v. 28:

† INGRESSVS ANGELVS (ad eam dixit, Ave gratia plena, Dominus) TE(cum,) BE(nedicta tu in mulieribus).

(† *The-Angel coming-in to her said, Hail with-grace filled, the-Lord is-with-thee, blessed art-thou among women.*)

H. The Crucifixion. Nearly gone. We still see the Cross, the Sun (and Moon) above its arms, and traces of figures below.

THE NORTH SIDE.

Here also the general likeness to the Bewcastle Cross is striking. A budding and blooming grape-bearing conventional Vine (CHRIST the VINE or the VINE as the CHURCH) winds upward, elegantly designed, with birds, squirrels and other creatures devouring the fruit. The subject below is obliterated.

THE SOUTH SIDE.

The same kind of decoration. Lowest compartment indistinct.

We now come to the Runes, which are beautifully and sharply cut on the hard grit-stone. Besides the principal Pillar, we have a runic fragment remaining on the upper block, Northern side. All that is now left is

..... IDÆGISCÆF

What this means or how to divide it, I cannot tell. Mr. Haigh suggests IDÆ giscæf, the former word as the lafe of ALCFRIDE in the dative singular. This would be the English King commemorated on the Bewcastle Cross. But our materials are too scanty to allow us to form any opinion.

Mr. Haigh also procured a mould of the edge opposite to (behind) IDÆGISCÆF. We have here traces of runes, but they are so faint that they cannot be distinctly made out. What is left almost seems to be RMI or FMI.

On the principal shaft not more than 4 and not fewer than 2 runes have been carved in each line, except on the bars. The poem appears to begin regularly, complete in itself, with the extract commencing:

(ON)GEREDÆ HINÆ

and to continue regularly, there being space enough for the lines

bifode ic þa
rod wæs ic a-ræred

down to

BI(g)OT(EN) O(F) (þæs guman sidan).

But the corresponding stave-line is absent, as is the stave-line completing

KRIST WÆS ON RODI

on the other side. The 14 lines intervening are, however, necessary to the sense. They are short and sublime, in the poet's best manner. They have probably stood on one side of the base or one of the arms of the Cross. So again in the break after

H(N)AG (IC) (hweþræ
þam secgum to handa

for which there is room in continuation, 6 and a half lines must have intervened, connected with

MID STRELUM GIWUNDAD.

These 5 lines have perhaps been graven on another side of the base or the other arm of the Cross. The whole has then concluded with

H(EAFUN)(æs dryhten).

Should this view be correct, the whole Cross-lay has consisted of about 44 or 46 lines from Cædmon's own hand. As his verse is simpler and terser in some places than the later South-English more or less altered and interpolated copy, the 47 lines of the polished and modernized skinbook would answer to about 44 or 46 of the original North-English poem.

But however this may be, we must faithfully adhere to the runes as they stand on the stone.

Printing the runes in their normal Ruthwellian not their letter-for-letter facsimile shape, and restoring (but *in parenthesis*) those now very nearly gone, I now give the text substantially visible at present or in Duncan's and Cardonnel's time, following the order of the South-English text:

FRONT OF THE PILLAR.

..... ON)GERE

..... (RMI) XMRM

(AH)	(F H)	Left	1	Right	H F	DÆ
(OF)	(F F)	"	2	"	H |	HI
ICR	I H R	"	3	"	† F	NÆ
IICN	I I H †	"	4	"	X F	GO
ACU	F X H	"	5	"	H F	DA
NING	† | X	"	6	"	† H	LM
CHEA	H H Y	"	7	"	M J	EYO
FUN	† H †	"	8	"	↑ ↑ |	TTI
ESH	F H H	"	9	"	X †	GD
LAF	† F †	"	10	"	F H	AH
ARD	F R H	"	11	"	M †	EW
HÆL	H F †	"	12	"	F †	AL
DAIC	H F I H	"	13	"	H M	DE
(N)IDA	(†) | H F	"	14	"	F †	ON
RSTÆ	R H † F	"	15	"	X F	GA
BISM	B I H M	"	16	"	† X	LG
ERÆD	F R F H	"	17	"	H X	UG
UUNG	H † H X	"	18	"	I H †	IST
CET	X M †	"	19	"	† X F	IGA
MEN	M M †	"	20	"	M F H	MOD
BAÆT	B F F †	"	21	"	† X †	IGF
GAD	X F H	"	22	"	F R M	ORE
(R)EIC	(R) M I H	"	23	"	(F † M)	(ALE)
(WÆS)	(F F H)	"	24	"	M M †	MEN
MIDB	M I † B	"	25	"	(B) H X	(B)UG
LODÆ	† F H F	"	26	"	(F I H)	(AIC)
BIST	F † H †	"	27	"	(† | H F)	(NIDA)
EMI	M M †	"	28	"	(R H) † M	(RS)TE
(D)BI	(M) B †	"	29			
(G)OT	(X) F †	"	30			
(EN)O(F)	(M †) F (†)	"	31			

This gives us, taking first the top and the right column:

(ON)GEREDÆ HINÆ GOD ALMEYOTTIG, ÐA HE WALDE ON GALGU GISTIGA, MODIG FORE (ALE) MEN.

(B)UG(A) (IC) (NI) (DARS)TE

And then the left column:

(AHOF) IC RUCNÆ CUNINGC, HEAFUNÆS HLAFAÐ. HÆLDA IC (N)I DARSTÆ. BISMÆREDU UNGCET MEN
BA ÆT-GAD(R)E. IC (WÆS) MID BLODÆ BISTEMI(D), BI(G)OT(EN) O(F)

The ON in ONGEREDÆ is no longer visible, and is in no copy of the stone save that furnished to Mr. Haigh². This gives it as UN (H†), which is evidently a misreading for ON (F†). — As we see,

¹ This first u was apparently misheven M (e), and then by a deep down-stroke corrected into H (u). See the engraving.

² Mr. Haigh informs me that this was Dr. Duncan's original copy. See the word-roll.

Æ is predominant but interchanges with E even in the same word, DARSTÆ and DARSTE. — On comparing the following side — as authentically derived from the stone itself — with the various older copies, we shall see how faulty they were. But we must remember that none of the draughtsmen understood what they were imitating, and that a very slight difference or misapprehension or even an accidental tremor or unevenness of the copyist's pen or the artist's graver will change P (w) into þ (TH), M (M) into M (D) or N (H), T (L) into T (N) or T (T), which last, the top-strokes eaten away, may become I, that F (A) and F (O) and F (E) may be easily confounded, especially where the stone is injured or choked by moss, — and so on.

BACK OF THE PILLAR

† KRISTWÆSON.

† A R I H T F F F F

MI	M I	Left	1	Right	R F	RO
DS	D S	"	2	"	M I	DI
TRE	T R M	"	3	"	M Y	HW
LU	L U	"	4	"	M F	ED
MG	M G	"	5	"	R F	RÆ
IW	I W	"	6	"	T M	DE
UN	U N	"	7	"	R F	RF
DAD	D A D	"	8	"	N H F	USÆ
ALE	A L E	"	9	"	F Y R	FEAR
GDU	G D U	"	10	"	R F F	RAN
NHIÆ	N H IÆ	"	11	"	A F F	KWO
HINÆ	H I NÆ	"	12	"	M N F	MUE
LIMW	L I M W	"	13	"	F F I F	DEIL
GERIG	G E R I G	"	14	"	F F I F	ÆTIL
NÆGI	N Æ G I	"	15	"	F F N	ANU
STO	S T O	"	16	"	M I A	MIC
DDU	D D U	"	17	"	F F F F	DETA
NHIM	N H I M	"	18	"	T T I (H)	LBI(H)
(ÆT)H	(Æ T) H	"	19	"	(Y) F (H)	(E A) L (D)
(ISL)I	(I S L) I	"	20	"	H (F R M)	S(ARE)
CÆS	C Æ S	"	21	"	I K T F	ICWÆ
(H)EAF	(H) E A F	"	22	"	H M I (F)	SMI(D)
(D)UM	(D) U M	"	23	"	H F R	SOR
(BI)HEA	(B I) H E A	"	24	"	X N (M)	GU(M)
(L)DU	(L) D U	"	25	"	X I (M)	GI(D)
(N)HI	(N) H I	"	26	"	R R (F M)	RE(FE)
Æ DE	Æ D E	"	27	"	M M (F)	DH(N)
RH(EA)	R H (E A)	"	28	"	F X (I K)	AG(IC)
(F)UN	(F) U N	"	29	"		

The top line and right column thus give:

KRIST WÆS ON RODI. HWEÐRÆ ÐER FUSÆ FEARRAN KWOMU ÆÐILÆ TI LANUM. IC ÐÆT AL BI(H)EAL(D).
S(ARE) IC WÆS MI(Ð) SORGU(M) GI(Ð)RÆ(FE)Ð. H(N)AG (IC)

And the left column:

MID STRELUM GIWUNDAD. ALEGDUN HLE HINÆ LIM-WÆRIGNÆ. GISTODDUN HIM ((ÆT) H(IS) (L)ICÆS
(H)EAF(DU)M. (BI)HEA(L)DU(N) HI(Æ) ÐER H(EAFUN)

E and even I for Æ. Letters doubled and not doubled. N is both elided and sounded.

I have purposely kept to the last the small block at the top of the Pillar. Of this neither Fin Magnusen nor Kemble were able to make anything. The former gentleman redd on the front

OFA VODO KHONMED

and on the back

IN ERIN(CRED) VER BU III

and the translation offered was

OFFA WODA'S (= WODEN'S) KINSMAN
TO ERINCRED, GUARDIAN, ESTATES THREE

Mr. Kemble very properly, perceiving all this to be mere rubbish and never having seen the anonymous (or Cardonnel's) plate, simply past it over. Mr. Haigh did the same, and for the same reason. In Dr. Duncan's engraving *neither* side of this top-stone has *any letters at all!*

Now Fin Magnusen's second carving is not in English. It is in *Latin*, and reads thus:

	[E R A T]	
.....		
I N P R I N		W O R D E M

Filling up the 5 missing letters after N, we have here, quite plainly:

IN PRIN(CIPIO) [ERAT] VERBUM
In the beginning was the Word,

the opening of St. John's Gospel. On the upper bar nothing was legible when Cardonnel's drawing was made, but it is evident that ERAT is the missing word. This well-known solemn verse is in perfect harmony with the many other Biblical inscriptions on this monument, and, as taken from the Soaring Evangelist, renders it almost certain that the figures within are those of St. John and his Eagle.

How it could come to pass that Fin Magnusen could thus strangely miss the above simple reading and mistake Roman letters for unknown Runes, can only be explained by the error in his anonymous (Cardonnel's) plate. Cardonnel's draughtsman, deceived by a slight flaw in the stone, instead of P carved E. In the same way have come the many faults in the Runic portion; thus in one place *a whole line* (3 letters) is omitted. Fin Magnusen had not before him a good copy of the whole Cross, with all its Roman and Runic staves, and he therefore never thought of looking for Roman letters here, especially as the M in VERBUM is peculiar in shape and has besides lost its cross-bar. So we must not be too hard on the learned Iclander. The same thing might have happened to any of ourselves, and should only teach us humility¹.

¹ It will be seen from what stands above, that my identification of this IN PRINCIPIO ERAT VERBUM had been anticipated by Mr. Gough in the "Vetusta Monumenta".

As to the other or runic side of the top-stone, we see at once that nothing clear can be made out of the inscription as given in Fin Magnussen's (Cardonnel's) plate. The most likely guess, if that were our only authority, would be the following, in runes:

Right side: IC CÆDMON

Left side: ÆFNRODO

But Mr. Maughan and Mr. Haigh have kindly come to our assistance. From the former I have received rubbings of the two sides (the writing on the top bar, if any ever existed, is long since gone), and from the latter beautiful tracings and casts. All agree, and there is no doubt of the reading, tho a letter or two is now injured. It is, on the right side:

Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ

C A D M O N

and on the left side:

Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ Ɱ

M Æ F A U G E D O

That is, the MÆ being a bind-rune.

CADMON ME FAWED (*made*).

So, by another form of the same verb, King Alfred has the expression GED gefegean for *to indite, compose, make, a song*. See the WORD-ROLL.

This, then, is clear outward evidence that CÆDMON, whose name is also spelled CEDMON, here found in its North-English and more original shape as CADMON, was the author of these runic verses.

But we have *three* arguments or proofs, that the beautiful poem of which the lines on the Cross are an extract or episode or fragment was written by no other than CÆDMON.

First, there is the above direct evidence of the runic carving on the top-stone of the Cross itself. The words are plain enough, and even the unsupported theory that this top-stone may be somewhat younger than the Pillar will not in the least weaken this broad statement. Even if later, the stone only asserted a known fact.

Second. It was long ago suggested by Mr. Haigh, in his excellent paper in the *Archæologia Æliana*, that at the period when this monument was raised — the 7th century or thereabouts — there was no known man in all England, or in fact in all Europe, who could have written so noble an English lay save the author of the Biblical Paraphrase, which has always been acknowledged as his, even tho we may admit some natural change and interpolation in later times in the course of its transcription into Old-South-English. Of course we here do not refer to the piece called "The Harrowing of Hell". He therefore boldly concluded that, in his opinion, the Dream of the Holy Rood was from the pen of CÆDMON. This splendid tho daring assumption or implication has now been approved by the very stone itself.

Thirdly. We have decisive internal evidence. A careful examination of the South-English copy (see the Glossary) shows that the scribe was working from a North-English original, even in those lines which are not carved on the Cross. But, in addition hereto, a slight acquaintance with the Dream will at once make us aware of one *very striking* peculiarity of style. This is, an extraordinary mixture of accents. Commonly we have the usual 2-accented line. But every now and then, under the pressure of poetic excitement or personal taste or the traditions of a local school, the bard breaks out into 3 sometimes 4 accents in one line, then sinking back again into the regular double tone-weight. One extract will suffice to show what I mean. We will take the first and shortest specimen. (Dream, l. 7-24):

Pūhte me þæt ic ge-sawe
sýllice treow
on lyft lædan,
leóhte bewúnden.

Methought I saw, then,
sudden in mid-air.
mantling with light-rays,
a Marvelous Tree.

beáma beórhrost.
 Eall þæt beácen wæs
 be-góten mid gólde.
 Gímmas stódon
 feówere æt fólðan sceátum,
 swýlce þær fife wæron
 úppe ón þam éaxle gespánne.
 Beheóldon þær éngel Dryhtnes ealle
 fægere þurh fórd-gesceáft;
 ne wæs þær húru frácodes geálga,
 ac hine þær be-heóldon
 hálige gástas,
 mén ofer móldan,
 and eall þeos mære gesceáft.

of béams the brightest.
 The pillar'd béacon
 glitter'd with góld,
 grác'd its córners
 fóur the fáirest gém-stones,
 while five as bright were spárkling
 úp abóve the spán of the shóulder.
 All the Séraphs behéld it wistful,
 Ángel-hósts of éndless beauty.
 'Twas no wicked óutcast's gállows,
 but hie and háste to gréet it
 hóly Spírits,
 mén from our mid-earth
 and each mýstic órb-king.

Now, as far as I know, this rhythmical peculiarity is unknown in Old-English verse except here, in CÆDMON'S Paraphrase, and in that noble epical fragment "Judith". And I venture to assert that all these three are by one and the same Scóp. CÆDMON wrote them all. They have all the same color, all the same Miltonic sublimity, the same "steeling" of phrase, the same *sinking back* not only to the two-accented line but sometimes to an almost prosaic simplicity in the intervals of his flights of genius. I am thus led to do for Judith what Mr. Haigh did for the Dream, I attribute it to CÆDMON. After-discovery has proved the latter in the right; probably we shall never be able to produce direct evidence with regard to Judith.

The Cross now in Ruthwell, whether it formerly graced or was intended to grace a Cumberland scene or not, was a splendid and costly monument. It is of course possible that it may have been originally carved as a foot-stone to the head-stone at Bewcastle, and thus as a fellow-pillar in memory of Alcfrið. Or it may have been a kind of Rood for the inside of a Church, or a Church-yard Cross for its exterior, or mayhap a wayside Cross as formerly were many such. But in any case it was designed to teach Church-lore, was a folk-book in stone, and nothing could be more fitting than that it should be inscribed with pious memorials and Christian Song, perpetual monition in a land so lately heathen. And it was raised in a classical district. Saint Hilda and her friends would lend their aid; while CÆDMON himself, as a kind of Christian Poet Laureate, composed or adapted in its adornment his sublime verses in praise of the Holy Rood, the hope of the living and the consolation of the dead. And so arose the elegant column; and so we now gaze on these baptized Runic rimes, staves more potent than all the Troll-runes of Heathenry. All the dates are strictly in accordance herewith. It cannot be later than the latter half of the 7th century, for it bears a grammatical form so antique (the accusative dual UNGCET) that it has hitherto only been met with in this place, while the art-workmanship also points to the same period; St. Hilda's monastery of Streaneshalch (Whitby) was founded in 655; King Alcfrið died in 665-66 or thereabouts; and CÆDMON fell asleep about the year 680 or shortly after¹. Thus we cannot be far wrong in fixing its date at about 680.

I now give the fragmentary Runic Lay at this moment on the Cross, restored to its natural form as verse, and accompanied by the parallel passage in the Vercelli manuscript. The whole episode as exhibited by this latter doubtless was originally carved, substantially, on the Runic Pillar:

¹ St. Hilda died in 680. The year of Cædmon's death is not sure. Probably he outlived her and many of his earliest friends and protectors. If so, lines 264-71 of his poem on the Rood;

Rent are now from me
 my friends the mightiest;
 far now, nearly all of them,
 from our world's plesaunce.
 The Wuldor-king sought they,
 harbor now in Heaven
 with the High Father
 in glee and glory:

are perhaps a reference to his comparatively helpless old age.

RUNIC CROSS.

C A D M O N M Æ F A U Æ Þ O.

RUNIC CROSS

[illegible]

VERCELLI CODEX.

l. 77. On-gyrede hine þa geong hæleð,
 þæt wæs God ælmihtig!
 strang- and stið-mod
 ge-stah he on gealgan heanne,
 modig on manigra gesyhðe.
 þa he wolde mancyn lysan.
 Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte,
 ne dorste ic hwæðre bugan to eorðan
 l. 87. rod wæs ic a-ræred,
 ahof ic ricne cýning.
 heofona hlaford:
 hyldan me ne dorste
 l. 95. Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere:
 eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed
 be-goten of þæs guman sidan,
 syððan he hæfde his gast onsended.
 Feala ic on þam beorge
 ge-biden hæbbe
 wradra wyrdra;
 geseah ic weruda God
 þearle þenian.
 Þystro hæfðon
 be-wrigen mid wolcnum
 Wealdendes hræw.
 scirne sciman
 sceadu for-deode.
 wann under wolcnum.
 Weop eal gesceaft.
 cwiddon cýninges fyll.
 Crist wæs on rode.
 Hwæðere þær fuse
 feorran cwoman
 to þam ædelingre;
 ic þæt eall beheold.
 Sare ic wæs
 mid [sorgum] gedrefed.
 Hnag ic hwæðre
 þam segcum to handa.
 eaðmød elne mycle.
 Genamon hie þær æhmihtigne God,
 á-hofon hine of ðam hefan wite.
 Forleton me þa hilde-rincas
 standan steame bedrifenne.
 eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod.
 A-ledon hie ðær limwerigne,
 gestodon him æt his lifes heafðum,
 be-heoldon hie ðær heofenes dryhten.

THE HOLY ROOD, A DREAM.

WRITTEN BY CÆDMON,

THE MILTON OF NORTH-ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY;

PRINTED FROM THE SOUTH-ENGLISH COPY

IN THE VERCELLI MANUSCRIPT OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

From "Appendix B" to Mr. Cooper's "Report on Fœdera". Edited by B. Thorpe, Esq., F. S. A., pp. 100-104.

The stops, large letters and verse-divisions &c. are my own. In the Ms. w is always ƿ and y always ȝ.

Hwæt! Ic swefna cyst
 secgan wylle;
 hæt me gemætte
 to midre nihte,
 syððan reordberend
 reste wunedon!
 ƿuhte me þæt ic ge-sawe
 syllicre treow
 on lyft lædan,
 leohte bewunden,
 beama beorhtost.
 Eall þæt beacen wæs
 be-goten mid golde.
 Gimmas stodon
 * feowere æt foldan sceatum.
 swylce þær fife wæron
 uppe on þam eaxe gespanne.
 Beheoldon þær engel dryhtnes ealle
 fægere þurh forð-gesceaft;
 ne wæs þær huru fracodes gealga.
 ac hine þær be-heoldon
 halige gastas,
 men ofer moldan,
 and eall þeos mære gesceaft.
 Syllic wæs se sige-beam;
 and ic, synnum fah,
 for-wunded mid wommu[?m],
 geseah ic wuldres treow,
 wædum ge-weorðode,
 wynnum scinan,
 ge-gyred mid golde.
 Gimmas hæfdon
 be-wrigene weorðlice
 wealdes treow.
 Hwæðre ic þurh þæt gold
 on-gytan meahte
 earmra ær-gewinn,
 þæt hit ærest ongan
 swætan on þa swiðran healfe.
 Eall ic wæs mid sargum gedrefed,
 forht ic wæs for þære fæggran gesyhðe.

*List, now, Lordings,
 to loveliest swefen,
 dream the daintiest
 at dead of night,
 5 what time each speech-bearer
 slumber'd peaceful!*
*Methought I saw, then,
 sudden in mid-air,
 mantling with light-rays,
 10 a Marvelous Tree,
 of beams the brightest.
 The pillar'd beacon
 glitter'd with gold.
 Glaz'd its corners
 15 four the fairest gem-stones.
 while five as bright were sparkling
 up above the span of the shoulder.
 All the Seraphs beheld it wistful,
 Angel-hosts of endless beauty.
 20 'Twas no wicked outcast's gallows,
 but hie and haste to greet it
 holy Spirits,
 men from our mid-earth
 and each mystic orb-king.
 25 Selcouth was that Sige-beam:
 I, sin-canker'd,
 woundful, wendful,
 that Wuldor-stem ey'd
 shining and shimmering,
 30 shrouded with hangings,
 with gold garnisht,
 eke gaud-jewels flashing
 in lines lustrous
 o'er its lordly timber.
 35 Yet saw I plainly
 thro its surface golden
 how the grim ones had gasht it.
 It be-gan to trickle,
 red drops from its right side starting.
 40 Rueful anguish then o'erpower'd me,
 fear'd I sore at that fairest vision.*

Geseah ic þæt fuse beacen
wendan wædum and bleom;
hwilum hit wæs mid wætan bestemed,
be-swyled mid swates gange,
hwilum mid since gegyrwed.

Hwæðre ic þær ligende.

lange hwile,
be-heold hreow-earig
hælendes treow;
oððæt ic ge-hyrde
þæt hit hleodrode;
ongan þa word sprecau
wudu selesta:

‘Þæt wæs geara iu,
ic þæt gyta geman,
þæt ic wæs á-heawen
holtes on ende,
a-styred of stefne minum.
Genaman me þær strange feondas,
ge-worhton him þær to wæfer-syne.
heton me heora wergas hebban.
Bæron me þær beornas on eacum
oððæt hie me on beorg asetton.
ge-fæstnodon me þær feondas genoge.
Geseah ic þa Frean mancynnes
efstan elne mycle,
þæt he me wolde on gestigan.
Þær ic þa ne dorste,
ofer Dryhtnes word,
bugan oððe berstan,
þa ic bifian geseah
eorðan sceatas.
Ealle ic mihte
feondas ge-fyllan,
hwæðre ic fæste stod.

‘On-gyrede hine þa geong hæled,
þæt wæs God ælmihtig,
strang- and stið-mod
ge-stah he on gealgan heanne,
modig on manigra gesyhðe
þa he wolde mancyn lisan.
Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte,
ne dorste ic hwæðre bugan to eorðan,
feallan to folðan sceatum,
ac ic sceolde fæste standan.

‘Rod wæs ic a-ræred,
áhof ic ricne cyning,
heofona hlaforð;
hyldan me ne dorste.
Þurh-drifan hi me mid deorcan næglum,
on me syndon þa dolg gesiene,

*As I gaz'd, the fluttering beacon
weeds gan wend, its look all changing;
forth now — welter'd heart-gore sadly,
oozing sweat the rich stem crimson'd;
now — but treasure stream'd and dazzled.*

*So lay I, long,
looking and sighing,
be-holding with sorrow
the Healer's Tree;
till at last loudly
leapt its outcry,
words utter'd
that wood most blissful:*

*'Of yore it was,
even yet I mind it,
when I down was heaven
at the holt's outskirt.
from my bole by axes broken.
Foemen burly took me straightway,
gar'd me to a thing to gaze at,
hate their gangs of thralls to lift me.
Bore they on their bending shoulders,
till they set on beetling upland;
fixt me so these fierce ones upright.
There the Frea of mankind saw I
mightily eager
to mount me trembling.
But I durst not, against
the Dreeten's word,
bow me or break,
tho a-bout me was quaking
earth's bosom.
Them all could I
easily have fell'd;
but I firmly stood.*

*'For the grapple then girded him youthful hero,
lo! the man was God Almighty!
Strong of heart and steady-minded
stept he on the lofty gallows;
fearless, spite that crowd of faces,
free and save man's tribes he would there.
Bever'd I and shook when that baron claspt me,
but dar'd I not to bow me earthward.
fall a-fieldward mote I nowise,
'twas my duty — to stand fast!*

*'Rood was I rear'd now,
Rich King heaving,
the Lord of Light-realms:
lean me I durst not.
Dark-hued nails so drove they thro me,
deepest scars men yet can ken here.*

opene inwid-hlemmas;
 ne dorste ic hiran ænigum sceððan.
 Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere,
 eall ic wæs mid blode bestemed
 be-goten of þæs guman sidan,
 siððan he hæfde his gast onsended.
 'Feala ic on þam beorge
 ge-biden hæbbe
 wraðra wyrda;
 geseah ic weruda God
 þearle þenian.
 Þystro hæfdon
 be-wrigen mid wolcnum
 wealdendes hræw,
 scirne sciman
 sceadu for-ðeode,
 wann under wolcnum.
 Weop eal gesceaft,
 cwiðdon cyninges fyll.
 'Crist wæs on rode.
 Hwæðere þær fuse
 feorran cwoman
 to þam æðelinge;
 ic þæt eall beheold.
 Sare ic wæs
 mid [sorgum] gedrefed,
 hnag ic hwæðre
 þam secgum to handa,
 eaðmod elne mycle.
 Genamon hie þær ælmihtigne God,
 á-hofon hine of ðam hefian wite.
 Forleton me þa hilde-rincas
 standan steame bedrifenne,
 eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod.
 A-ledon hie ðær limwergine,
 gestodon him æt his lices heafdum,
 be-heoldon hie ðær heofenes dryhten.
 and he hine ðær hwile reste,
 meðe æfter ðam miclan gewinne.
 'Ongunnon him þa moldern wyrcean,
 beornas on banan gesyhðe;
 curfon hie ðæt os beorhtan stane;
 ge-setton hie ðæron sigora wealdend.
 Ongunnon him þa sorh-leoð galan,
 earme on þa æfentide,
 þa hie woldon eft siðian
 meðe fram þam mæran þeodne.
 Reste he ðær mæte weorode.
 'Hwæðere we ðær reotende
 [rode] gode hwile
 stodon on stadole.
 Syððan up-gewat
 hilde-rinca [eored],

*open chasms from catiff hammers.
 Yet to kill or scathe I shudder'd.*
 95 *'Tis both they basely mockt and handled;
 all with blood was I bedabbled
 gushing grievous from his dear side,
 when his ghost he had up-render'd.
 'How on that hill
 have I throw'd
 dole the direst!
 For days, view'd I hanging
 the God of Hosts.
 Gloomy and swarthy
 clouds had cover'd
 the corse of the Waldend,
 o'er the sheer shine-path
 shadows fell heavy,
 wan neath the welkin.
 110 Wept all Creation,
 wail'd the fall of their King!
 'Christ was on Rood-tree.
 But fast, from a-far,
 his friends hurried
 to aid their atheling.
 115 Everything I saw.
 Sorely was I
 with sorrows harrow'd,
 yet humbly I inclin'd
 120 to the hands of his servants.
 striving with might to aid them.
 Straight th' All-ruling God they've taken,
 heaving from that horrid torment.
 Those Hilde-rinks now left me
 to stand there steaming with blood-drops;
 with streals was I all wounded.
 Down laid they him limb-weary,
 o'er his lifeless head then stood they,
 heavily gazing at Heaven's Chieftain.
 130 Rests awhile the Holy Body,
 mail-worn that mickle death-fight after.
 'Now a mould-house gin to dig him
 those braves fore all his banesmen,
 out of brightsome stone-blocks carving it.
 135 Set they there the Sovran Victor,
 sadly then their grave-lays chaunting,
 agoniz'd that eventide;
 onward must they, weary drag them
 from their Lord, their Loving Captain.
 140 Lonesome and narrow is his chamber!
 'But with cries mournful
 we [crosses] awhile
 stood on the steep there.
 Sithance up riseth
 145 [a band] of battle-men*

(hræw colode,
 fæger feorg-bold);
 þa us man fyllan ongan
 ealle to eorðan.
 þæt was egeslic wyrd;
 be-dealf us man on deopan seape:
 hwæðre me þær dryhtnes þegnas
 freondas ge-frunon,
 [fram me hofon],
 gyredon me
 golde and seolfre.

'Nu ðu miht ge-hyran,
 hæleð min se leofa,
 þæt ic bealu-wara weorc
 ge-biden hæbbe,
 sarra sorga.
 Is nu sæl cumen
 þæt me weorðiað,
 wide and side,
 menn ofer moldan,
 and eall þeos mære gesceaft
 ge-biddaþ him to þyssum beacne.
 On me Bearn Godes
 þrowode hwile;
 forþan ic þrymfæst nu
 hlifige under heofenum,
 and ic hælæn mæg
 æghwylcne anra
 þara þe him bið egesa to me.

'Iu ic was ge-worden
 wita heardost,
 leodum laðost,
 ær-þan ic him lifes weg
 rihtne ge-rymde
 reord-berendum:
 hwæt! me þa ge-weorðode
 wuldres ealdor
 ofer holm-wudu.
 heofonrices weard,
 swylce swa he his modor eac,
 Marian sylfe,
 ælmihtig God.
 for ealle menn
 ge-weorðode
 ofer eall wifa cynn!

'Nu ic þe hate,
 hæleð min se leofa,
 þæt ðu þas ge-syhðe
 secge mannum.
 On-wreoh wordum
 þæt hit is wuldres beam,
 se ðe ælmihtig God
 on þrowode

— his body now cold,
 swallow his fair soul-house —
 and soon gin fell us
 all to the earth:

150 awful was that weird!
Deh'd they a pit, and deep they hid us;
yet the Dreeten's thanes the friendly
found where they'd flung us.

[Forth they drew me]
 155 and glegful bedeckt
 with gold and silver.

'Thus hearest thou,
 heart-friend dearest,
 that much from miscreants
 160 mournfully I've borne,
 sorrows sorest.

The sele now is comen
 when wide and far
 worthily honor me
 165 men o'er this mould,
 and manifold lovely Nature
 bends in bede to this symbol.
 God's Bright-one whilom
 suffered on my substance.

170 Hence I now so stately
 rise high under heaven,
 and can be the Healer
 of everyone whose, and
 is aw'd before me.

175 'Once was I pain only,
 penalty hardest,
 in each land most loathsome —
 ere the Way of Life
 I made wide and open
 180 to wise and foolish:
 but I wote then honor'd me
 the Wuldor-Elder.

Heaven's Guardian,
 more than hill-tree any;
 185 like as his Mother,
 Mary herself,
 before eachone
 Almighty God
 worthily hath magnified

190 over every woman!
 'And now hote I thee,
 heart-friend dearest,
 this sight selcouth
 say everywhere.

195 Tire not to tellen
 of the Tree of Glory,
 where the Prince of Peace
 thold his Passion

for mancynnes
manegum synnum
and Adomes
eald-gewyrhtum.

'Deað he þær byrigde;
hwæðere eft Dryhten aras
mid his miclan mihte
mannum to helpe;
he ða on heofenas astag.
Hider eft fundað
on þysne middangeard
mancyn secan
on dom-dæge,
Dryhten sylfa,
ælmihƿig God,
and his englas mid,
þæt he þonne wile deman
se ah domes gewæld
anra gehwylcum,
swa he him ærur her
on þyssum lænum
life geearnaþ.

'Ne mæg þær ænig
unforht wesan
for þam worde
þe se wealdend cwyð.
Frined he for þære mænige
hwær se man sie
se ðe for Dryhtnes naman
deaðes wolde
biteres on-byrigan,
swa he ær on ðam beame dyde;
ac hie þonne forhtiað,
and fea þencap
hwæt hie to Criste
cwæðan onginne.
Ne þearf ðær þonne ænig
unforht wesan,
þe him ær in breostum bered
beacna selest;
ac ðurh ða rode sceal
rice gesecan
of eorð-wege
æghwylc sawl
seo þe mid wealdende
wunian þenceð.

Ge-bæd ic me þa to þam beame
bliðe mode,
elne mycle,
þær ic ana wæs
mæte werede.

for the sins many
of Man's children,
the olden misdeeds
of Father Adam.

'Death he there tasted:
but the Dreeton, thence breaking
with his mickle might
for the help of Man,
to Heaven ascended.
Here will he eft eke
in this our mid-earth
mankind visit
on the Day of Doom,
He the Dread-One,
God Almighty,
and his Angels with him.

Who hath power of judgment —
so will judge them,
each and every,
as erewhile here
in this miserable life
their deeds merited.

'Pale need no one,
panic-stricken,
at the words which then
the Waldend speaketh.
Fore that crowd speireth He
whether creature be any
who for God's name's sake
will give himself up
to torment and death,
as on the Tree He did.
Fear then af-frayeth,
and few bethink them
what to the Saviour
they mo say or answer.
Yet pale need no one.
panic-stricken,
in breast who ere beareth
this blessedest token.
Thro the Cross each Christian
may reach the Kingdom:
soar may each soul
from earth skyward,
if to win with the Waldend
she willeth rightly'.

Then bedd I to the Beacon
with mood blithest
and with all my heart,
where al-one I lay
in my humble homestead.

Wæs mod-sefa
 a-fysed on forð-wege.
 Feala ealra gebad
 langung-hwila;
 is me nu lifes hyht
 þæt ic þone sige-beam
 secan mote,
 ana oftor
 þonne ealle men
 well weorþian.
 Me is willa to ðam
 mycel on mode,
 and min mundbyrd is
 ge-riht to þære rode.
 Nah ic ricra feala
 freonda on foldan,
 ac hie forð heonan gewiton
 of worulde dreamum,
 sohton him wuldres cyning,
 lifiað nu on heofenum
 mid heah-fædere,
 wuniaþ on wuldre;
 and ic wene me
 daga gehwylce
 hwænne me Dryhtnes Rôd,
 þe ic her on eorðan
 ær sceawode,
 of þyssan lænan
 life gefetige,
 and me þonne gebringe
 þær is blis mycel,
 dream on heofonum —
 þær is Dryhtnes fole
 ge-seted to symle,
 þær is singal blis —
 and he þonne a-sette
 þær ic syþþan mot
 wunian on wuldre,
 well mid þam halgum
 dreames brucan!
 Si me Dryhten freond
 se ðe her on eorþan
 ær þrowode
 on þam gealg-treowe
 for guman synnum!
 He us on-lyside
 and us lif forgeaf,
 heofonlicne ham.
 Hiht wæs geniwad
 mid blædum and mid blisse
 þam þe þær bryne þolodan.
 Se Sunu wæs sigorfæst,
 on þam sið-fate

250 *Holy musings*
fill'd me with flame-thoughts.
Fele soul-longings
have I had in my day.
Now the hope of my life
 255 *is — that Tree of Triumph*
ever to turn to,
I al-one, oftener
than all men soever
magnifying its majesty.
 260 *Mighty my will is*
to cleave to the Crucified;
my claim for shelter
is right to the Rood!
Rent are now from me
 265 *my friends the mightiest;*
far now, nearly all of them,
from our world's pleasure.
The Wuldor-king sought they,
harbor now in Heaven
 270 *with the High Father*
in glee and glory.
I, eke, gladly
long each day
till the Lord's Cross-tree —
 275 *on our earth's platform*
which once I gaz'd at —
from the coils of this care-world
shall call and fetch me,
bringing me yonder
 280 *where bliss overfloweth,*
to the City Celestial —
there the Saviour's followers
sit at His supper,
there is song for aye —
 285 *and He then shall place me*
in that Palace, the Wonderful,
where with grace and glory
mong God's own Hallowed
the King shall crown me!
 290 *Christ be my friend,*
on the earth who erewhile
underwent torture,
suffer'd on the gibbet
for the sins of men!
 295 *He loost and up-lifted us,*
life He gave us,
Heavenly Habitations.
Hope smil'd anew,
bliss and bloom cheer'd the sad ones,
 300 *when His Banner reacht Hell!*
The Son was sigorfæst,
splendid was His on-march,

mihtig and spedig.
 þa he mid manigeo com,
 gasta weorode,
 on Godes rice,
 Anwealda ælmihtig,
 englum to blisse,
 and callum ðam halgum
 þam þe on heofenum ær
 wunedon on wuldre,
 þa heora Wealdend cwom
 ælmihtig God,
 þær his eðel wæs!

mighty, magnificent,
 when He came with multitudes,
 305 ghostly legions,
 to God's high kingdom,
 He monarch matchless,
 giving mirth to His angels,
 and to saints His sav'd ones,
 310 seated in His heaven
 and biding there in brightness,
 when the Lord of Benison,
 God Almighty,
 gain'd His old home-halls!

CHANGES IN THE TEXT.

Line 3: I let *hæt* stand, as being only an old variation of *hit* = it. — 15. *feowere* stands instead of the *fægere* of the Ms. This change was first suggested by Bouterwek, and appears reasonable from the contrast with *fife* in the next line. The eye of the copyist probably took the *fægere* from line 19. — 94. Thorpe prints *hira nænigum*, hereby both obliterating the antique g. pl. *hīran* (later *hira*) and spoiling the stave-rime. See under *HE*, in the Word-roll. — 108. Thorpe again erroneously divides *fors-eode*. — 134. The Ms. has *os*. This may be old for *or*, as in O. E. compounds. (meaning *out* or *out-of*), equal to the M. Gothic *us*, the Scandian *ur*; or it may be miswritten for *of*. — 142. *rode* inserted, completing the stave-rime. The scribe may have past it over from its likeness to *gode*. — 145. *eored* added, to complete both sense and rime. — 154. A line wanting here; I propose that in the text. — 266. Thorpe has *heoron*, probably a misprint. — 291. *her* is put for the *ær* of the skinbook; but *ær* and *her* may be merely different spellings of the same word: *h* is often omitted.

OLDER AND POETICAL WORDS.

ATHELING. — From *ATHEL*, noble, = (Nobling) noble-youth, *prince*; especially applied to the Heir Apparent or a Prince of the Blood.

BANNER. — This line (300) is translated in accordance with the persuasion that the Author here refers to "the Harrowing of Hell", the Soul of Christ entering Hades — the Home of Departed Spirits — in the interval between His Death and Resurrection. This primeval and orthodox idea is handed down to us in our Creed: "He descended into Hell".

BARON. — Lord, hero, soldier, man.

BEDD. — Prayed; from *to* *BEDE*.

BEDE. — Prayer.

BEVER. — To tremble, quake.

COMEN. — Older participial form (now *COME*) with the musical falling syllable.

DOLE. — Sorrow, grief.

DREETEN. — Lord, Prince. Also applied to Christ and the Father. Is the Scandinavian *DROTEN*. Comes from the verb to *DREE* (O. S. E. *DREOGAN*), to hold out, act valiantly and enduringly.

FREA. — The *PREY* of Scandinavia, the God of Peace and Bliss, worshipt by our fore-elders on *FRI*-day. Afterwards used as an epithet of honor, not only for a Prince or Chieftain but also for Christ and the Father.

GAR. — To make, do.

GAR'D. — Made.

HALLOWS. — Holy ones, Saints.

HEALER. — Saviour.

HILDE-RINK. — Hero of Hilde (Bellona), Battle-brave, Captain, soldier, man.

- NOTE. — present tense: Order, command; past tense: ordered, commanded.
 KEN. — See.
 MIND. — Remember.
 MOTE. — Might.
 MOULD. — Earth, Land and Sea.
 MOULD-HOUSE. — Grave, tomb, sepulchre.
 OND. — Soul, spirit.
 SELCOUTH. — Seld known, strange, mysterious, wonderful.
 SELE. — Season, time.
 SHEER. — Pure, clear, bright.
 SHINE-PATH. — The lift, air, sky.
 SIGE-BEAM. — (Pronounce SEEG-E), the Beam, Stem, of Victory, the Tree of Triumph, the Cross.
 SIGOR-FAST. — (Pronounce SEEG-OR), Victory-fast, victorious.
 SITHANCE. — Since, after-that.
 SOUL-HOUSE. — Body, "earthly tabernacle".
 SPEECH-BEARER. — Human being, mortal, man, as opposed to "Dumb creatures".
 SPEIRETH. — Asketh, enquireth.
 STREAL. — Anything STROWN or cast; a missile of any kind, stone, dart, arrow, javelin, spear, &c.
 SWEAT. — Blood.
 SWEFEN. — Dream.
 TELLEN. — Older infinitive form (now TELL) with the musical falling syllable.
 THOLED. — Endured, suffered.
 THROWED. — Bore, suffered.
 WALDEND. — The WALDER, WIELDER, Lord, Ruler, Monarch.
 WEIRD. — Fate, destiny.
 WEMFUL. — Full of scars and spots.
 WULDOR. — (From the same root as WALDEND), WIELD-POWER, might, majesty, glory, Paradise.
 WULDOR-ELDER. — The Elder Omnipotent, the Prince of Power, the Lord of Paradise.
 WULDOR-STEM. — The Tree of Majesty, the Holy Rood.
 WUN. — (Usually mis-spelt, and therefore often mis-pronounced WON), dwell, abide.

CLOSING REMARKS.

The beautiful Poem now for the first time presented to the English reader in a separate form was, as is mentioned above, first printed by Mr. Thorpe about 30 years ago from the Vercelli Codex. Since then it has twice appeared in Germany, both times with a German translation, Bouterwek's¹ in Prose, Grein's² in stave-rime Verse. The latter is much superior to the former, as is also his text. But both have made considerable mistakes, in text as well as meaning.

The text on the whole is nearly correct. I have only thought it necessary to add a word or two which had fallen out. One passage (line 118) is completed by the aid of the Runic monument, the Codex amended by the Carved Stone! — I have also suggested a verbal alteration or two, mere corrections of slips of the pen in the old scribe. Otherwise I have left it as it is. Nothing is easier than to alter and "slash away", nothing in general more unjustifiable. Grein, with his usual good sense and good scholarship, is comparatively sparing of alterations. Bouterwek is much more licentious — to his own great damage.

As „The Rood" has never before appeared in English, I will make a passing observation. The translation is in my manner, in the metre of the original. And I have preserved many of the characteristic old words — as is my wunt. Without these not only would the version have been

¹ Caedmon's des Angelsachsen Biblische Dichtungen. Herausgegeben von K. W. Bouterwek. Dritte Abtheilung, Gütersloh and London, 1854, 8vo, pp. CLXVIII-CLXXVI.

² Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie in kritisch bearbeiteten Texten und mit vollständigem Glossar. Herausgegeben von C. W. M. Grein. 8vo. II Band. Text II, Göttingen 1858, pp. 143-47. 2ter Band, Göttingen 1859, pp. 140-44.

mechanically inferior, but it would have lost much of its spirit and color. As it is, we see and feel, from the terminology as well as the style, that everything is Old-Northern, imbued with the Gothic strength. And the effect is accordingly very striking and very fine. Men are "War-men" and "braves"; Joseph and his friends are "Hilde-rinks"; the "Barons" bear Our Saviour to His tomb; Christ is DREETEN and FREA and the WALDEND and the WULDOR-ELDER, and so on. All this adds a great charm. We see our warlike forefathers before our eyes. War gives its dialect to everything, and the heathen nomenclature is still racy in the mouths of the people, like as St. Paul himself uses Greek words of a Heathen-mythical origin. The absence of all this would have been an irreparable loss. What a pity to have daubed all this over with the Churchwarden's whitewash of the vulgar Latinisms — *Glory* and *Saviour* and *Servants*, &c.! The reader therefore will not grudge, if he is a man of sense and taste, half a minute's trouble in looking over my appended list for the meanings. I have explained everything, and there can be no difficulty or objection.

Nearly allied hereto, and a proof of its importance, is another detail. The excessive value of our oldest verse is not confined to its intrinsic merits, its frequent sublimity and beauty. It also reaches to the many reminiscences we there find of those older religious ideas which gradually gave way before a purer and nobler faith. And these reminiscences are not confined to the mere language, to such sounding ornaments as FREA for Lord, BALDOR for Prince, HELL for Hades, and so forth. We have also still deeper glimpses of the Mythic Heroes worshipt by our Northern ancestors.

There is one instance of this in the lines before us. As it has never been remarkt, I will allow myself a word of observation.

Of all the Gods of WALHALL, BALDOR (the Scandinavian BALDER), the *White ós* (the Scandinavian *Ás*), — the Fair, the Just, the Good, is the most attractive, and the most likely to pass over into the counterpart of Christ, whose service was entered by Holy Baptism, when *White Robes* were worn by the Catechumens. In fact in the early Middle Age things called after this Son of Woden were renamed, usually after Christ or St. John. And this silent melting of the Mythical BALDOR into the Historical Christ took place all over the North. The oldest Scandinavian poems offer many instances.

One point most likely to show a parallel was — the death of this Peace-God. In consequence of his ominous Dreams, all nature, all created things, took oath not to scathe him. So the Gods flung things at him for sport, assured of his safety; and nothing hurt him. The Mistletoe alone had been overlookt, in consequence of the perfidy of LOKI, and with this he was killed at the hands of his blind brother the kemp HADO (Scandinavian HODR, earlier HADR), who unwittingly became the tool of LOKI's falseness. — Now this trait spread as applied to Christ. It even appears in Jewish legends. In the *Toledoth Jeschu*, written in the 13th century (publisht in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanæ*, Hebrew and Latin), we have the Oath; all trees swearing; Judas, who contrives that a Cabbage-stalk shall be forgotten; and the death of Christ when struck therewith. See Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, i, 179, 180. — But when BALDOR had fallen, the Death-goddess (HEL) said that he should be restored to the grieving Deities *if all Creation wept*. So they sent out erranders; and stones, rocks, trees, metals, animals, men, all things shed tears for the beloved son of FRIGG. But one old witch (LOKI in the disguise of THÖKT) *refused*, and BALDOR came back no more!

Now in the light of all this let us read a poem, composed in an age when heathendom had but lately been laid aside, its mighty traditions still strong and fresh and impregnating everything, its spirit bound up in the language itself and reflected in a thousand native details.

I will not insist on a general coincidence, the remarkable expression at line 77:

On-gyrede hine þa GEONG HELED

For the grapple then girded Him that YOUTHFUL HERO,

young helt, youthful hero, being most strange as applied to the Crucified, but perfectly in its place as a reminiscence of BALDOR; — I will refer to more decisive evidence.

We will go then to line 126. One little word betrays the whole heathen background. The Cross exclaims:

Eall ic wæs mid STRELMUM forwundod

With STREALS was I all wounded.

Now STREALS is a word more expressive than *arrows* or *darts*, &c., altho of course often used for such, for it includes *all kinds of missiles*, everything STREWN or cast. It is therefore I have retained it in the

translation. Thus, literally speaking, unconsciously to the poet himself so to say, Christ did not die of Crucifixion or by being pierced in His side with a spear¹. He was *shot to death*. All sorts of missiles were hurled at him, wounding, dinting and bruising and jaggng *the wood of the Cross*, and at last one fatal STREAL — doubtless the Mistletoe — struck Him and He died!

But there is another passage, not less decisive, lines 110, 111:

WEOP eal gesceaft,	|	WEPT all Creation,
cwiddon cynynges fyll.	|	wail'd the fall of their King.

All this has nothing to do with any Canonical, or even any Apocryphal, scripture. It is taken from the Heathen and not the Gospel Story. It coincides with the lays afterwards gathered into the Eddas, but it is *5 or 600 years* earlier than the time when these Eddas were compiled. Can there be a stronger proof of the antiquity and wide spread of these Northern Myths? North-England in the 7th century betrays them as strongly as Iceland and Norway in the 12th and 13th!

Before concluding I would remark, that this Lay cannot be appealed to on either side with regard to the dispute concerning "the Worship of the Cross" in the Old-English Church. That this custom, properly one of mere veneration and respect, but which rapidly past over into a real condemnable "worship", however piously and innocently intended, was early found in our Church is undoubted, whether so early as the 7th century cannot be proved. But the present song throws no light on the question. The whole is here a sublime Poetical Symbolisation. The Rood is Christ Himself. Or rather, now *a tree*, now *the Cross*, now *the Doctrine of the Cross*, now *Christ on the Cross*, now *Christ Crucified*, that is, the whole *Christian System*, Faith in Christ as our Crucified Redeemer, — it plays in all the colors of the Rainbow, as we might expect from a *Poet* and a *Dream*. At the same time there is no doubt that much of the poetical description is *founded on fact*. CÆDMON evidently speaks of his Visionary Rood as he might have seen it in some Cathedral or Cloister-church of his time, by some cunning artist decorated with gold and jewels and maybe adorned with costly hangings. — All the rest is Christian Fancy, bold creative Imagination, the highest class of poetical talent.

As CÆDMON'S romantic career cannot be too widely known, and as all that has come down to us about him is comprised in a few lines — a strange counterpart to that other great English Scóp our sweet SHAKESPEAR — I add the traditions about him as given by Venerable BÆDA, who died in 735, only about 55 winters after the decease of the Bard. But, on account of the verses, I give the passage not from BÆDA'S Latin original but from King ALFRED'S precious version of that Latin, borrowing the excellent rendering of Mr. Thorpe². The extract in question is from Book 4 Chapter 24 of Bæda's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*.

¹ Even this spear was made to represent the Mistletoe. The Roman Soldier who pierced the Saviour's side gradually sank into a counterpart of HADO, the blind kemp. As a Christian mythic personage he was named LONGINUS or LONGIUS, and was *blind*, and knew not what he did, and was restored to sight by some drops of the holy blood trickling down the spear into his eyes. A later Ms. of the Gospel of Nicodemus (Latin version) mentions LONGINUS and his spear, but not his blindness. In the *Chester Plays*, Vol. 2, p. 66, and the *Cornish Drama*, Vol. 1, pp. 459, 461, LONGINUS is introduced, but as a mere passer-by who is *stone-blind*, and who pierces Christ against his will. The blood restores his sight and he worships the Saviour. — See some interesting remarks on this subject, illustrative of an Old Danish Ballad — *The Blind Man at the Cross of Christ* — in Svend Grundtvig's *Danmarks gamle Folkeviser*, Vol. 2, Kjøbenhavn 1856, Imperial 8vo, pp. 536-39.

Blind LONGINUS and his Blow are also mentioned in a Charm printed by me, from a Middle-English Ms. (written soon after 1350), in the *Archæologia*, Vol. 30, p. 503:

TO STAUNCH BLOOD.

"Here begynneth a charme for to stawnchyn blood § Furst hyhowy3t [it behoves] to knowyn a mannys name . yanne [then] go y^e [thou] to chyrche. And sey [say] yis [this] charme and y^e y^e seye hyt no3t but for man or for woman.

"In nomine patris &c. Whanne oure Lord was don on y^e crosse yanne come LONGINUS thedyr [thither] & smot hym wth [with] a spere . in hys syde . blod & water yer come owte at y^e wounde and he wyppyd hys eyne & anon he sawgh [saw] kyth [plainly] thorough y^e [the] vertu of yat God . yerfore I conjure the [thee] blood yat y^e come no3t [not] owte of yis cristen man or cristyn woman . n. In nomine patris & filii &c."

"And yis charme seye thre sythys [times] And yanne tharst [thou needest] no3t recchyn [care for, know] where yt [where] that, in what place] ye [the] man be or ye woman so y^e y^e knowe y^e name."

² B. Thorpe. *Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase*. London 1832, 8vo, pp. xix-xxix.

BÆDA'S TALE ABOUT CÆDMON.

MODERNIZED BY MR. THORPE FROM KING ALFRED'S OLD-ENGLISH WENDING.

"In this Abbess's [Hilda's] Minster [Whitby] was a certain brother extraordinarily magnified and honoured with a divine gift; for he was wont to make fitting songs which conduced to religion and piety; so that whatever he learned through clerks of the holy writings, that he, after a little space, would usually adorn with the greatest sweetness and feeling, and bring forth in the English tongue, and by his songs the minds of many men were often inflamed with contempt for the world, and with desire of heavenly life. And, moreover, many others after him, in the English nation, sought to make pious songs; but yet none could do like to him, for he had not been taught from men, nor through man, to learn the poetical art; but he was divinely aided, and through God's grace received the art of song. And he therefore never might make aught of leasing or of idle poems, but those only which conduced to religion, and which it became his pious tongue to sing. The man was placed in worldly life until the time that he was of mature age, and had never learned any poem; and he therefore often in convivial society¹, when, for the sake of mirth, it was resolved that they all in turn should sing to the harp, when he saw the harp approaching him, then for shame he would rise from the assembly and go home to his house.

"When he so on a certain time did, that he left the house of the convivial meeting, and was gone out to the stall of the cattle, the care of which that night had been committed to him, — when he there, at proper time, placed his limbs on the bed and slept, then stood some man by him, in a dream, and hailed and greeted him, and named him by his name, [saying] "Cædmón, sing me something". Then he answered and said, "I cannot sing any thing, and therefore I went out from this convivial meeting, and retired hither, because I could not". Again he who was speaking with him said, "Yet thou must sing to me". Said he, "What shall I sing?" Said he, "Sing me the origin of things". When he received this answer, then he began forthwith to sing, in praise of God the Creator, the verses and the words which he had never heard, the order of which is this:

"Now must we praise
the Guardian of heaven's kingdom,
the Creator's might,
and his mind's thought;
glorious Father of men!
as of every wonder he,
Lord eternal,
formed the beginning.
He first framed

for the children of earth
the heaven as a roof;
holy Creator!
then mid-earth,
the Guardian of mankind,
the eternal Lord,
afterwards produced;
the earth for men.
Lord Almighty!

"Then he arose from sleep, and had fast in mind all that he sleeping had sung, and to those words forthwith joined many words of song worthy of God in the same measure.

"Then came he in the morning to the town-reeve, who was his superior, and said to him what gift he had received; and he forthwith led him to the abbess, and told, and made that known to her. Then she bade all the most learned men and the learners to assemble, and in their presence bade him tell the dream, and sing the poem; that, by the judgment of them all, it might be determined why or whence that was come? Then it seemed to them all, so as it was, that to him, from the Lord himself, a heavenly gift had been given. Then they expounded to him and said some holy history, and words of godly lore; then bade him, if he could, to sing some of them, and turn them into the melody of song. When he had undertaken the thing, then went he home to his house, and came again in the

¹ "Literally *Beership*, see *Leges Inæ* apud Wilkins, p. 16; and Tacit. Germ. 22, 23."

morning, and sang and gave to them, adorned with the best poetry, what had been bidden him. Then began the abbess to make much of and love the grace of God in the man; and she then exhorted and instructed him to forsake worldly life and take to monkhood: and he that well approved. And she received him into the minster with his goods, and associated him with the congregation of those servants of God, and caused him to be taught the series of the Holy History and Gospel; and he all that he could learn by hearing meditated with himself, and, as a clean animal, ruminating, turned into the sweetest verse: and his song and his verse were so winsome to hear, that his teachers themselves wrote and learned from his mouth. He first sang of earth's creation, and of the origin of mankind, and all the history of Genesis, which is the first book of Moses, and then of the departure of the people of Israel from the Egyptian's land, and of the entrance of the land of promise, and of many other histories of the canonical books of Holy Writ; and of Christ's incarnation, and of his passion, and of his ascension into heaven; and of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the doctrine of the Apostles; and also of the terror of the doom to come, and the fear of hell-torment, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom, he made many poems; and, in like manner, many others of the divine benefits and judgments he made; in all which he earnestly took care to draw men from the love of sins and wicked deeds, and to excite to a love and desire of good deeds; for he was a very pious man, and to regular disciplines humbly subjected; and against those who in other wise would act, he was inflamed with the heat of great zeal: and he therefore with a fair end his life closed and ended.

"For when the time approached of his decease and departure, then was he for fourteen days ere that oppressed and troubled with bodily infirmity; yet so moderately, that, during all that time, he could both speak and walk. There was in the neighbourhood a house for infirm men, in which it was their custom to bring the infirm, and those who were on the point of departure, and there attend to them together. Then bade he his servant, on the eve of the night that he was going from the world, to prepare him a place in that house, that he might rest: whereupon the servant wondered why he this bade, for it seemed to him that his departure was not so near: yet he did as he said, and commanded. And when he there went to bed, and in joyful mood was speaking some things, and joking together with those who were therein previously, then it was over midnight that he asked, whether they had the eucharist within? They answered, "What need is to thee of the eucharist? thy departure is not so near, now thou thus cheerfully, and thus gladly art speaking to us". Again he said, "Bring me nevertheless the eucharist". When he had it in his hands, he asked, whether they had all a placid mind and kind, and without any ill-will towards him? Then they all answered, and said, that they knew of no ill-will towards him, but they all were very kindly disposed; and they besought him in turn that he would be kindly disposed to them all. Then he answered and said, "My beloved brethren, I am very kindly disposed to you and all God's men". And he thus was strengthening himself with the heavenly viaticum, and preparing himself an entrance into another life. Again he asked, "How near it was to the hour that the brethren must rise and teach the people of God, and sing their nocturns?" They answered, "It is not far to that". He said, "It is well, let us await the hour". And then he prayed and signed himself with Christ's cross, and reclined his head on the bolster, and slept for a little space; and so with stillness ended his life. And thus it was, that as he with pure and calm mind and tranquil devotion had served God, that he, in like manner, left the world with as calm a death, and went to his presence; and the tongue that had composed so many holy words in the Creator's praise, he, then, in like manner, its last words closed in his praise, crossing himself, and committing his soul into his hands. Thus it is seen that he was conscious of his own departure, from what we have now heard say."

[The copy of CÆDMON'S first Song, taken by Thorpe from the C. C. C. Oxford Ms., of the 10th century, I call No. 2. As it is of the greatest possible interest, both linguistic and historical, I append 3 other transcripts. — No. 1, the oldest of all, is in the original North-English; and written very shortly after BEDA'S death. It is from the venerable bookfell in Cambridge University Library, KK, 5, 16, transcribed about anno 737. I have to thank the Rev. D. H. Haigh for a careful facsimile. — Nr. 3 is from the manuscript used by Smith in his edition of Alfred's Beda. — Nr. 4 is from Ms. Laud 243, Bodleian Lib. Oxford, 12th century, as given by Stevenson in his English translation of the Church Historians of England, Vol. 1, 8vo, London 1853, Part 2, p. xxxi.

The precious No. 1 is written as prose.

STAVESIME VERSION.

Heaven-ric's Warder
 now let us hery,
 the Meter's might
 and His mind's deep thought,
 each work of our Wuldor-father,
 as of wonder every
 that aye-living Dreeten
 the outlines drew.
 Heaven as hall-roof
 here to Adam's bairns
 first framed
 His holy finger.
 Then mid-earth
 mánkind's Guardian,
 that aye-living Dreeten,
 afterwards shoop
 for the folk on our fold —
 He the Frea Almighty!

OLDEST TEXT.

Nu seylun hergan¹
 hefaen-ricaes uard
 metudæs maecti
 end his mod-gidanc
 uere uuldur-fadur
 sue he uundra gihuaes
 eci dryctin
 or astelidæ
 He aerist scop
 aelda barnum
 heben til hrofe
 haleg scepen.
 tha middun-geard
 moncynnæs uard
 eci dryctin
 æfter tiadæ
 frum foldan
 frea allmectig

*primo cantauit caedmon
 istud carmen.*

OXFORD TEXT.

Nu we sceolon herian.
 heofon-rices weard.
 metodes mihte.
 and his mod-geþonc.
 wera wuldor-fæder.
 swa he wundra gehwæs.
 ece dryhten.
 oord onstealde.
 he ærest gescéop.
 eorðan bearnum.
 heofon to hrofe.
 halig scýppend.
 þa middangeard.
 moncynnes weard.
 ece dryhten.
 æfter teode.
 frum foldan.
 frea ælmihtig.

SMITH'S TEXT.

Nu we sceolon herigeaen
 heofon rices weard
 metodes mihte
 and his mod geðanc
 weorc wuldor fæder
 sua he wundra gehwæs
 ece drihten
 ord onsteald.
 He ærest scop
 eorðan bearnum
 heofon to rofe
 halig scippend.
 þa middangeard
 moncýnnes weard
 ece drihten
 æfter teode
 frum foldan
 frea ælmihtig.

LAUD MS.

Nu we sceolon herian
 heofonrices weard
 Metudes mihte
 and his mod-geþanc
 weorc wulder fæder
 swa he wundra gehwæs
 ece drihten
 þa he ærest sceop
 eorðe bearnum
 heofon to hrofe
 þa middan-geard
 moncynnes weard
 ece drihten
 æfter teode
 fyrum on folden
 frea ælmihtig
 halig scyp

Fol. 82. b.

¹ In KK first written *hergan*, but altered by the same hand to *hergan*. In line 5 *uere* is evidently the correct reading, not *wera*; Bæda's Latin text has "*facta Patris glorie*"; therefore translate: *the-works of-the-Glory-father*, uniting by a hyphen *uuldur* and *fadur*. In line 10 *aelda* is the oldest word; Bæda has "*filii hominum*"; therefore: *of-men for-the-children*. In line 17 I take *foldan* to be in the genitive sing., not, with Thorpe, in the ac. sing., and consequently turn it: *for-the-sons of-earth*.]

The above story of the way in which CÆDMON became a Scald has been imitated in Iceland, or else like circumstances have given rise to a similar symbolical legend. When THORLEIF JARLESKALD was murdered and laid in his barrow, HALLBIORN, called HALLI, came there often at night with his flocks, and slept on the hoy. He eagerly wisht to make a poem on the dead bard, but could never come further than the first words:

"Her liggr skalld."

One night however, while sleeping on the cairn, he thought it opened; the hoyman came out, told HALLBIORN that, tho hitherto no poet, he should become a famous and rich one if he could remember what he would recite, and then quod a Visa of 8 lines. As the sleeper woke, he thought he saw the shoulders of THORLEIF, re-entering his grave-mound. Fortunately he remembered the lines, repeated them with great applause, and gained riches and honor in many lands by his songs on mighty men. The date of this transaction is the end of the 10th or beginning of the 11th century, but the Saga itself is much later¹.

SHORT GLOSSARY

TO THE OLD-SOUTH-ENGLISH COPY OF

CÆDMON'S

DREAM OF THE HOLY ROOD

Certain details given in the Word-roll to "King Waldere's Lay" are not repeated here.

A-, See a-FYSED, a-HEAWEN, a-HOF, a-LEDON, a-RÆRED, a-RAS, a-SETTE, a-STAG, a-STYRED.

AC, 21, 86, 231, &c., AC, but.

ADOMES, 201, ADAM'S, g. s. of ADOM.

ÆFEN-TIDE, 137, ac. s. or pl. of ÆFEN-TID, e, f. EVEN-TIDE, evening.

ÆFTER, 131, AFTER, Prep. gov. Dat.

æg-, See æg-HWYLCNE.

æl-, See æl-MHTIG.

ÆNIG, &c., under AN.

ÆR, 230, 237, 276, &c. ERE, once, formerly, before, already. ÆR-DAN, 178, ERE-THAN, before that, before. See ær-gewinn. — ÆRUB, 218, (ERER), before, earlier, comp. of ÆR. — ÆREST, 38, ERST, first, all at once.

ÆT, 15, 128, AT, Prep. gov. Dat. See æt-GÆDERE.

ÆDELINGE, 115, d. s. of ÆDELING, es, m. ATHELING, prince, Lord.

AH, 216, OWES, OWNS, hath, possesses, 3 s. pr. of AGAN. — NAH (= N'AH, NE AH), I NE OWE, OWN NOT, have not, 1 s. pr. of NAGAN (N'AGAN).

AN, ONE. — ANA, 248, 257, n. s. m. def., the-ONE, all alone. ANRA, g. pl. ANRA PARA, 173, of-the-ones of-those, of all those, ANRA ge-GHWYLCUM, 217, of-the-ones to-each, to each one, to each. — ÆNIG, 221, 235, ANY, any one. ÆNIGUM, 94, d. s. m.

AND, 24, 26, &c., AND.

gebAD, under BIDAN.

gebÆD, u. BIDDAN.

BÆRON, u. BERRAN.

BANA, an, m. BANE, slayer, killer; hence also Devil, Satan. ON BANAN geSYHDE, 133. Here the word is either g. s., in which case it means the Evil One, the Devil, — or it stands for BANANA, an O. N. E. form for the O. S. E. BANENA, g. pl., of the Banemen, murderers, the slayers of Christ. In the latter case, which is my choice, the A has fallen away before the following vocalic e (y).

¹ Flateyjarbók. Christiania, Vol. 1, 1859, 8vo, pp. 214, 215.

BE, See be-DEALF, be-DRIFENNE, be-GOTEN, be-HEOLDON, by-SMEREDON, be-STEMED, be-SWYLED, be-WUNDEN.

BEACEN, es, n. 12, n. s. A BEACON, pillar, token, mark, structure, figure; 42, ac. s.; BEAGNE, 167, d. s.; BEACNA, 238, g. pl.

BEALU-WARA, 159, of BALE-WERES, bale-men, bad men, wicked wretches, g. pl. of BEALU-WÉR, es, m. — This is the O. N. E. g. pl. of WÉR, the S. E. is WÉRA.

BEAM, es, m. 196, n. s. A BEAM, tree. BEAME, 230, 245, d. s.; BEAMA, 11, g. pl. — See SIGE-BEAM.

BEARN, es, n. 168, n. s. A BARN, BAIRN, son, child.

BEORG, 64, BURG, hill, mount, ac. s. of BEORH, -ges, m.; GEORGE, 99, d. s.

BEORHT, BRIGHT, splendid. BEORHTAN, 134, d. s. m. def. — BEORHTOST, 11, ac. s. n. superl.

BEORN, es, m. 83, n. s. BAIRN, BARN, (BARON), soldier, warrior, man; BEORNAS, 63, 133, n. pl.

BÉRAN, to BEAR, carry; have. BERED, 237, 3 s. pr.; BÆRON, 63, 3 pl. p. — BEREND, see REORD-BEREND.

BERSTAN, 71, to BURST, break, fall in pieces.

BÍÐAN, to BIDE, await, endure, suffer, go thro; have. Governs both Gen. and Ac. of thing. gebad, 252, 1 s. p.; gebiden, 100, 160, sup.

BIDDAN, to BID, pray. gebiddad, 167, 3 pl. pr., the s. nom. *gesceaft* being regarded as a noun of multitude; gebæd, 245, 1 s. p. — Used with a reflective dative.

BIFIAN, 72, to BEVER, shake, tremble, quake; BIFODE, 83, 1 s. past.

BITERES, 229, of BITTER, painful, g. s. m. of BITER.

BID, 174, BEETH, is, 3 s. p. of BEÓN.

BLÉDUM, 299, with BLADES, out-shootings, blooming, happiness, prosperity, glory, bliss, d. pl. of BLEÐ, es, m.

BLEOM, 43, with BLEES, hues, colors, appearance, d. pl. of BLEÓ or BLEÓH, -wes, or -s, neut.

BLIS, sc. f., 280, 284, n. s., BLISS, joy, gladness; BLISSE, 299, 308, d. s.

BLÍÐE, 246, abl. s. n., BLITHE, glad, cheerful.

BLODE, 96, with BLOOD, gore, d. s. of BLÓÐ, es, n.

BOLD. See FEORG-BOLD.

BREOSTUM, 237, BREASTS, bosom, emphatic pl. for sing., like HEAFDUM. Dat. pl. of BREÓST, e, f.

gebringe, 279, 3 s. pres. subj. of BRINGAN, to BRING, take, convey, lead.

BRUCAN, 289, to BROOK, use, enjoy. Gov. a gen.

BRÝNE, es, m., 300, d. s., BURN, burning, heat, torment, (referring to the *Harrowing of Hell*, the rescue by Christ from Hades of Adam and all his righteous offspring).

BUGAN, 71, 84, to BUDGE, BOW, bend, incline, draw back.

BU-TU, 95, BOTH (properly BO-TWO), ac. pl. united m. and fem. of BEGEN.

BY, u. BE.

BYRD, See MUND-BYRD.

BYRIGAN, to BURY, swallow, *taste*. Gov. ac. BYRIGDE, 203, 3 s. p. — on-BYRIGAN, 229. Gov. gen.

CEARIG, See HREOW-CEARIG.

ymb-CLYPTÉ, 83, UM-CLIPT, round-graspt, claspt, embraced, 3 s. p. of ymb-CLYPPAN.

COLODE, 146, COOLED, grew-cold, 3 s. p. of CÓLIAN.

COM, u. CUMAN.

CRIST, 112, CHRIST; CRISTE, 233, d. s.

CUMAN, to COME; draw nigh; arrive. COM. 304, CWOM, 312, 3 s. p.; CWOMAN (for CWOMON), 114, 3 pl. p.; CUMEN, 162, p. p. nom. s.

CURFON, 134, CARVED, cut, hewed, fashioned, 3 pl. p. of CEORFAN.

CWEDAN, 234, to QUOTH, speak, say; CWYD, 224, 3 s. pres.

CWÉDON, 111, QUETHED, lamented, spoke grievingly of, 3 pl. p. of CWIDAN.

CWOM, CWOMAN, u. CUMAN.

CWYD, u. CWEDAN.

CYN(N), es, n., 190, ac. s., KIN, KIND, sort. — See MAN-CYN(N).

CYNING, es, m. KING, Lord, 88, ac. s.; — CYNINGES, 111, g. s.

CYST, ? a, m., the CHOICE, anything chosen for its goodness, an excellent one, the best.
Governs a gen. pl. — 1, ac. s.

DÆG, es, m. DAY. — DAGA, 273, g. pl. — See DOM-DÆGE.

be-DEALF, 151, BEDALF, BEDELVED, be-dug, dug down, buried, 3 s. p. of be-DELFAN.

DEMAN, 215, to DEEM, DOOM, judge, sentence. — DÓM, es, m. DOOM, judgment, sentence, juris-
diction, sway. DOMES, 216, g. s. — DOM-DÆGE, 211, DOOM(s)-DAY, the Judgment Day, the Last Day,
ac. s. of DOM-DÆG.

DEAD, es, m., 203, ac. s. DEATH; DEADES, 228, g. s.

DEOPAN, 151, DEEP, profound. d. s. m. def. of DEOP.

DEORCUM, 91, with DARK, murk, gloomy, d. pl. of DEORC.

DOM, DOMES, u. DEMAN.

DORSTE, 69, 84, 90, 94, DURST, dared, 1 s. p. of DURRAN.

DREAM, es, m. DREAM, joy, mirth, delight, ecstasy. 281, n. s.; DREAMES, 289, g. s.;
DREAMUM, 267, d. pl.

gedREFED, 40, 118, DRAVED, troubled, afflicted, p. p. nom. s. of DRÉFAN.

DRIFAN, to DRIVE. — be-DRIFENNE, 125, p. p. ac. s. m. BE-DRIVEN, all driving, dripping,
wringing wet. Tho RÓD, to which this word refers, is fem., yet we have here the masc. form; but the
Cross here speaks generally, as a personification, a Man. — þurh-DRIFAN (for þurh-DRIFON) 91, THRO-
DROVE, drove or hammered thro, penetrated, 3 pl. p. of þurh-DRIFAN.

DRYHTEN, es, m. 204, 212, 290, n. s. 129, ac. s. A DRYHTEN, DRICHTIN, DREETEN, Lord, ruler,
prince; DRYHTNES, 18, 70, 52 &c., g. s.

EAC, 185, EKE, also.

EAL, 100, EALL, 12, 24, 166, n. s. ALL; 116, 190, ac. s. n.; EALL, 40, 96, 126, ac. absolute,
used adverbially, ALL, ALTOGETHER, quite; EALLE, 18, 258, n. pl.; 74, 148, 188, ac. pl.; EALRA, 252,
g. pl., used adverbially, ALTOGETHER; indeed; EALLUM, 309, d. pl.

EALD-GEWYRHUTUM, 202, OLD-WROUGHTS, ancient workings, old deeds, former trespasses, heavy crimes,
d. pl. of EALD-GEWYRHUT, es, n. — In such compounds EALD is often not merely OLD but *emphatic* (= GREAT).

EALDOR, es, m., 182, n. s. ELDER, prince, Lord.

EARM. Usually means, in O. E. as in the cognate dialects, poor, mean, pitiable, unhappy.
This is the sense of EARME, 137, n. pl. There will be no great difference in the signification if we take
the word here as an adverb. — But in EARMRA, 37, g. pl., the word has an allied but very unusual
sense — the miserable, despicable, the castaways, the criminal and abandoned ones, the abjects, caitiffs.
GEARNAP, 220, EARNETH, merits, deserves, 3 s. present of EARNIAN.

EADMOD, 121, n. s., ETHE-MOOD, gentle-minded, obedient, mild, meek, humble.

EAXLE, 17, shoulder, g. s., EAXLUM, d. pl., of EAX(E)L, e, f. This is the Scandinavian AXEL, f.,
and the German ACHSEL, f. — It is surprising how early this word fell out of our language. It still
exists in the Early English (Layamon, EXEL) but straightway disappears. The Middle-English knows
nothing of it. Even the North-English has only SHOULDER (Northumbrian Gospels SCYLDER, the Ormulum
SHULDRE). — As far as I know, we have no traces of it now in any of our provincial dialects.

EFSTAN, 67, to hasten, speed.

EFT, 204, 208, EFT, again. — See eft-SIDIAN.

EGESA, an, m., 174, n. s., AWE, dread, fear. — EGESLIC, 150, n. s., AWELIKE, fearful, terrible.

ELNE, 67, 121, 247, with strength, might, vigor, courage, abl. s. of EL(E)N, es, n.

ENDE, es, m., 58, ac. s., END, extremity.

ENGEL, 18, ANGELS, n. pl. of ENGEL, es, m.; used here collectively, — Angel-hosts, and there-
fore without the plural termination. ENGLAS, 213, n. pl. ENGLUM, 308, d. pl.

[EÓRED, es, n., 145, n. s., a band, troop.]

EORD(E), an, f., EARTH, ground, world. EORDAN, 73, g. s., 84, 149, 275, 291, d. s. — EORD-
WEGE, 241, EARTH-WAY, this earth, this world, d. s. of EORD-WEG, es, m.

ERN, u. MOLD-ERN.

EDEL, es, m. 314, n. s., ATHEL, ETHEL, freehold, homeland, inheritance, paternal estate, home.

FÆDERE, See HEAH-FÆDERE.

FÆGER, 147, n. s., FAIR, lovely, shining; FÆGRAN, 41, d. s. f. def.; FÆGERE, 19, n. pl.

FÆST, See SÆOR-FÆST, DRYM-FÆST. — FÆSTE, 76, 86, FAST, fastly, firmly. — gefæstnodon, 65,

FASTENED, fixt, establisht, 3 pl. p. of FÆSTNIAN.

FAH, 26, FAWE, stained, dyed, soiled, disfigured.

FATE, See SID-FATE.

FEA, nom. 232, FEW.

FEALA, 99, 252, 264, FELE, much, many. Indeclined. Followed by a partitive gen.

FEALLAN, 85, to FALL, sink. — FYLL, es. m. 111, ac. s., FALL, death. — gefyllan, 75, 148,

to FELL, strike down, cut down, destroy.

FEONDAS, 60, 65, n. pl.; 75, ac. pl., O. N. E. form; FIENDS, foes, enemies; nom. sing. FEOND, es, m.

FEORG-BOLD, es, n. 147, n. s. Life-house, soul-hall, *the body*.

FEORHAN, 114, FERREN, far from; from afar.

[FEOWERE, 15, FOUR, emendation for the FÆGERE of the Ms., apparently wrongly repeated by the scribe from the passage lower down, line 19.]

GEFETIGE, 278, 3 s. pr. subj. of FETIGAN, to FETCH, carry. take.

FIFE, nom. 16, FIVE.

FOLC, es, n. 282, n. s. FOLK, people.

FOLDAN, 15, 85, g. s., 265, d. s., of FOLDE, an. f., FOLD, FIELD, ground, surface.

FOR, 41, 199, 223, &c. FOR, on account of, at, prep. gov. dat. FOR-DAN (= FOR-DAM), FOR-THAT, therefore. — See for-GEAF, for-LETON, for-DEODE, for-WUNDED. — FOR, 188, 225, FORE, before, prep. gov. dat. and ac.

FORHT, 41, n. s., FERD, a-FEARED, afraid, fearful. — UN-FORHT, 222, 236, n. s. Very fearful, most afraid, terribly alarmed. UN is here the rare O. E. intensive prefix, answering to the ó, of and óð of the old Scandinavian dialects, and equal in force to our similarly used OFER (OVER). This particle is yet extant in the provincial dialects of Scandinavia, in Denmark as U or UD, in Norway as OV or AV, AAV, AA or O, in Sweden as o, in Iceland of. In provincial North-English it may sometimes yet be heard as o. — FORHTIAD, 231, FEAR, are afraid, 3 pl. pr. of FORHTIAN.

FORD, 266, FORTH, forwards, onwards, away. See forð-gesceapt. — FORD-WEGE, 251, FORTH-WAY, onward-path, flight, career, d. s. of FORD-WEG, es, m.

FRACODES, 20, of an insolent, criminal, shameless, one; wicked man; g. s. m. of FRACOD.

FRAM, 139, 154, FROM, away from. Prep. gov. dat. (and ac. and abl.).

FREAN; 66, the Heathen God FREA, Mid. Engl. FREE, (the FREY, PROY, of Scandinavia), but afterwards used as Lord, Lord God, Saviour, a Christian epithet of God, Christ; ac. s. of FREÁ, an, m.

FREOND, es, m. 290, n. s. FRIEND; FREONDAS, 153, n. pl. This is the N. E. plural, the common S. E. is FRIND; FREONDA, 265, g. pl.

FRINAN, to FRAIN, learn by asking, hear of, find. — FRINED, 225, 3 s. pr.; gefrunon, 153, 3 pl. p.

FUNDAN, 208, FOUNDETH, striveth to find, seeks; fares, goes to, *will*, 3 s. pr. of FUNDIAN.

FUSE, 42, ac. s. n. def. FUSSY, quick, rapid, mobile, changeable; 113, n. pl., hastening, speeding.

— a-FYSED, 251, a-FESED, a-hurried, driven on, carried away, transported, p. p. n. s. of a-FYSAN.

FYLL, FYLLAN, U. FEALLAN.

ȝET-GÆDERE, 95, A-GETHER, together.

GAL; See SIN-GAL under SE.

GALAN, 136, to GALE, YELL, sing, cry, chaunt.

ON-GAN, U. ON-GINNAN.

GANGE, 45, GANG, going, course, flow, passage, d. s. of GANG, es, m.

GAST, es, m. 98, ac. s. GHOST, soul; Spirit, Angel or Saint; GASTAS, 22, n. pl.; GASTA, 305, g. pl.

for-GEAF, 296, (FOR)GAVE, gave, granted, gained, 3 s. p. of for-GIFAN.

GEALG(A), an, m. A GALLOW(S), gibbet, cross. — GEALGAN, 80, ac. s. — GEALG-TREOWE, 293,

d. s. of GEALG-TREOW, es, n., GALLOW(S) TREE, cross.

GEARA, 55, of-YORE, of-old, aforetime.

- GEARD. See MIDDAN-GEARD.
- GEONG, nom sing. 77, YOUNG, youthful.
- GIMMAS, 14, 32, GEMS, precious stones, n. pl. of GIM(M), es, m.
- on-GINNAN, to ON-GIN, begin, commence. — on-GAN, 38, 53, 148, 3 s. p.; on-GUNNON, 132, 136, 3 pl. p.; on-GINNEN, 234, 3 pl. pr. subj.
- GOD, es, m. 78, 102, 122, 187, 197, 213, 313, n. and ac. s.; GODES, 168, 306, g. s.
- GODE, 142, GOOD, long, ac. s. f. of GÓD.
- GOLD, es, n. 35, ac. s. GOLD; GOLDE, 13, 31, 156, d. s.
- be-GOTEN, 13, 97, BE-GOTE, BE-YOTEN, be-sprinkled, be-washt, over-cast, over-spread, covered; deckt, adorned; poured out, shed forth, out-streamed; p. p. n. s. of be-GEÓTAN.
- GUMAN, 97, 294, of a GUM, GOOM, G(R)OOM, man, hero, man's, mankind's, g. s. of GUMA, an, m.
- on-GUNNON, u. on-GINNAN.
- GYRAN or GYRWAN, to GEAR, GARE, YARE, make, make ready, prepare, adorn, fit out, set, inlay, decorate. — on-GYREDE, 77, 3 s. p.; GYREDON, 155, 3 pl. p.; gegYRED, 31, gegYRWED, 46, p. p. n. s.
- GYTA, 56, YET, even now.
- on-GYTAN, 36, to ON-GET, get at, see, perceive, distinguish.
- HABBAN, to HAVE. — HÆBBE, 100, 160, 1 s. pr.; HÆFDE, 98, 3 s. p.; HÆFDON, 32, 104, 3 pl. p.
- HÆLAN, 172, to HEAL, save. — HÆLENDES, 50, the HEALER'S, Saviour's, Christ's, g. s. of HÆLEND, es, m.
- HÆLED, es, m. 77, 158, 192, n. s. HÆLT, hero, brave, man, friend.
- HÆT, u. HE.
- HALIG, HOLY, a holy one, a hallow, Saint. — HALIGE, 22, n. pl.; HALGUM, 288, 309, d. pl.
- HAM, es, m. 297, ac. s. HOME.
- HANDA, 120, to the HAND, d. s. of HAND, e, fem. — See to.
- HATE, 191, I HOTE, command, bid, direct, 1 s. pr. of HÁTAN; HETON, 62, 3 pl. p.
- HE, 68, 80, &c., n. s. m. HE; HIT, 38, 44, 52, &c., HÆT, 3, n. s. n. IT. — The form HÆT is very uncommon in O. E., which has usually the same form as in Scandinavia, HIT, but in later English HET is frequently found; in O. Sax. we have IT, in O. Frisic HIT, HET and ET. — HIS, 98, 128, &c., g. s. m. n. HS, its. — HIM, 128, 218, &c., d. s. m. HIM; often used pleonastically. — HINE, 21, 77, &c., ac. s. m. HIM. — HI, 91, HIE, 64, 122, &c., n. pl. they. — HEORA, 62, 312, HIRAN, 94, g. pl. of them, their. — HIM, 61, 132, &c., d. pl. to them.
- HEAFDUM, 128, HEAD, plural emphatic for sing., like BREOSTUM, d. pl. of HEAF(O)D, s. n. — See [H]EAF[DU]M in the Wordrow.
- HEAH, HIGH, lofty. — HEANNE, 80, ac. s. m., by assimilation from HEAHNE. — HEAH-FÆDERE, 270, d. s. of HEAH-FÆDER, m., the HIGH-FATHER, the Lofty Sire, God.
- HEALFE, 39, HALF, side, ac. s. of HEALF, e, f.
- HEANNE, u. HEAH.
- HEARDOST, 176, HARDEST, severest, most cruel, n. s. superl. of HEARD.
- a-HEAWEN, 57, a-HEWN, hewn down, cut off, p. p. n. s. of a-HEÁWAN.
- HEBBAN, 62, to HEAVE, lift, raise: HOFON, 154, 3 pl. p. — a-HOF, 88, 1 s. p. a-HOOF, a-heaved, bore, carried; a-HOFON, 123, 3 pl. past.
- HEFIAN, 123, HEAVY, grievous, painful, d. s. n. def. of HEF(G).
- HELPE, 206, HELP, aid, rescue, d. s. of HELP, e, fem. — See u. to.
- HEOFON, es, m. HEAVEN, sky. — HEOPENES, 129, g. s.; HEOFONA, 89, g. pl.; HEOPENUM, 171, 218, 269, d. pl.; HEOPENAS, 207, ac. pl. — HEOFON-LICNE, 297, HEAVENLY, celestial, ac. s. m. of HEOFONLÍC.
- HEOFON-RICES, 184, of HEAVEN-RIKE, Heaven-realm, the celestial kingdom, g. s. of HEOFON-RÍCE, es, n.
- be-HEOLD, 49, 116, 1 s. p.; be-HEOLDON, 18, 21, 129, 3 pl. p., of be-HEALDAN, to BEHOLD, see.
- HEONAN, 266, HENEN, HENCE, herefrom, from this place.
- HEORA, under HE.
- HER, 218, 275, 291, HERE.
- HETON, u. HATE.
- HI, HIE, u. HE.

HIDER, 208, HITHER.

HIHT, e. m. and f., 298, HYHT, 254, n. s. HIGHT, hope, joy.

HILDE-RINC, es, m. HILDE-RINK, Battle-chief, war-hero, brave, man. HILDE was the BELLONA, the War-goddess, of our Northern races. — HILDE-RINCAS, 124, n. pl.; HILDE-RINCA, 145, g. pl.

HIM, HINE, HIRAN, HIS, HIT, u. HE.

HLAFORD, es, m. 89, ac. s. (LOAF-ORD, LOAF-GIVER) LORD.

HLEMMAS, See INWID-HLEMMAS.

HLEOPRODE, 52, LETHERED, sounded, uttered sounds, 3 s. p. of HLEÓBRIAN.

HLIFIGE, 171, I soar, rise, tower, am seen afar, 1 s. pr. of HLIFIAN.

HNAG, 119, I bowed, bent, inclined, 1 s. p. of HNIGAN.

a-HOF, a-HOFON, u. HEBBAN.

HOLM-WUDU, 183, HOLM-WOOD, hill-forest, mound-timber, mountain-trees, ac. s. of HOLM-WUDU, a, masc.

HOLTES, 58, of the HOLT, wood, grove, g. s. of HOLT, es, n.

HRÆW, es, m. and n., 106, 146, ac. s. Corpse, dead body.

HREOW-CEARIG, 49, n. s. RUE-CARY, grief-careful, care-worn with penitence and sorrow.

HURU, 20, HOWEVER, anyhow, in any way, at all, surely, truly.

HWÆNNE, 274, WHEN.

HWÆT, 1, 181, WHAT! Lo! — 233, WHAT, ac. s. n. of HWÁ.

HWÆDERE, 113, 141, 204; HWÆDRE, 35, 47, 76, 84, 119, 152, WHETHER-or-no, yet, but.

HWILE, 169, d. s. of HWIL, e, f. A WHILE, time; as adverb, WHILOM, formerly; 48, ac. s.; 130, ac. s. abs., A-WHILE. GODE HWILE, 142, ac. s. abs., a GOOD WHILE, long; HWILUM, 44, 46, d. pl. used adverbially, WHILES, by-whiles, at times, sometimes, now, then. — See LANGUNG-HWILA.

GEHWYLC, WHICH, each. — GEHWYLCUM, 217, d. s. m.; GEHWYLCE, 273, abl. s. m. — æg-HWYLC, 242, n. s. AY-WHICH, EACH, every. Followed by a partitive genitive, or by noun in the same case; æg-HWYLCNE, 173, ac. s. m.

HYHT, See HIHT.

HYLDAN, 90, to HILD, HELD, HELE, incline, bow, bend.

GEHYRAN, 157, to HEAR, learn; GEHYRDE, 51, 1 s. p.

HWÆR, 226, WHERE.

IC, 1, 7, 26 &c. I. — ME, 7, 68, 254 &c. d. s., 3, 60, 62 &c. ac. s. to ME, ME. — UNC, 95, ac. dual, us-two. — WE, 141, n. pl. WE. — US, 295, d. pl.; 148, 151, &c. ac. pl. to US, US.

IN, 237, IN, prep. gov. dat. (and ac. and abl.).

INWID-HLEMMAS, 93, IN-WIND LAMS, falsefoe strokes, wicked blows, n. pl. of INWID-HLEM(M), es, m. IS, under SE.

IU, 175, (mostly in the form GIU), of YORE, formerly.

IU, 55, perhaps the same word. But more probably an affirmative particle, our YEA, O. E. IA, GEA, equal to *surely, indeed, verily, is it not so, &c.* This word is common to all the Gothic dialects. It is the Scandinavian and German IU, JO; JA; the M. Goth. JA, JAI, Norse-Icel. JA, O. H. G. JA (connected with JAH and JOH).

LEDAN, 9, to LEAD, be led, rising, appear, show itself. This idiomatic use of the Infinitive in a Passive or Participial sense is not uncommon in O. E.

LÆN(E), LEAN, poor, frail, vile, short, miserable, fleeting, passing. — LÆNUM, 219, d. s. n.; LÆNAN, 277, d. s. n. def.

LANG, LONG, protracted. — LANGE, 48, ac. s. f. LANGE HWILE, ac. s. abs. a LONG WHILE, a long time, long. — LANGUNG-HWILA, 253, LONGING-WHILES, hours of longing, anxious wishes, day-dreams, g. pl. of LANGUNG-HWIL, e, fem.

a-LEDON, (for a-LEGDON), 127, they A-LAID, laid down, set down, 3 pl. past of a-LECGAN.

LEODUM, 177, to LEDES, men, folk, people, d. pl. of LEÓDE, a, masc.

LEOFA, 158, 192, LIEF, dear, beloved, n. s. m. def.

LEOhte, 10, with LIGHT, brightness, glory, d. s. of LEOHT, es, n.

- LEOD, *n.* SORH-LEOD.
 for-LETON, 124, FOR-LET, let, let go, left, forsook, 3 *pl. p.* of for-LÆTAN.
 LICES, 128, of his LIC, LICH, LYKE, corpse, *g. s.* of LĪc, *es, n.*
 LICGENDE, 47, LIGGING, LYING, reclining, *p. pr.* of LICGAN.
 LIF, *es, n.* 296, *ac. s.* LIFE; LIFES, 178, 254, *g. s.*; LIFE, 220, 278, *d. s.* — LIFIAD, 269, 3 *pl. pr.* of LIFIAN, to LIVE, abide.
 LIM-WERIGNE, 127, LIMB-WEARY, a-wearied and death-worn, *ac. s. m.* of LIM-WERIG.
 LYFT, *e, f.* 9, *ac. s.* LIFT, sky, heavens, air.
 LYSAN, 82, to LOOSE, deliver, redeem. — on-LYSDE, 295, 3 *s. p.* of on-LYSAN, to ON-LOOSE, redeem.

 MÆG, *u.* MAGAN.
 MÆNIGE, *u.* MANIG.
 MERE, 24, 166, *n. s. f. def.* MERE, pure, bright, shining, noble, famous, illustrious; MÆRAN, 139, *d. s. m. def.*
 MÊTE, 139, 249, *abl. s. n.* in his MET, moderate, mean, poor, lowly, humble.
 gEMÆTTE, 3, MET, came to, found, 3 *s. p.* of MÊTAN. Here used constructively, HÆT ME gEMÆTTE, it me met, I dreamed it, I had it, this figurative form personifying the Dream.
 MAGAN, to MAY, *can.* — MÆG, 172, 1 *s. pr.* — MEARTE, 36, MIHTE, 74 1 *s. p.* — MIHT, 157, 2 *s. p.* — MYCEL, 261, *n. s.* MUCKLE, MICKLE, much, great; MICLAN, 131, 205, 280, *d. s. def.*; MYCLE, 67, 121, 247, *abl. s. n.* — MIHTIG, 303, *n. s.* MIGHTY, powerful, — æl-MIHTIG, 78, 187, 197, 213, 307, 313, *n. s.* ALMIGHTY; æl-MIHTIGNE, 122, *ac. s. m.* — MOT, 286, MOTE, 256, MOTE, may, 1 *s. pr.* gEMAN, 56, I MONE, MIND, remember, recollect, think of it, 1 *s. pres.* of gEMUNAN.
 MAN, *nes, m.* 226, *n. s.* MAN; 148, 151, *n. s.* MAN, one, people; MEN, 23, 258, MENN, 165, 188, *n. and ac. pl.*; MANNUM, 194, 206, *d. pl.* — MAN-CYN(N), *es, n.* MANKIND, man, the world. MAN-CYNNES, 66, 199, *g. s.*; MAN-CYN, 82, 210, *ac. s.*
 MANIG, MANY. — MANIGRA, 81, *g. pl.*; MANEGUM, 200, *d. pl.* — MÆNIGE, 225, MANIGEO, 304, *d. s.* of MÆNIGU, *e. f.* A MEINIE, crowd, host, multitude.
 MARIAN, 186, MARY'S, *g. s.* of MARIA, *an, f.*
 ME, *u.* IC.
 MEARTE, *u.* MAGAN.
 MEN, MENN, *u.* MAN.
 MEDE, 131, *n. s.*, 139, *n. pl.* METHE, weary, worn-out, feeble, weak.
 MICLAN, *u.* MAGAN.
 MID, 13, 27, 31, 40, 44, 45, 46, 96 &c. WITH, which is a mere dialectic difference of form, the *m* and *w* interchanging. Prep. gov. dat. and *abl.* — MID, 214, WITH him, also, adverb.
 MID. — MIDDAN-GEARD, *es, m.* 209, *ac. s.* MID-GARTH, MID-YARD, mid-earth, middle-world, the earth, MAN-HOME, as distinguished from ÆS-YARD (God-home) and OUT-YARD (the Giant-home). — MIDRE, 4, MID, middle, *d. s. f.*
 MIHT, MIHTE, æl-MIHTIG, *u.* MAGAN.
 MIN, 158, 192, 262, *n. s.* MINE, MY; MINUM, 59, *d. s. m.*
 MÓD, *es, n.* MOOD, mind, heart. — MODE, 246, 261, *abl. s.* — Adj. term. -MOD, see EADMOD, STIDMOD, STRANG-MOD. — MOD-SEFA, *an, m.* 250, *n. s.* Mood-thought, intellect, soul, fantasy. — MODIG, 81, *n. s.* MOODY, bold, brave, determined, fixt in his resolve.
 MODOR, 185, MOTHER, *ac. s.* of MÓDOR, *f.*
 MOLD(E), *an, f.* MÓULD, ground, earth, land and sea. — MOLDAN, 23, 165, *ac. s.* — MOLD-ERN, *es, n.* MOULD-ARN, mould-place, earth-house, grave, tomb; 132, *ac. s.*
 MOT, MOTE, *u.* MAGAN.
 MUND-BYRD, *es, n.* 262, *n. s.* MUND-BIRTH, mund-state, hand-right, protection-right, shelter, claim, defence-appeal.
 MYCEL, MYCLE, *u.* MAGAN.

 NÆGLUM, 91, with NAILS, spikes, *d. pl.* of NÆG(E)L, *es, m.*
 NAH, under AH.

NAMAN, 227, NAME, g. s. of NAMA, an, m.

genAMAN, (for genAMON), 60, 122, NOME, took, seized, 3 pl. p. of NĎMAN, to NIM, take.

NE, 20, 69 &c. NE, NO, NOT. — See N'AH.

NIHTE, 4, NIGHT, d. s. of NIHT, e, f.

genIWAD, 398, NEWED, renewed, revived, p. p. n. s. of NIWIAN.

genOGE, 65, ENOUGH, many. — But this word appears here and in some other places to have gone the same way as the Swedish NOGA, Danish NØIE, &c., and to have obtained the signification of exactly, carefully, well, the words represented by the H. G. genAU and genUG being doubtless allied, and springing from a common source in NIGH, NEAR, reaching, satisfying, perfectly fitting, &c.

NU, 157, 162, 170, &c. NOW.

OF, 59, 97, 123, &c. OF, out of, from, away from. Prep. gov. dat. (and ac. and abl.).

OFER, 23, 70, 165, 190, OVER, on, above, thro; against, contrary to. Prep. gov. ac. (and dat.).

OFTOR, 257, OFTER, oftener, more frequently, comp. of OFT.

ON, 17, 63, 68, 99, 112, &c. ON, UPON, prep. gov. dat. — 9, 39, 58, 64, 80, &c. ON, in, at. Prep. gov. ac. — ON, 197, ON, adverb. — See ON-BYRIGAN, ON-GAN, ON-GINNAN, ON-GYTAN, ON-LYSDE, ON-SENDED, ON-WREOH; DER-ON.

OS, 134, OR, OUT, out of, of, from. Prep. gov. dat. See the note on this word, p. 429.

OB-DÆT, 51, 64, OTH-THAT, till-that. UNTIL. This latter is North-English, UND and TIL. In the S. E. dialect the X falls away in UND, and hence UD = OD or ODD or OD TO. In O. Netherl., besides the other form TOT, TOT ... TOE, we have UNTES and UNT-IS, in O. H. G. UNT-AZ, in M. G. UND THATEI, in N. I. UNZ. ODDE, 71, OTHER, OR, the latter being a mere contraction of the former.

a-RÆRED, 87, A-REARED, raised up, elevated, p. p. n. s. of Å-RÆRAN.

a-RAS, 204, A-ROSE, rose up, 3 s. p. of Å-RISAN.

REORD-BEREND, es, m. 5, n. pl. Here used collectively, undeclined. REDE-BEARERS, speech-bearing ones, language-wielding, tung-gifted; mortals, men, the human race as distinguished from *speechless* animals, *dumb* creatures. (the Danish U-MÆLENDE); REORD-BERENDUM, 180, d. pl.

REOTENDE, 141, ROWTING, roaring, crying, weeping, lamenting, bewailing, p. pr. n. pl. of REOTAN.

REST, e, f. REST, repose. — RESTE, 6, d. s. — RESTE, 130, 140, RESTED, reposed, 3 s. p. of RESTAN.

RIC, RICH, strong, mighty, powerful. — RICNE, 88, ac. s. m.; RICRA, 264, g. pl. — RICE, es, n. 240, 306, ac. s. the RIKE, RIC, kingdom, heavenly home, Paradise. — See HEOPON-RICES.

RIHT, RIGHT, true. — RIHTNE, 179, ac. s. m. — GERIHT (for GERIHTED), RIGHTED, made right for, put right on to, straight on towards, directed, 263, p. p. n. s. of GERIHTAN.

RINC, See HILDE-RINC.

ROD, e, f. 87, 274, n. s. ROOD, cross, gibbet; — RODE, 112, 263, d. s.; 239, ac. s.; 142, n. pl. gERYMDE, 179, ROOMED, made roomy, made large and broad, showed, 3 s. p. of RYMAN.

SÆL, e, f. 162, n. s. SEELE, SEEL, time, period.

SÁR, SORE, painful, piercing, grievous. — SARE, 117, SORE, SORELY, greatly; SARRA, 161, g. pl. — SORH, SARH, ge, f. SORROW, grief. — SORGA, 161, g. pl.; SORGUM, 118, SARGUM, 40, d. pl. — SORH-LEOD, es, n. 136, ac. s. or pl. SORROW-LEDE, grief-song, pain-chaunt, lament.

GESAWE, u. SEON.

SAWL, e, f. 242, n. s. SOUL, spirit, man.

SCEADU, (*w*)es, m. or e, f. 108, n. s. SHADOW, gloom, darkness.

GESCEAPT, e, f. 24, 110, 166, n. s. SHAFT, shapement, shaped things, world, nature, creation, universe. — forð-gesceapt, 19, FORTH-SHAFT, FORTHNESS, forth-enduring shapements, firmly-lasting nature, the everliving creation, the future world, futurity. DURH FORD-gesceapt, for ever. The E in the accusative has here fallen away, as so often with the falling vowel in oblique cases.

SCEAL, u. SCULAN.

SCEAT(T), es, m. SCAT, SKET, corner, angle, portion. As a comprehensive plural often *bosom*, *lap*. SCEATUM, 15, d. pl.; SCEATAS, 73, ac. pl.

SCEAWODE, 275, 1 s. p. of SCEAWIAN, to SHOW TO ONESELF, see, perceive, behold.

- SCEOLDE, u. SCULAN.
 SCEDDAN, 94, to SCATHE, injure, do hurt to. Gov. dat.
 SCIMA, an, m. SHIM, SHIMMER, brightness, daylight. — SCIMAN, 107, ac. s. — SCINAN, 30, to SHINE, glitter. — SOÍR, SHEER, clear, bright. — SCIRNE, 107, ac. s. m.
 [SCULAN, to SHALL, must.] — SCEAL, 239, 3 s. pr.; SCEOLDE, 86, 1 s. p.
 SE, to be. — IS, 162, 196, 3 s. pr. IS; SYNDON, 92, 3 pl. p. are; sf. 290, SIE, 226, may be, 3 s. pr. subj. — SIN-GAL, 284, n. s. SIN-GOING, everlasting, continual, perpetual.
 SE, u. DE.
 GESEAH, u. SEÓN.
 SEÁP, es, m. SHEATH, pit, well, gulf. — SEAPE, 151, d. s. — This is the Gotland word SAUER, masc., well; the SOOD, masc., SODE and SOODE of the Saxon dialects.
 SECAN, 210, 240, 256, to SEEK, to meet, find. With reflective dat.; SOHTON, 268, 3 pl. p.
 SECGAN, 2, to SAY, tell; gov. dat. SECGE, 194, 2 s. pr. subj.
 SECGUM, 120, to the SEGGS, men, chiefs, d. pl. of SECG, es, m.
 SEFA, See MOD-SEFA.
 SELESTA, 54, SEELEST, happiest, best, n. s. sup. def. of SÉL; SELEST, 238, ac. s. n. sup.
 SELFA, u. SYLF.
 ON-SENDED, 98, ON-SENT, sent out, dismiss, given up, supine of on-SENDAN.
 SEO, u. DE.
 SEOLFERE, 156, with SILVER, d. s. of SEOLF(E)R, es, n.
 SEÓN, to SEE, behold. — GESEAH, 28, 42, 66, 72, 102, 1 s. p.; gesawe, 7, 1 s. past conj.; GESIENE, 92, p. p. n. s. — GESYHDE, 41, SIGHT, view, vision, d. s. of GESTHD, e. f.; 133, 193, ac. s. — SYNE, See WAFER-SYNE.
 SET(T)AN, to SET, SEAT, place, fix, raise, assemble. — a-SETTE, 285, 3 s. pr. subj.; GESETTON, 135, a-SETTON, 64, 3 pl. p.; GcSETED, 283, p. p. n. s.
 SI, u. SE.
 SIDAN, 97, SIDE, d. s. of SIDE, an, f.
 SIDE, 164, SIDE, deep, long, far-off; adverb. WIDE AND SIDE, far and wide.
 SIE, u. SE.
 GOSIENE, u. SEÓN.
 SIGE-BEAM, es, m. 25, n. s., 255, ac. s. SIG-BEAM, victory-tree, stem of triumph, cross of conquest. — SIGOR, es, m. SIGOR, victory, triumph. — SIGORA, 135, g. pl. of victories, = to an adjective, *victorious*. — SIGOR-FÆST, 301, n. s. SIGOR-FAST, victory-fast, triumphant.
 SIN-GAL, u. SE.
 SINC, es, n. SINK, anything SINKT or brought together, a hoard, heap, treasure, gems and jewels. — SINCE, 46, d. s.
 SID, a SITHE, journey, passage. — SID-FATE, 302, a SITH-FARING, path-course, journey, d. s. of SID-FÆT, es, m. and n. — eft-SIDIAN, 138, to EFT-SITHE, back go, away fare, depart. — SIDDAN, 98, SYDDAN, 5, SYDDAN, 144, 286, SITH THAN, SITHANCE, SINCE (a contraction of the foregoing), after, after that, thereafter.
 by-SMEREDON, 95, BE-SMEARED, mockt, insulted, blasphemed, 3 pl. p. of BY-SMÉRIAN.
 SOHTON, u. SECAN.
 SORGA, SORGUM, SORH, u. SÁR.
 GESPANNE, 17, the SPAN, d. s. of GESPAN(N), e. f. — ON EAXLE GESPANNE, on the span of the shoulder, the shoulder piece, the space or board which had been occupied by the head and shoulders, the top centre of the Cross.
 SPEDIG, 303, n. s. SPEEDY, on-hastening, triumphant, prosperous.
 SPRECAN, 53, to SPEAK, say.
 a-STAG, GESTAH, u. GESTIGAN.
 STANDAN, 86, to STAND, remain; be placed; appear; 125, participially, standing; STOD, 76, 3. s. p.; STODON, 14, 3 pl. p.; GESTODON, 143, 3 pl. p. — STADOLE, 143, a STATHEL, standing-place, station, seat, d. s. of STADOL, es, m.
 STANE, 134, STONE, rock, marble, d. s. of STÁN, es, m.

STADOLE, . u. STANDAN.

STEAM, STÉM, es, m. STEAM; moisture; blood. — STEAME, 125, d. s. — be-STEMED, 44, 96, BE-STEAMED, bedewed, overflowed, p. p. n. s. of be-STÉMAN.

STEFNE, 59, STEM, trunk, d. s. of STEFN (STEMN), es, m.

be-STEMED, u. STEAM.

gestIGAN, 68, to STIG, STEEG, step on to, ascend, mount; gestAH, 80, 3 s. p. — a-STAG, went up, ascended, 3 s. p. of a-STIGAN.

STID-MOD, 79, STITH-MOOD, STEADY-MOODY, stiff-minded, firm-souled, resolute, unshaken in his resolve.

STOD, STODON, u. STANDAN.

STRELUM, 126, with STREALS, arrows, darts, missiles, anything STROWN or cast, d. pl. of STRÆL, es, m.

STRANG, STRONG, powerful, mighty, STRANGE, 60, n. pl. — STRANG-MOD, 79, n. s. STRONG-MOOD, STRONG-MOODY or -MINDED, strong-hearted. STRANG- AND STID-MOD is one of those compounds depending on the Hyphen. STRANG AND STID-MOD would be STRONG, AND STEADY-MINDED, which is not the meaning. It is not bodily but *spiritual* strength which is here pointed out, and the STRANG belongs to the MOD as well as the STID, tho, according to our national idiom, this MOD need not be repeated; it is held in suspense till the second compound comes. This idiom is found among us, in our classical writers and in common speech, from the earliest times to this day. — In spite of certain German critics, who have been pleased to deny this fact, and who of course know English better than we do ourselves, perhaps on account of their having been facetious enough to call it "*a German dialect*", like as our Literature has now become "*German*", our Land a "*German Province*", our Sovrans "*German Kings*" (Heaven bless the mark, everything in half Europe is now being claimed as "*German*"!), — I beg to repeat my remark on a similar construction in that noble passage in King Waldere's Lay, lines 106-13:

"Deah mæg sige' syllan

se ðe symle byð

RECON- AND RÆD-FEST

ryhta gehwilces.

Se ðe him to ðam Halgan

helpe gelifed,

to Gode gioce,

he þær gearo finded.

But trial and triumph

traceth He only

who reckoneth and rendereth

the rights of each.

Whoso in that Holy-One

trusteth for help,

in God seeks guidance,

shall get it quickly.

"RECON-FEST, 108, — (according to the Old-Northern idiom, which is still kept up in England as in Scandinavia, altho *we* now unfortunately no longer mark the hyphen between the words, an epithet need not be repeated to every word to which it belongs), — reckon-fast, a firm true reckoner. Gov. Gen."

a-STYRED, 59, a-STIRRED, torn away, removed, separated, p. p. n. s. of a-STYRIAN.

SUNU, a, m. 301. n. s. SON.

SWA, 185, 218, 230, so, as. — SWYLCE (from SWÁ-LICE), 16, 185, so-LIKE, SUCH-as, like as, as also.

SWÆTAN, 39, of SWEAT, bleed. — SWATES, 45, of SWEAT, blood, gore, g. s. of SWÁT, es, m.

SWEFNA, 1, of SWEFENS, dreams, g. pl. of SWEF(E)N, es, n.

SWIDRAN, 39, SWITHER, stronger, better, *right* as opposed to *left*. ac. s. f. comparative of SWÍD.

SWYLCE, u. SWA.

be-SWYLED, 45, BE-SOILED, BE-SULLIED, fouled, stained, p. p. n. s. of be-SWÝLAN. — We have here the older form, (with the w, not in the dictionaries), a trace of which is found in the O. S. SULLIWAN, side by side with SULLIAN. Otherwise all the dialects have the compest form, M. G. bi-SAULJAN, O. H. G. bi-SULJAN, N. I. and Swed. SÖLA, Dan. SÖLE, &c., O. E. SELAN, SYLIAN. — The O. E. SWILGAN, SWILIAN, SWELGAN, to SWILL, wash, and the N. I. SULLA, to mix, would seem to be quite a different word.

SYLF, SELF. — SELFA, 212, n. s. def. he himself; SYLFE, 186, ac. s. f. herself.

SYLLIC, 25, n. s. SELD-LIKE, seldom seen, strange, rare, wonderful. — SYLLICRE, 8, comparative. The Comparative is here used, as often in O. E., as an emphatic Positive, very rare, most strange.

SYMLE, 283, a SEMBLE, meeting, feast, banquet, supper, d. s. of SYM(B)EL, es, n.

SYNDON, u. SE.

SYNE. See WÆFER-SYNE.

GCOSYHDE, u. SEON.

SYNNUM, 26, 200, 294, with SINS, crimes, d. pl. of SYN(N), e, f. In Early and Mid. Engl. usually SUN(N).

SYDDAN, u. SID.

TIDE, See ÆFEN-TIDE.

TO, 4, 61, 84, 85, &c. TO, prep. gov. dat. (and gen.). TO MIDRE NIHT, 4, at midnight. — This preposition is often used with a dative noun forming a new compound preposition, governing a new dative. Thus HIM ... TO WÆFER-SYNE, 61, as a spectacle to them; TO HANDA, 120, to, obediently to, to the hands of, (DAM SECGUM) the men; TO HELPE, 206, to help, as a help, (MANNUM) to men; TO BLISSE, 308, to the joy, as a joy, (ENGLUM) of or to the angels.

TREOW, es, n. 8, 28, 50, ac. s. TREE, Road, Cross, gibbet. — See GEALG-TREOWE.

TU, See BU-TU.

DA, DÆR, &c., under DE.

DAS, u. DES.

DE and SE, demonstrative pronouns, both forms being intermixt, often used as an article. THE, that, who, which, &c. — SE, 25, 83, 158, &c., n. s. m.; SE-DE, relative undeclined; DE, 174, 224, 237, &c., relative undeclined; SEO, 243, n. s. f.; DÆT, 12, 20, 55, &c., n. s. n.; DÆS, 97, g. s. m.; DAM, 17, 99, 115, &c., d. s. m. n.; DAN, 245, for DAM; see ER-DAN, FOR-DAN; DÆRE, 225, 263, d. s. f.; DONE, 255, ac. s. m.; DA, 39, 137, 239, ac. s. f.; DÆT, 18, 35, 42, &c., ac. s. n.; DA, 92, 124, n. pl.; DARA, 174, g. pl. DARA DE HIM BID, of those who to-them, there-beeth, = of those to whom there is. — DA, 66, 69, 72, 77, 82, &c., THEN, then-when, when. — DÆR, 16, 18, 20, &c., THERE, there where, where. — DÆR-ON, 135, THEREON, on it, in it, there within. — DÆT, 7, 38, 52, &c. THAT; see OD-DÆT; 215, so that, and. — DONNE, 215, 231, 258, 279, THEN; THAN.

DE, u. DU.

DEARF, 235, TARVES, needs, is it necessary for, 3 s. pr. of DEARFIAN.

DEARLE, 103, THERLE, sharply, grievously, terribly.

DEGNAS, 152, THANES, knights, men, servants, n. pl. of DEG(E)N, es, m.

DENCAN, to THINK, consider, know. — DENCED, 244, 3 s. pr.; DENCAD, 232, 3 pl. pr.

DENIAN, to THERE, stretch out, extend. Here used participially, = *outstretcht, hanging*.

for-DEODE, 108, overpowered, opprest, obscured, 3 s. p. of for-DEÓDAN.

DEÓD(E)N, es, m. THEODEN, THEOD-Lord, people-ruler, stem-chief, king, prince. — DEODNE, 139, d. s.

DÆS, THIS. — DEOS, 24, 166, n. s. f.; DYSSUM, 167, 219, DYSSON, 277, d. s. n.; DYSNE, 209, ac. s. m.; DAS, 193, ac. s. f.

DOLODAN (for DOLODON), 300, THOLED, bore, suffered, endured, 3 pl. p. of DÓLIAN.

DONNE, u. DE.

DROWODE, 169, 197, 292, THROWED, THROED, suffered, 3 s. p. of DRÓWIAN.

DRYMFÆST, 170, n. s. THRIM-FAST, glory-fast, glorious, illustrious, splendid.

DU, 157, 193, n. s. THOU; — DE, 191, ac. s. THEE.

DUHTE, 7, it-seemed, 3 s. p. of DINCAN, to THINK, seem, appear. Used impersonally with a dative, DUHTE ME, it seemed to me, = I thought.

DURH, 19, 35, 239, THROUGH. Prep. gov. ac. — See þurh-DRIFAN.

DYSNE, DYSSON, DYSSUM, u. DES.

DYSTRO, 104, THESTER, glooms, darkneses, n. pl. of ? DYSTRO, n.

UN-, emphatical prefix. See un-FORHT.

UNC, u. IC.

UNDER, 109, 171, UNDER, beneath. Prep. gov. dat. (and ac.).

UP-, See up-gewat under WITAN. — UPPE-, 17, UP. — If we will, we may take UPPE-ON as a compound preposition, governing the dative.

US, under IC.

WÆDUM, 29, 43, with WEEDS, robes, apparel, hangings, deckments, coverings, d. pl. of WÆD, e. f.
— See WENDAN.

WÆFER-SYNE, 61, WAVER-SYND, wavering-causing sight, astonishing spectacle, object to look upon, strange show, ac. s. of WÆFER-SYN, e. f.

WÆTAN, 44, with WET, dampness, trickling, moisture, d. s. of WÆTA, an, m.

WANN, 109 n. s. WAN, ghastly, gloomy.

WARA, See BEALU-WARA.

up-gewat, u. WITAN.

WE, u. IC.

WEALD, es, m. WALD, WOLD, wood, grove, forest. — WEALDES, 34, g. s. — GEWEALD, es, 216, m. ac. s. WALD, WIELD, power, rule, authority, sway, might. — an-WEALDA, an, m. 307, n. s. The ONE-WIELDER, sole Lord. — WEALDEND, es, m. 224, 312, n. s. 135, ac. s. The WALDEND, WALDER, WIELDING, WIELDER, Ruler, Swayer, Chief, Lord, King; WEALDENDES, 106, g. s.; WEALDENDE, 243, d. s.

WEARD, es, m. 184, n. s. WARD, WARDER. WARDEN, guard, protector.

WEG, es, m. 178, ac. s. WAY, road. — See EORD-WEGE, FORD-WEGE.

WELL, 259, 288, WELL, duly, highly.

WENDAN, 43, to WEND, turn, change, vary. In this sense, like as VENDA in N. I., the verb governs a dative. I saw it — WENDAN WÆDUM AND BLEOM, *change its dress and hues*.

WENE, 272, 1 s. pr. of WĒNAN, to WEEN, hope, expect, wait. With refl. ac.

WEOP, 110, (vulgar dialect WEP), WEPT, lamented, bemoaned, bewailed, 3 s. p. of WĒPAN.

WEORC, es, n. 159, ac. pl. WORKS, deeds, treatment. — Either we have here the verb BĪDAN governing both an ac. and a gen. in the same sentence, or the A of the gen. pl. has fallen away before the vocalized G (Y).

WEORODE, u. WERUD.

WEORD, WORTH. — WEORDLICE, 33, WORTHILY, honorably. — WEORDIAN, 259, to WORTHY, honor, revere, venerate, show respect to; decorate, adorn; WEORDIAD, 163, 3 pl. pr.: GEWEORODE, 181, 189, 3 s. p. — 29, p. p. ac. s. n. Adj. and part. are sometimes used emphatically in the definite form. THIS or THAT or so being understood. Hence the final E here; the I-WORTHIED, the-adorned.

WERGAS, 62, Slaves, serfs, villeins, ac. pl. of WERG, es, m. — WEARG, WERG, (the Scandian VARGR), properly means: 1. Wolf; 2. Wolf's-head, outlaw; 3. Outcast, thrall.

WERIGNE, See LIM-WERIGNE.

WERUD, es, n. A host, people, multitude, army. — WEORODE, 140, 305, WEREDE, 249, d. s.; WERUDA, 102, g. pl. — In lines 140 and 249 the word is used in an antique meaning, rare in O. E., not of *host*, but of *host-place*, resting-place, leaguer, camp, abode, hut, cell, couch. Both meanings are clear when we remember that the root of the word is WESAN, *to be*, and that WER properly signifies *a being*, hence *a man*. We have a similar development of ideas in the Modern English with regard to an almost similar word — GARRISON. We use the word not only for the *place provided* for defence, but also for the *troops provided* to defend that place, the *place guarded* and the *men guarding that place*. GARRISON, older English GARNISON, from the French GARNISON, is from the Old French GARNIR. Old Spanish GUARNIR, Old Italian GUARNIRE, GUERNIRE, to provide for defence, to defend, all these forms being connected with the word in the various Gothic dialects which in English is to WARE (to guard), whence to WARN (guard against, protect by counsel).

WESAN, (Old-North-English WOSA), 222, 236. Not now used in the Infinitive. We say to BE (O. E. BEON). We retain it however in the Past tense WAS, WERE. — WÆS, 57, 87, &c., 1 s. p.; 12, 20, &c., 3 s. p.; WÆRON, 16, 3, pl. p.

WIDE, 164. WIDE, WIDELY.

WIFA, 190, of WIVES, women, g. pl. of WIF, es, n.

WILE, WILLA, u. WYLLAN.

gewin(N), es, n. WIN, fight, labor, battle, effort, agony. — gewinne, 131, d. s. — ær-gewinn, 37, ac. s. ERE-WIN, early fight, former fury, battle, attack, of old.

WITAN, to WITE, go, depart, betake oneself. — up-gewat, 144, UP-WAT, up-started, up-went, arose, 3 s. p. of up-WITAN.

WITE, es, n. WITE, doom, penalty, punishment, torture, woe. — WITE, 123, d. s.; WITA, 176, g. pl.

- WOLCNUM, 105, 109, with WELKINS, rolling clouds, fogs, d. pl. of WOLC(E)N, es, n.
 WOLDE, WOLDON, u. WYLLAN.
 WOMMU(?M), 27, with WAIMS, WEAMS, WEMS, spots, stains, evils, crimes, d. pl. of (WAM or) WOM(M), es, m. and n.
 WORD, es, n. 53, ac. pl. WORD, sentence; WORDE, 223, d. s.; WORDUM, 195, d. pl.
 GEWORDEN, 175, WORTH, become, p. p. n. s. of WEORDAN.
 GEWORHTON, u. WYRCAN.
 WORULDE, 267, g. s. of WORULD, e, f. WORLD, this life, this earth.
 WRADRA, 101, of WROTH, angry, fierce, cruel, g. pl. of WRAD.
 ON-WREOH, 195, (for UN-WREOH), UN-WRIE, uncover, announce, tell, 2 s. imperative of UN-WREOHAN.
 BE-WRIGEN, 105, BE-WRIGENE, 33, BE-WRIEN, BE-RIGGED, covered, clothed, overspredd, Supine of be-WRIGHAN. — The ac. s. m. termination is NE. We ought therefore to have BE-WRIGENNE. But when an adj. or participle or supine ends in N, the N is sometimes not repeated, and NE then stands for NNE. — The Supine is sometimes declined, in agreement with its noun, as in French, &c. Hence the Plural form, to agree with GIMMAS.
 WUDU, a, m. 54, n. s. WOOD, tree. — See HOLM-WUDU.
 WULD(E)R, es, m. WULDOR, WIELDING, power, might, glory, rule, magnificence, Paradise. — WULDRËS, 28, 182, 196, 268, g. s.; WULDRE, 271, 287, 311, d. s.
 FOR-WUNDED, 27, FOR-WUNDOD, 126, FOR-WOUNDED, pierced thro, sore-struck, ulcerated, p. p. n. s. of FOR-WUNDIAN.
 BE-WUNDEN, 10, BE-WOUND, encircled, surrounded, enwrapt, p. p. ac. s. n. of be-WINDAN.
 WUNIAN, 244, 287, to WUN, dwell, abide, recline, repose. — WUNIAB, 271, 3 pl. pr.; WUNEDON, 6, 311, 3 pl. p. RESTE WUNEDON, in-rest wunned, enjoyed repose.
 WYLLAN, to WILL, wish. — WYLLE, 2, 1 s. pr.; WILE, 215, 3 s. pr.; WOLDE, 82, 228, 3 s. p.; WOLDON, 138, 3 pl. p. — WILLA, an, m. WILL, desire, wish. 260, n. s.
 WYNNUM, 30, with WINS, winsomeness, joys; winsomely, happily, beauteously, joyfully. — Properly dat. pl. of WYN(N), e, f., but here used as an adverb. Dative nouns (in s. or pl.) are often employed adverbially.
 WYRCAN, 132, to WORK, make, fashion; GE-WORHTON, 61, 3 pl. p. — See EALD-GEWYRHTUM.
 WYRD, e, f. 150, n. s. WEIRD, fate, fortune, event; WYRDA; 101, g. p.
 YMB, See ymb-CLYPTE.

In the Old-Engl. Charters both stone and wooden Crosses are mentioned, apparently for the most part as boundary-marks. Now and then, as early as 963, (Kemble 3, p. 461), they have the epithet *old*, or, as early as 833, (Kemble 1, p. 301), *broken*. If ever inscribed, it was doubtless usually with our old Runes.

I have the pleasure of adding that fine drawings of the Ruthwell Cross will be given in that splendid folio work — an honor to the gentlemen of North Britain — the "Sculptured Stones of Scotland", so carefully and laboriously and learnedly edited by John Stuart, Esquire, F. S. A. S. Mr. Stuart informs me that the Ruthwell Pillar will appear in the 2nd volume, which will be ready at the beginning of 1867. will there form Plates XIX, XX, and will be described in "Notices of the Plates" p. 12. I have to thank Mr. Stuart for his great kindness in forwarding me a proof copy of his lithograph, with permission to put it into the hands of my artist for his assistance in the figures. I have made my engravings the same large size as Mr. Stuart's, that the Runes might be as distinct as possible.

LINDISFARNE, AFTERWARDS REMOVED TO DURHAM, NORTHUMBERLAND.

? DATE A. D. 698.

Re-engraved from the Rev. JAMES RAINE'S St. Cuthbert, Plate 2, Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; Plate 3, Fig. 3, 4, 5, 6; and Plate 8.

THE COFFIN OF SAINT CUTHBERT, the venerable and illustrious Worthy of Northumbria, was exhumed and examined on the 17th of May 1827, about 1129 years after its first translation.

Cuthbert was of lowly birth, his parents dwelling in that part of then Northern *England* which is now known as the Lothians in *Scotland*. He was first instructed by Boisil, Prior of Melrose, to which dignity he himself succeeded, but afterwards he became Prior of Lindisfarne, under Eata its newly appointed Abbot. Pining for greater seclusion, Cuthbert in 676 withdrew to Farne, where he lived as an Anchorite. Reluctantly, he afterwards obeyed the call of the Church, and became Bishop of Lindisfarne, a bishopric founded in 635 by Aidan, a Keltic monk of Hi (Iona) and the zealous converter of Bernicia to the Christian faith, in which noble task he was as nobly assisted by King Oswald, who helped him in all things and publicly interpreted for him and his Scottish (Irish-Scottish) monks. Cuthbert ruled Lindisfarne from 685 to 688, when he died in the odor of sanctity only about 50 years old. His corpse was swathed in costly priests-robes, and was buried with due honor in a stone coffin on the right side of the altar in the humble wooden church at Lindisfarne.

But, some years after, or in 698, Holy Cuthbert was raised from his grave, and was placed above ground in an oaken coffin which had been prepared therefor. Henceforth he became the Patron Saint of his Sec. After many wanderings, his body at last, in 999, settled at Durham, in a stone church built for that purpose, and from that time his shrine became one of the richest and most famous in all Europe. In 1104 he was translated anew, when his bones were tampered with and some of the swathing-robes exchanged for others, but *the original like-chest* was preserved; this wooden kist was enclosed in a second covered by hides, and this again in a third. At the Reformation his Church and Shrine were scandalously and barbarously plundered in the usual way, for the benefit of the King, his mistresses and minions and nobles, and the body was buried beneath the Shrine in which it had formerly stood. So it remained till 1827, when the grave was opened and the corpse carefully uncovered. I refer to Mr. Raine's comprehensive and learned account for all details, both as to past history and the character of the rich garments and other antiquities then found, confining myself to the venerable and original COFFIN, with which alone we have here to do, as it alone bore any Runic letters.

I cannot do better than copy the exact description given by Mr. Raine, at pp. 187-92 of his valuable work:

"The above relics, which were numerous, were speedily removed; and during the process, the lid of a THIRD COFFIN was discovered below them, but in such a state of decay, that portions of it were almost necessarily raised along with the superincumbent bones and fragments of wood. During this part of the investigation, an iron ring was found, which I shall notice by and bye; and there was also raised from the lower end of the grave another full-grown skull, in a somewhat imperfect state, the resting-

place of which was evidently beneath the last-mentioned lid. That this was the reputed scull of King Oswald, which the anonymous Monk and Reginald both prove to have been the only relic replaced in the coffin of St. Cuthbert in 1104, may fairly be presumed. The situation in which it was found fully admits of the supposition. Perhaps, under all the circumstances of the case, with such a discovery, and such historical information upon the point, before me, I may be blamed for *conjecturing*.

"I proceed to describe the *inner or third coffin* at which we have arrived.

"This also was of oak, in general about three quarters of an inch in thickness, although in places much thinner, and of the same shape as the two already described [= in the form of a parallelogram]. Its lid and sides were, from extreme old age, collapsed and much broken; and "the touch of time" had so completely exhausted the nature of its wood, that a portion, measuring about ten inches in length, and nine in breadth, weighs only thirteen ounces. Besides, there were fragments *curled up*, if I may so say, after the manner of the lid of the outer coffin, above described. The structure of this coffin appears to have been simple. The sketch of its joint, in the margin, of the full size, will easily be understood; and I have only to add, that along that part of the grooved receptacle, marked *, there ran two or three thickly intertwisted threads of woollen, to exclude the air, many portions of which were remaining.

"Notwithstanding the decayed state of this third and last coffin, enough remained to prove that it was the very coffin described by Reginald, and the anonymous Monk; and further, upon their testimony the identical coffin in which the remains of St. Cuthbert were placed in the year 698, eleven years after his death.

"According to the Monk, when the inner coffin of St. Cuthbert was exposed to view in 1104, it was found to be enveloped in a covering of coarse cloth of a triple texture, which was removed in order to facilitate the *then* meditated investigation, and after that investigation it was again covered with *linen cloth of a coarse texture dipped in wax*. Now, pieces of cloth of this very nature, coarse and strong, some of them almost an inch in breadth, were found closely adhering to divers fragments of the coffin which I am describing; and so saturated had this said cloth been with wax, that the indented lines of the carvings hereafter to be described, appear in very many instances to have been surcharged and almost rendered invisible by its contact. In fact, judging from the filled-up state in which many of these carvings were found, I almost suspect that the coffin itself had been besmeared with a coating of wax before the cere-cloth was applied.

"But to proceed: — The Monk informs us, that the lid of St. Cuthbert's coffin in 1104, was raisable by means of two iron rings, one at the head and the other at the feet; and Reginald, after stating the same fact in still more minute terms, adds that there was no lock or fastening by which the lid was attachable to the coffin. Now in our late investigation these statements were proved to be perfectly correct. The lid had evidently been always loose, and moreover, in proof

of their assertion as to the rings, a ring was at the same time discovered, 4½ inches broad, so perfectly different from those above described, and of a shape so apparently calculated for a horizontal surface upon which it was intended to lie flat when not in use, that I have no hesitation in considering it as one of the two rings in question. The other ring was overlooked amid the mass of broken wood and bones above-mentioned. As a further proof of the fact with respect to the rings,

the lower part of the iron loop by which one of them was held, is still remaining in a portion of the lid.

"Again, Reginald states, that the whole of the inner coffin of St. Cuthbert was ascertained in 1104 to be externally carved with very admirable engravings, of minute and most delicate workmanship; that in small and circumscribed tracts or compartments, there were *beasts, flowers, and images* or figures, *engrafted, engraved, or furrowed* in the wood¹.

¹ "At the time Reginald's account was written, sixty years at least had elapsed from 1104, the year of investigation; and when it is remembered that his informants (his seniors in the Church), had not themselves been present, but were merely the connecting link of transmission between him and those who had witnessed the scene; and when it is still further remembered, that a very short period intervened between the depriving the coffin of its covering of linen, and the re-enveloping it in a cloth of wax, it is perfectly marvellous that his description should be so accurate as it is."

"Now, listen to a description of the ornamental part of the inner coffin of St. Cuthbert in 1827, as far as its fragments¹ can be described.

"The external surface of its lid, ends, sides, *and bottom*, were occupied by various engravings: the upper part of one of which I have given at full size (pl. viii.); and my reader, from the following



description, with that plate before him, will fully comprehend the workmanship, if I may so call it, of these most ancient specimens of Saxon [read: NORTH-ENGLISH] art. Their execution is the same wherever

¹ "Portions of the coffin were raised from the grave, a foot and a half, or two feet in length, but they did not long continue in that state. The fragments, great and small, were removed into the Library, where they now remain, and when they were minutely examined for the present purpose, the greater part measured but few inches either way."

they occur, and it is quite interesting to observe how accurately Reginald must have been informed as to this part of his statement. Any one of the verbs which he uses in his description would have amply served his purpose; but the three are beyond measure descriptive. The carvings, one and all, with all their accompaniments, appeared to have been partly cut upon the surface of the wood by a sharp-pointed knife or chisel, and partly by some such instrument as the scribe of the woodman; and in confirmation of Reginald's statement, that there were subdivisions or tracts, a slight single line, made with the point of a knife, but now scarcely discernible, runs between each engraving.

"I begin with the carvings upon the coffin; and here again I must refer my reader to the *eighth* of my plates, which represents the upper part of a figure of St. John, of the full size, which it occupies upon the wood. I give this engraving for divers reasons: ~~this~~ is, perhaps, the most perfect of the carved portions of the coffin which were preserved — in consequence, it exhibits the best remaining specimen of the mode in which the other embellishments were executed, — and, judging from its size, from the grain of the wood, and from various other figures of the same character, it must have formed one of a series of similar figures cut upon the sides and ends of the coffin. Let me here again state, that the space between the *double lines* in the figure before my reader, and in all the rest, is most frequently cut out, apparently by a sharp-pointed knife, or some such instrument, certainly not a chisel; and when this has been the case, the surface of the cavity, thus formed, is about one-eighth of an inch in breadth, and the same in depth, sinking down to a point so as to give a three-sided shape to a section of the incision. Sometimes, however, there has been used in the process, a scribe or a goodge, and then the bottom of the incision is not angular but curving, after the shape of the instrument by which it was made; and as a proof that a scribe or goodge was used, the sides of the incision are much jagged and torn, especially when the instrument has crossed the grain of the wood. The figures are nearly all of them beneath a *nimbus*, or glory — their right hand is generally elevated and laid upon the breast, with the two first fingers extended as if giving the benediction, and the left hand, covered by a part of the robe, supports a book, probably intended to represent the New Testament.

"The figure before me is ascertained to be that of St. John, from the inscription *IOHANNIS*¹ which stands at its side. On the other side of this figure, stretching over the broken edge of the wood, are the letters *KVS*, in all probability the three last letters of *MARKUS*, *ST. MARK*, of whose figure no trace remains. The other figures, or fragments, are

THOMAS

ST. THOMAS (v. inscription, pl. II, 2).

PETRVS

ST. PETER holding in his right hand the keys (v. inscription, pl. III, 3).

¹ "Upon the apparent wrong *case* of this inscription, see hereafter. I have caused the middle part of the letter *a* in this plate to be engraved in dotted lines, and in plate II. I have adopted the same plan. The black line is a full-sized copy of that part of the inscription which was perfectly apparent. The dotted line was not so perfect, but still visible."

ST. ANDREW (v. pl. II, 3).

ST. MATTHEW (v. pl. II, 4).

ST. MICHAEL (v. inscription imperfect, pl. III, 6). ST. PAUL, a bearded figure, with the letters PA.....
A fragment of a figure with an inscription, the three first letters of which are engraved, pl. III, 5;

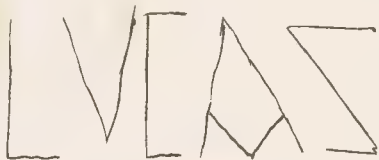
and another fragment of a figure, differing materially from the rest, in having upon its breast something in the shape of a parallelogram, three-eighths of an inch by seven-eighths, and moreover

THE LATIN INSCRIPTION IN RUNIC CHARACTERS

These letters, pl. II, 6, which are evidently *sūs*, have been preceded by a short word of not more than three letters, the last of which was clearly an *s* in the same Runic character, and the last but one appeared to be an *h*. Admitting this, the inscription at full length must have been *IHSVS SANCTVS*, and the figure a representation of OUR SAVIOUR. Besides these, there are numerous other imperfect remains of similar figures, all of which, from their proportions, seemed to have occupied places on the sides or ends of the coffin.

"The figures on the lid and bottom were of a larger size; but I am sorry to say, their remains are in a still more imperfect state. I have before me tracings of the heads of four figures, some

of them with wings, the face of the largest of which is five inches long — another of almost the same size, holds a sceptre, and a mutilated inscription, beginning with $\Sigma \Gamma \Sigma$, induces me to consider it a representation of SAINT OSWALD; the third inscribed $\text{IAC} \dots$, designates probably ST. JAMES; and of the fourth nothing except the face is left. Divers fragments of drapery upon a large scale remain, which have evidently belonged to the above four delineations. In addition to the above, there is the lower part of a figure of ST. LUKE,



with the inscription (Pl. III. 4), and immediately beneath stands a bull, with a nimbus round its head. A portion of the lower end of the lid contains an imperfect delineation of a short winged figure, the inscription attached to which is broken away. This fragment is above measure valuable, as to it was affixed one of the rings mentioned above. The lower part of the iron loop, by which the ring was held, is still remaining in its place. There are divers other curious fragments, such as a portion of a well-carved delineation of THE VIRGIN AND CHILD, the two fore feet of a LION, the head and neck of an EAGLE in a nimbus; and upon a small fragment of wood, the letters, Pl. II. 5,



evidently the latter part of the word *Episcopus*, attached in all probability to a representation of St. Cuthbert himself, of which no other portion perhaps remains.

"It is much to be regretted, that the portions of the above coffin which remain are so few, and these few so decayed; but there is enough to prove its high antiquity, and the accuracy of Reginald respecting its embellishments and the mode of their execution. The coffin, judging from its remains, so perfectly coincides with his description, that further proof of its identity might almost seem unnecessary; and yet I must beg to mention two corroborative facts which have come under my own observation.

"I have above given a brief description of the copy of the Gospels, which was written for the use of St. Cuthbert by Eadfrid, eventually eighth Bishop of Lindisfarne, and which is now preserved in the British Museum. I refer my reader to a plate in Astle's "*Origin and Progress of Writing*" (xiv.), exhibiting a specimen of the various characters, great and small, in which this farfamed book is written; and those who have access to this engraving will see at once how strikingly the inscriptions upon the coffin of St. Cuthbert, accurately engraved *at full size* in my plates II and III, correspond with the more simple of the capitals of which a fac-simile is given by Astle. The inscriptions upon the coffin are in single lines, made with the point of a knife; and it is marvellous to observe how perfectly they resemble the capitals in Astle's plate, and thus prove themselves to be coeval with the book of which that plate is an illustration'.

"Besides I have described another manuscript (A. II. 17), now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and written unquestionably about the same period as the preceding. Here, again, the capitals are the same as those upon the coffin; and, what is still more curious and worthy of attention, in this MS., *Johannis* is invariably used as the nominative case of the Latin name of the Evangelist, and not *Johannes*. So it is upon the coffin. Such coincidences as these prove the high

¹ "It is probable that these letters were carved upon the coffin by Eadfrid, the writer of the MS. He was certainly at Lindisfarne when it was made."

antiquity of the coffin, just as strongly as if there had been carved upon it its date, and the name of its maker."

I will only remark, on the letters engraved above, that there are 3 variations of A, and that the A, s, in the name MATHEAS are a monogram or ligature answering to the bind-runes of our own older Alphabet. The varieties of the same stave on the same monument, and the frequent bind-runes introduced, have been repeatedly pointed out on our ancient Runic pieces, and meet us everywhere in early Latin writing.

It is also a clear proof how freely the first Clerks and Missionaries, native converts or strangers, for a long time used the native Runic characters, and how little they were often deterred by the mere fact of these letters having been sometimes employed for heathen and magical purposes, that the only Runes here found are introduced into the Holy Name itself, sanctified by and intermixt with that Name before which all Things and all Names shall bow, the Name of the Lord of Light and Life and Love.

JESUS SANCTUS!

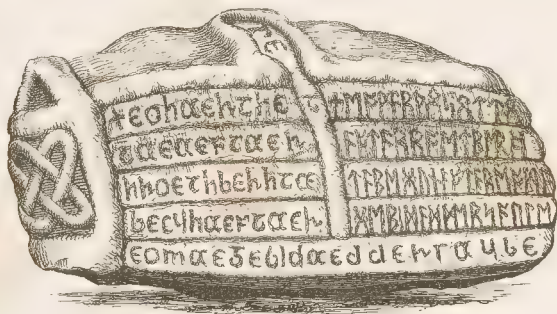
We cannot have a greater proof of the fact, that paucity of *examples* as to runic peculiarities is often only a consequence of fewness of *monuments*, than the appearance of the rare *ʀ* on this Coffin as the rune for s. When this kist was first exhumed and made public, rune-smiths were only aware of the occurrence of this variety of the runic s on one other piece, the Runic Ring found at Greymoor Hill, Cumberland, to which we shall come. But since then, omitting the doubtful instance on the Gilton Sword, it has turned up on the precious Thames Knife, besides the very near variety on the Charnay Brooch. But now we can point to yet another specimen. The staverow in Ms. Cott. Domit. A. ix, leaf No. 10, b, of the 11th century, engraved by Hickes in his *Thesaurus* Vol. 1, p. 136 (my No. 9, p. 102 above), has been found by Sir Frederick Madden, and that great scholar has obligingly forwarded me an exact tracing by his own hand. This I shall engrave and communicate at the end of this volume. It shows us that Hickes made a couple of errors. The skinbook has not had the *æ*, as given by Hickes. This has been forgotten by the scribe, who instead of it has given *two types* of the s, the older (*ʀ*) and the later (*ʁ*); just as, in the same way, the codex has *two types* of the *æ*, while Hickes has only given one.

But this remarkable piece is not only precious as containing at least 3 examples of this ancient runic s; it has the additional and invaluable feature of a *definite date*. This great landmark is wanting as to most of our olden runic monuments. When it *does* occur we not only welcome it in itself, but also as helping to fix the age of all the undated pieces. So here. There can be no doubt as to the authenticity and time of this lik-kist, and we therefore see that its runic mark (*ʀ* or *ʁ*) for s was no novelty *at least* as early as 698. But we also know that this mark is yet older, for in a slightly varied shape it occurs on the Charnay Brooch, and this — which is *partially dated*, that is, has two limits — is not later than the 5th century. Thus, so far, the dateless Thames Knife may be not only from the 7th age but at least as early as the 5th. In this way, like the Spider, must we pass on, choosing fast points for the trunk-lines of our web wherever we can find them. Sometimes the outward Shape, sometimes an Ornament, sometimes a Creed-form, sometimes a Word-form, sometimes a Rune-form, may help us — if not to within a year at all events to within a yearhundred, where we have no other guide!

FALSTONE, NORTHUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700.

From a Cast in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven, Denmark, presented by A. WAY, Esq., F.S.A. About 1-third the original size. — Drawn by J. M. PETERSEN, engraved by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND



First publisht in *Archæologia Æliana*, Vol. 1, 4to, 1822, p. 103, where we find a plate of the stone, full size. But it was engraved in such a way as to give no idea of the inscription, which is here mostly illegible or hopelessly confused. The fragment is a kind of grey freestone, about a foot long and 5½ inches broad, broken away from a Runic Cross or Column. At each end is an ornamental interlaced knot. Fortunately the stone is in existence, in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to which it was given by the Rev. James Wood, on whose farm it was found in 1813. From this was taken a small but nearly correct drawing by the Rev. D. H. Haigh in his article on the Cross at Bewcastle, *Arch. Æliana*, Part 3, No. 15 of his plate, and this same scholar repeated the runes in his *Conquest of Britain*, Plate 2, Fig. 15.

This stone is as yet probably unique in England, in so far that it is *bi-literal*. That is, it bears twice over the same inscription in one and the same dialect, but written in 2 different alphabets — Runic and Roman. It contains the epitaph in English in Old-Northern staves, but also in Roman minuscules, side by side. Still, as is usual in such cases, where words are given in two alphabets — Runic and Roman, Ogham and Roman. &c. — there are small variations, possibly mere results of the floating folkspeech. Thus here we have:

both THE and ðE:

„ SETTAE and SETTCE:

„ HROETHBERHTÆ and ROETBERHTÆ.

In the 1st line on the left, the 2-3rd stave after the cross is a monogram; the o and the m are written together, the side of the o serving as the downstroke for the left arm of the m. But the mark of this left arm is now nearly obliterated, tho yet visible. In this same minuscule carving the forms of the n and the r are very similar. The shapes of the u and the l are also noteworthy.

In the 1st line on the right the mæ is a monogram, and the er in the 2nd line and the de in the 4th are also bind-runes.

In the hollow ribbon between the two inscriptions the carver — aware that space was precious — has put the letters SET, which immediately follow the THE at the end of the top line on the left. The whole grave-writing, which is in stave-rime, is

ROMAN STAVES

† EOMÆR THE SETTAE
ÆFTÆR HROETHBERHTÆ,
BECUN ÆFTÆR EOMÆ.
geBIDAED DER SAULE.

RUNIC STAVES

† EOMÆR DCE SÆTTE
ÆFTÆR HROETHBERHTÆ.
BECUN ÆFTÆR EOMÆ.
geBIDAED DER SAULE.

EOMÆR THIS SET

AFTER HROETHBERHT.

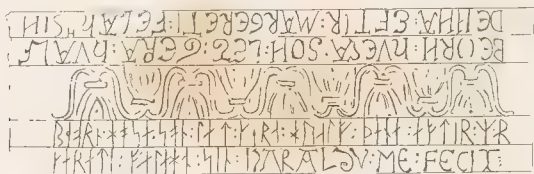
this-BEACON (mark, memorial) AFTER his-EME (uncle).

BEDE (pray) for-THE (his) SOUL!

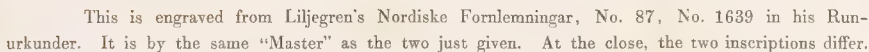
I need not dwell on the various pieces which exist in Scandinavia bearing Runic letters altho the language is Latin, sometimes very barbarous, as might be expected from ignorant clerks and still more ignorant workmen, the spelling being often phonetic or dialectic. Nor will I here handle those monuments, chiefly coped lying stones, sometimes elegantly carved, and decorated with floriated crosses and other ornaments, in types of the middle age, which bear inscriptions in a Northern tongue but in Latin characters: Nor will I do more than draw the reader's attention, in passing, to yet another class, which have inscriptions both in Runes and in Roman letters, but where the contents are different. For instance the Sjögerås stone, Klefwa Parish, West-Gotland, Sweden, (Liljegren No. 1637, Bantil No. 997), where above the cross, in runes, is the name DORÐAR, and then, also in runes, BIARN LET KARA STEN (*Biarn let gar [fashion and set up] this-stone*); while under the above, in Monkish staves, we have HIC IACET THOR... (*Here lies Thor[thor]*).

But Scandinavia also has examples of bi-literal ristings, exactly answering to the only specimen in England. They are all in Sweden, and in that province, West-Gotland, which was so early the centre of Swedish Christianity. They are also all of them coped stones, like a raised coffin-lid or the top of an archt vault, a shape which is still the usual one for Scandinavian coffins. As these are so rare and so precious, and such excellent illustrations of the Falstone Runic Cross, I will here lay them before the reader's eye. — We will first take the stone still or formerly in the church-yard of

SLÖTA, VARTOFTA HÄRAD, WEST-GOTLAND.



This is No. 1638 in Liljegren, whose text is taken from a drawing by Hilfeling, never yet published; for the copy of Hilfeling's drawing here engraved I and my readers are indebted to the kindness of my learned friend the Riks-Librarian G. E. Klemming, Stockholm.



ROMAN STAVES.

BOTILTÆR LET GERA HVALF DENNE
IFVR SVEN TORMOSON.
AVE MARIA GRATIA.

RUNIC STAVES

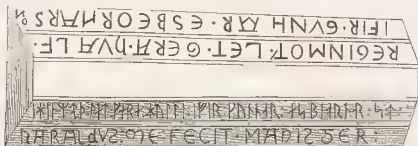
BOTILTÆR LÆT GÆRA HVALF DÆNNA
IFIR SVEN DÖRMOSON.
HARALTÆ STINMÆSTARI GÆRDI.

BOTILT LÆT GARE (*make*) HVALF (*vault*) THIS OVER SVEN TORMOSON
(AVE MARIA! GRATIA!)
(HARALT STONE-MASTER GARED [*cut this*]).

Here also the two texts show small variations. In the Roman staves we have *four times* E for the Æ of the Runics, and the former have DENNE, IFVR and TORMOSON for the DÆNNA, IFIR and DÖRMOSON of the latter.

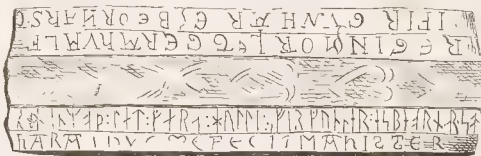
The third is the coped stone in the church-yard of

UGGLUM, GUDHEM HÄRAD, WEST-GOTLAND.



It is by the same stone-cutter as the preceding. The woodcut is from Bautil Nos. 938, 940. In Liljegren it is No. 1636. The line under the runic staves is, like the two lines on the top side, in Roman letters. In Bautil's copy the first rune (R) has disappeared, and the next is now an I. All were therefore anxious for a more careful delineation.

But in 1863 this stone was removed to the Swedish National Museum, Stockholm, and I have to thank the Riks-Antiquary Hildebrand for a new copy, executed by Mr. C. F. Lindberg. It shows us that the stone was somewhat more perfect in Göransson's time, but that his drawing has some errors. I therefore re-engrave it here:



Thus the inscription has been:

ROMAN STAVES.

REGINMOT LÆT GERA
HVALF IFIR GVNNAH,
ESBEORNAR SON.

RUNIC STAVES.

REHINMOD LÆT GÆRA
HULLI IFIR GUNNER.
ESBEORNAR SON.

HARALDVS ME FECIT MAHISTER.

REGINMO(N)T LÆT GARE *this*-HVALF (*vault*) [*this*-HULL (*coped stone*)] OVER GUNNAH, ESBEORN'S SON.
HARALD ME MADE, MAGISTER.
(Master Harald made me).

Again variations on the same stone: — REGINMOT and REHINMOD, LÆT and LÆT, GERA and GÆRA, GUNNAH and GUNNER, besides the interchange of HVALF and HULLI. The TR in REGINMOT is a tie, as are

AR and ON in the Runic ÆSBJORNAR and SON. The same Latin letter also has varying forms; thus there are 2 kinds of H, 4 kinds of N, and so on.

From the language he employs, as well as the shape of his Roman letters, it appears to me that this Master-mason HARALD must have flourished in the 13th century.

But at p. 58 of his excellent "Åhs och Wedens Hårader samt Staden Borås beskrifna af Claës Joh. Ljungström", 4to, Stockholm 1865, the author informs us that yet another bi-literal stone lies in Wing or Vinge church-yard, Wing Parish, West-Gotland. It is however only a fragment, about half being lost. Only 28 runes and 9 Monkish letters are left. It is coffin-shaped, and was carved in memory of a Deacon named SUEN.

All that now remains of the runes is:

..... | : þ t t t t : | ʒ ʒ R : ʒ R |
 ʒ t t ʒ t ʒ t t R | : ʒ t R t | :
 (? hull) I DÆNNE IFTR SUE(n)
 (s) TENMÆSTERI KÆRDI.
 (N N. let raise tomb) THIS AFTER SUEN
 STONE-MASTER GARED.

Observe the þ for t (N) in STEN. Perhaps the missing name of the "Stone-master" was HARALDUS.

All that is left of the Monkish staves is: .

.... (? ift) IR : SVEN : DIE (? kn)

Where two or more *languages* have been employed on the same monument, as on the famous trilingual tablet called the Rosetta stone, the object has of course been to enable two or more of the principal *nations* under one sceptre to read the announcement, each in their own tongue.

Where the *same* language has been used, but repeated in two different *alphabets*, as on the stones here before us, the principal motive could only be to enable *two ranks or classes* of the *same people* to read without let or hindrance what was thus addrest to them, each in those *letters* to which they were accustomed. In all our Northern lands, with the progress of a Civilization and a Christianity chiefly Latin, and the consequent continually strengthening inflow of the Latin ABC. there were two elements in the population — the Clerks and the Commonalty, the Ecclesiastical and the Secular, the "Learned" and the "Lewd". Numbers of the former were strangers, and very many of them would be more or less unable to decipher the native runes of the country in whose churches or monasteries they were domiciled. The latter would — at this early period — mostly be as ignorant of the foreign alphabet so largely used by the Clergy. But the Laity, richer and poorer, barons and bondes, women and children, on whose piety and gifts of money and lands the Church depended for its support and extension, could not always be excluded from the perusal of these monuments; in fact they must often have particularly appealed to them and their families; and doubtless there *have* been all over the North *hundreds* of these bi-literal monuments, all of them of course from the early Christian period.

In addition hereto, the juxtaposition of the outlandish and inlandish stave-row would tend to make the Roman ABC more and more familiar, and thus to hasten on the time when the "barbarous and heathen" runes could be altogether laid aside.

ALNMOUTH, NORTHUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 705.

From Drawings by ALBERT WAY, Esq., F. S. A., kindly communicated to me by Prof. WORSAAE. —
Engraved by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.



These fragments of the shaft of an inscribed funeral Cross were found in July 1789 in the ruins of ST. WODEN'S Church, at the mouth of the river Aln. They are now preserved at Alnwick Castle. The writing is in mixt Uncials, Minuscles and Runes. June 17, 1790 the Rev. Mr. Brand, Sec. A. S., communicated two not very good views of this stone to *Archæologia*, Vol. 10, London 1792. 4to, Plate 36, p. 472. — The other two sides are nearly obliterated, but on the corresponding broad side may be made out, (which I here copy from the Rev. D. H. Haigh¹):

u u VOPSCHHEH.FEC.

¹ *Archæologia Eliana*, Nov. 1856, p. 192, plate, No. 18.

Mr. Albert Way adds: "On the other [broad] side is sculptured a Crucifix, the Roman soldiers by the Cross. Now much defaced. The design resembles that of some crosses in Angus, as given by Mr. Patrick Chambers. On the other narrow side are interlaced ornaments. If there were any inscriptions, they have been effaced."

The height of what is now left is 3 feet.

If we put together all that now remains on the stone, we have:

. ADVLFES Ð...

..... SAV..

MYREDAH MEH WO....

(HL)VDWYG MEH FEG..

Mr. Haigh fills up these words thus¹:

(þis is cyning e)ADVLFES Ð(ruh)
gebiddad þære) SAU(le)
MYREDAH MEH WO(rhte)
(HL)VDWYG MEH FEG(de).

(This is King E)ADULF'S TH(ruh) (grave-kist)

(bid) (= pray) (for-the) SOUL.

MYREDAH ME WROUGHT.

HLUDWYG ME FAYED (inscribed).

To this little can be objected. Absolute certainty we cannot have. Of course the word CYNING is problematical, but it very likely was there. I beg to quote Mr. Haigh's remarks in defence of his reading:

"Most of the letters on these fragments agree in their forms with those of the latin inscriptions at Ruthwell, but the G more resembles those on the cross at Hackness, which is of the eighth century, and I think the beginning of this century is the date of these fragments. At this period we have an EADULF figuring for a short time in history, and although we know but little about him, that little tells us that his reign and life ended in the neighbourhood of Alnmouth, where this cross was found. He usurped the crown on the death of Aldfrid, A. D. 705, and at the head of his partisans besieged Berchtfrid, the guardian of the young King Osred, in the fortress of Bamborough, but was repulsed, put to flight, and slain. Bamborough is not many miles to the north of Alnmouth."

Thus this stone is *overgang*. Its only *runes* are the A (E) in MYREDAH, the W (P and P) in WORHTE and HLVDWYG, and the Y (Ƿ and ƿ) in MYREDAH and HLVDWYG.

As this Church of ST. WODEN is an instance, rare indeed but of which there are other examples, of a Pagan *name and site* (unless an historical North-English Martyr of that name should hereafter be discovered) coming down bodily to our own times, only in a slightly Christianized garb, here by the prefix of SAINT, it may be interesting to bear in mind that instances exist of a Pagan *thing and site* being still perpetuated in a similar slight disguise. Besides some cases on the Continent, one such occurs in our own country, the Image of MINERVA at Chester, preserved by being adopted as a statue of ST. MARY².

¹ *Archæologia Eliana*, Nov. 1856, p. 186.

² On occasion of an Altar dedicated to Minerva being discovered in Chester, in the autumn of 1861, Mr. Roach Smith observes (*Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1862, p. 154):

"The chief interest which this altar presents is in being viewed in connection with an image of Minerva, yet preserved in the immediate vicinity of Chester, in the very spot where the Roman sculptor formed it. It is situated on the south side of the town, by the side of a road which formerly led to a postern-gate by a passage across the Dee, through Netherly to Aldford; and is sculptured in a rock, called 'Edgar's Rock', which appears to have been cut partially away to help to form the road. Considerable pains were bestowed on the execution of this monument; but time has effaced the sharpness of its outlines, and worn away the surface of the stone. The goddess is represented helmeted, with spear and shield, standing in a recess formed by two columns surmounted by a pediment; over her left shoulder is the sacred owl. One of the columns is widened so as to form an altar. By the side of the image, at some remote period, a cave has been cut in the rock. This was done subsequently to the period when the monument was sculptured, for in excavating the cave a portion of one of the columns was cut away. The preservation of the figure may be safely ascribed to the early Christians adopting the image as a statue of the Virgin; and the cave was probably formed to receive the votive offerings of her worshippers. It is the only instance, I imagine, in this country, of a Pagan statue maintaining its original site."

ÆTHRED'S FINGER-RING.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

HICKES, *Thesaurus*, Preface, p. VIII, pl. VI.

ÆTHRED MEC AETHRED MEC A-GROF

This English Ring also is a transition-piece; that is, it is in mixt characters, here Old-English Runes and Monk-uncials. The letters are in gold, and the ground a dark gray niello. Nielloed rings are very rare. The Cross-like marks at the beginning and end of the inscription are mere ornaments. At p. XIII it is very badly deciphered by Hickes. He states that this golden finger-ring was then in the hands of the celebrated Physician Sir Hans Sloane. It is now in the British Museum, London. — Its only runes are the *Æ* in *ÆTHRED*; the *N* in *EANRED*; and the *A*, *G* and *F* in *AGROF*.

The carving was correctly redd' by Kemble (*On Anglo-Saxon Runes*, p. 22); it is as follows:

ÆTHRED MEC AETHRED MEC A-GROF.

ÆTHRED ME OWETH (*owns*). EANRED ME A-GROOF (*engraved*).

A precious Silver Finger-ring, figured in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for July 1850, 8vo, p. 152, and there attributed to the 8th or 9th century, has no rune, save the usual provincial-English ð, for TH, in the word HED. It is in early Roman Uncials, and reads:

SIGERICHEÐMEAGEVVIRCAN

which I would divide:

SIGERIC HED ME A-gewIRCAN

SIGERIC HOTE (*ordered*) ME to-A-WORK (= *be made*).

But in the engraving the 7th stave is not C (= c) but E (= e). Should this not be a flaw in the metal or an error of the copyist, SIGERIC may be a form of the mansname spelt in English monuments SIGEHERI, SIGHERE, SIGHERUS, SIGAR, SIGER, SEIER, SEIR, &c. But it is also possible that this IE may be the separate word (same as IA, GEA, &c.) for *truly*, *indeed*. See GEU in the *Word-roll*. Such particles have endless forms. On the whole, I read either SIGERIC or SIGERIC. The R on this piece has a rare form, namely A.

An early mention of an engraved Name-ring, a class different from the Amulet-rings mentioned hereafter, will be found in "The Geste of King Horn", line 577-78. See "Horn and Rimenild, par FR. MICHEL, Paris 1845", 4to, p. 287, publisht by the Bannatyne Club:

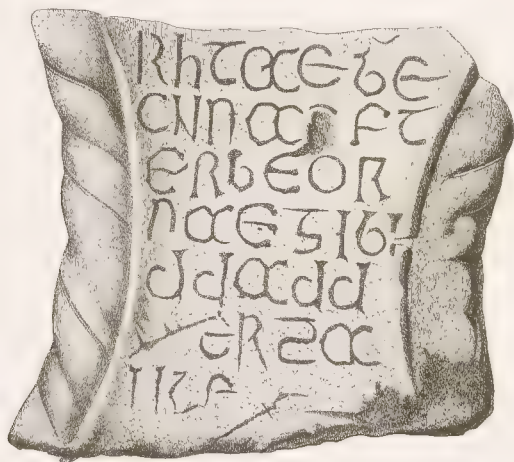
"þer is upon þe ringe
i-grave — RYMENHILD DE SONGE."

The previous reading by F. Magnusen (*De Annulo aureo*, 1820) is also substantially correct.

DEWSBURY, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

From the Archæologia, 4to, London, Vol. 34, p. 437. Full size. Repeated in outline by Mr. HAIGH in Archæologia Æliana, Nov. 1856, No. 14 of his Plate. — On wood by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.



Monuments in Old-North-English carved in some variation of the Latin alphabet are still rarer than those written in Runes, and are of equal value for the dialect and the formula. I therefore, as an illustration and parallel, admit here this piece, a fragment of a small Memorial Cross of sandstone, in Roman Minuscules and Uncials. It was found in 1830, or thereabout, and was forwarded to London by Dr. Hemingway, of Dewsbury, in whose possession it still remains. It was exhibited by Sir H. Ellis to the Society of Antiquaries June 20, 1850.

At least one line wants at the top. The whole has apparently been in stave-rime.

.....

.....RHTAE,

BECUN AEFTER BEORNAE:

GI-BIDDAD DER SAULE.

[Set N. N.

this-stone to]RHT,

this-BEACON (grave-mark) AEFTER his-BARN (son);

BID (pray) for-THE SOUL!

The word BEACON for Minne-stone is as yet rare in England, and still rarer (only one instance, if one) in Scandinavia. See BECUN in the Word-roll.

DOVER, KENT, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

From the Archæologia, 4to, London, Vol. 25, p. 604, and a Rubbing of the Runes kindly forwarded by J. BRENT, Esq., F. S. A., the Younger, of Canterbury. This valuable piece is now in the Dover Museum. — On wood by HENNEBERG and ROSENSTAND.



The information given in the Archæologia is as follows :

“Nov. 22, 1832. Lady Mantell, widow of Sir Thomas Mantell, of Dover, F. S. A., presented to the Society a drawing of a monumental slab inscribed with Runic characters, which was found some years ago, at the time when the Antwerp Inn, near the market place of that town, received some alterations.

"The dimensions of the stone are, in length 5 feet 10 inches, breadth at the head, 2 feet 1½ inch, at the lower end, 1 foot 7½ inches." — By Mr. Brent's measurement the stone, which may have been a stone-coffin lid, is somewhat larger, 6 feet 11 long and 2 feet 3 in average width.

The staves are about 5 inches high. They are so carved as to be redd from the head of the cross-figure. There is a slight flaw at the top of the 1. The whole is merely the name of the deceased, preceded by the sign of the Cross:

† GISLHEARD.

This slab has also been engraved, on a reduced scale, in the Rev. E. L. Cutts' "Manual of Sepulchral Slabs", 8vo, London 1849, Plate 35, Fig. 4. But this gentleman has continued in his text the foolish reading

GISOHTUS

which is an impossible word, and which, if possible, is not on the stone. The runes are plain, and the word a good Old-English mans-name:

✠, I, S, L, H, EA, R, D.

In our olden runic monuments * (properly the Scandian H) is occasionally, on some pieces often, used for some variety of the X (later Scandian F), the staff for G. But, as the G- and H-sounds are so nearly allied, and as the former has so often a tendency to melt into the latter, we are not always quite sure as to the guttural really intended. So here. It is *possible*, tho not likely, that * may here represent a sound weaker than the G tho stronger than the H. It cannot have been a simple H, as this sound has here its own rune (H), and it is therefore best given by G.

But this stone is also peculiar in its general style and treatment, and is the only Runic example of the kind in England. The nearest like it in Scandinavia is the one on the opposite coast of South-Jutland in Denmark, the Bjolderup stone, from whose church-yard — about 1 Danish mile south-west of Åbenrå — it was scandalously and ridiculously, by Slesvig-Holstein influence, sent away in 1841 to the "German" Museum in Kiel! It is of reddish granite, about 6 feet long and 2 feet at broadest, has a kind of Cross- or Sword-ornament floriated above, is rounded off at the top but square at the bottom end, and close to this bottom edge just under the Cross or Sword has the runes, in one line:

✠ I T I L U R N A L I K I R H I R

KITIL URNA LIKIR HIR
KITIL URNA LIETH HERE.

This slab was first correctly publisht and redd in Thorsen's Danske Runemindesmærker, i, pp. 259-74. The engraving, a fine Chemitype by J. M. Petersen, is at p. 270.

Where a piece stands *quite* alone, as is the case with this Dover slab, and where — as here — it bears nothing decisively characteristic of any particular time, it is very difficult to give it a proximate date. In my opinion, should other stones of the same class ever be discovered in England, so as to assist us in more nearly fixing the age of this one, the piece before us will perhaps turn out somewhat *younger* than the period here assumed — the 8th century. Denmark being so much later Christianized than England, the Bjolderup slab can scarcely be older the 12th century, and *was doubtless copied from English examples*. In this date I agree with Thorsen, who concludes (p. 282) that the Bjolderup stone — with its figure and letters *in relief* — cannot be older than about 1125-1150.

HACKNESS, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

From a Mould and a Cast in the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven, Denmark. The former was presented by the Rev. D. B. HAIGH, of Erdington near Birmingham; the latter by the Rev. WILLIAM GREENWELL, M. A., Durham, Librarian to the Dean and Chapter of Durham.



Mr. Haigh commences his valuable paper — "Cryptic Inscriptions on the Cross at Hackness"¹ with the words: "On the fragments of crosses which are preserved in the chancel of the church at Hackness, relics, doubtless, of St. Hild's foundation, there are Latin inscriptions, which appear to commemorate Oedilburga and Ilwætburga, daughters of Aldwulf, King of the East Angles and nephew of St. Hild; successively abbesses of the monastery there; and of Canegyth, Bugge, and Trecea, correspondents of St. Boniface; all of whom were living in the earlier part of the eighth century. These have been noticed in a pamphlet published by Mr. Procter, of Hartlepool ("Notes on the History of

¹ Printed in the Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 8vo. Vol. 2, New Series, 1858-59, pp. 170-94.

St. Begu and St. Hild"). These fragments are, however, worthy of particular notice, on account of their presenting inscriptions in secret characters, different from anything that has hitherto been observed in England." One of these curious cryptic stones, in a kind of Ogham alphabet, is engraved by Mr. Haigh (Fig. 1, p. 170), and commented upon by him.

But among the inscribed fragments of funeral Crosses thus preserved at Hackness, rescued from time to time from its ancient monastic burial-ground, is one bearing Runic characters. This piece has never yet been engraved or deciphered. It is about 16 inches high and 14 broad, and has been the central slab of the Cross. It has suffered severely. Still it is precious to us from the striking nature of its risings.

1. First we have the sign of the Cross, with equal arms, and two lines of Old-Northern runes but in their English-provincial shape. The first 4 in the upper line, studying carefully both Cast and Mould in different lights, are plainly EMUN; the two following staves have been greatly damaged by the peeling of the stone; the little that is left would suggest DR. Then comes a distinct o. The under line shows ONES; the next letter, damaged in the same way, has doubtless been B. We have then o and probably A. Thus these two lines would seem to have been:

† M. N. L. T. M. R. R.
 R. T. F. N. B. R. F.

EMUNDR O
 ON ESB OA.

EMUND OWES (*owns this grave*)
 ON (*of, at, in*) ASBY.
 (*Emund of Asby possesses this tomb.*)

This is apparently in the dialect usually called Scandinavian, in so far as Old-English monuments do not exhibit the -R nominative mark, and make the 3rd pers. sing. pres. of AGAN as AH or AG, while in Scandinavia at this date we have A or O. Yet the runes are not Scandinavian Old-Northern. Some Scandinavian families would therefore seem to have settled at or near Hackness about this time, and shortly after to have adopted the local letters; or else the nom. mark -R and the o instead of AH or AG may have been used in some local North-English dialect. Whether any ASBY can still be traced in this part of Yorkshire, I do not quite know, but I think it may. See the WORD-ROLL.

2. Next we have 3 and a half lines of the rare Twig- or Tree-runes of which we have other examples on the Maeshowe and Rök stones. But the block is so flawed and weathered that these curious letters cannot be distinctly made out, and consequently this part of the rising cannot be redd — at least by me.

3. The 6th line closes with a single word, in early Roman Uncials, the verb ORA, (*PRAY* [*for his soul!*]). But only the upper 2-thirds of this word is seen on my photograph. The reason is, that this photograph is taken from the Cast., and the English workman has carelessly made this Cast a trifle too short below, so that the under part of this word ORA is not brought out.

We have thus here *three* sorts of letters, Old-Northern Runes, Tree-runes and Roman Uncials. As before remarkt, another Hackness stone bears Oghams, while others have only Latin letters. So great was the connection between the civilizations and religious movements and establishments of the various Keltic and Anglic races.

So many are its flaws and fractures, its weaknesses and its weatherings, that it was *impossible to draw* this stone. In several places we cannot decide what is a rising and what a chip or furrow by time or violence. I therefore give it to the reader as I find it, in a careful and faithful (but alas too costly) photographic plate. Nobody can then say that I have in the least degree, wittingly or unwittingly, doctored my text; and everyone can judge for himself.

IRTON, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

I must implore public or private help for the proper and careful engraving and publication of this monument. It is a Runic cross of beautiful workmanship. Living so far away, and having no means, I have not been able to procure the necessary information and materials. All that *has* been done towards the archaeological rescue of this noble lafe, has been at the hands of our indefatigable and self-sacrificing rune-worker the Rev. D. H. Haigh. Being in 1863 near Irton, he succeeded in reaching that place, made a mould of the runes and sent it to me in Denmark. But it was unhappily spoiled on the passage. The letters, he says, are very much worn, and require a good mould *and* a good cast to give any one a fair chance of reading them. Mr. Haigh also tried to get me a photograph of the whole pillar, but in vain. So here I stand — minus Cast, minus Mould, minus Drawings and Measurements and Descriptions and Details and Sun-bilds. Will no one in England make known and carefully engrave this ancient Cross, or enable me so to do? If some North-English Gentleman or Society would take 3 moulds and casts, *one* might be given to the local Museum, *one* to the British Museum, and *one* to the Cheapinghaven Museum. Large photographs of every side would be indispensable. But all this would not be so very expensive, if only properly superintended on the spot.

The Irton Cross bears 3 lines of Old-English runes, but these letters are nearly illegible. Mr. Haigh thought that the 1st line began with þ and ended with þ; that the 2nd began with ƿ and ended with ƿ; and that the 3rd began with ƿ. He suspects that the first and part of the second line may have been:

þ ƿ | ƿ | ƿ ƿ

ƿ ƿ ƿ ƿ

GIBIDÆD

FORÆ

BID (*pray-ye*)

FOR

It is likely enough that this well-known formula may have stood on the stone. But *the name* is here the vital part. The PRAY FOR standing *first* and not *last*, is a noteworthy variation.

As every year, every month, every day, adds to the silent or savage, accidental or wilful, total or partial destruction of *our old national monuments* — which, once injured or ruined, NEVER CAN BE REPLACED — my noble countrymen should not lose a moment in at once obtaining those mechanical views and copies of which I have spoken above. The cost will be trifling; and even should it not, bah! Money is but rubbish, and ALL THAT WE HAVE is not too much or too good for our Fatherland! We have lost so much already, and have so little left, that we should at once grasp those leaves the Sybil yet can offer us.

NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

Full size. Drawn and chemityped in 1867 by J. MAGNUS PETERSEN from Casts of the original (now in the British Museum) kindly communicated by AUGUSTUS WILLIAM FRANKS, Esq., F. S. A.

THE FRANKS CASKET, of whalebone, most likely a part of the shoulder-blade, is one of the oldest and costliest treasures of ancient English art now in existence. As a specimen of Northumbrian work and of the forl Northumbrian folk-speech it is doubly precious. But we know nothing of its history. Probably as the gift of some English priest or layman, it would seem to have lain for centuries in the treasury of one of the French churches, whence it came into the store of a well-known dealer in antiquities in Paris. There it was happily seen and generously purchast some ten years ago by our distinguisht countryman and accomlisht archæologist Aug. W. Franks, Esq. This was the more noble on his side as the price demanded was excessively high, but he riskt everything rather than that such a jewel should be lost to his country. August 2, 1859, at the Carlisle meeting of the Archæological Institute, Mr. Franks redd a memoir on this shrine, which he exhibited as well as some small but good woodcuts of the principal parts¹. From this source came the short description and the runic inscriptions (of course without any engraving) given by the Rev. D. H. Haigh in his "Conquest of Britain", pp. 42-44, Plate 3, Fig. 1-8, to which I refer farther on.

Thereafter, this runic box has remained unhandled. Year by year the learned world has expected a detailed paper from Mr. Franks himself; but unhappily his overwhelming occupations have hitherto prevented him. Under these circumstances he has not only, with the most obliging friendliness, enabled me to give the exact and beautiful plates of all the sculptured parts here before the reader, but he has also munificently insisted on *defraying the cost of all the engravings*, "a small contribution" as he kindly exprest himself "to the heavy expenses of so comprehensive a work". For this courteous gift, and for favors many mo, I offer Mr. Franks my heartfelt thanks. Since then, this large-hearted old-lorist has given the Casket to the British Museum, (which is thus now in possession of one of the greatest rarities in Europe), and the Casts I had used to the Danish Old-Northern Museum.

In a letter dated British Museum, March 10, 1867, Mr. Franks has been good enough to forward me the following information on this Northumbrian Box:

"The casket is quadrangular, and has a top now detached. The measurements are as follows. Length 9 in.; width 7½ in.; entire height 5½ in. Of the lower part the following portions are wanting: — nearly half the bottom, one end, one corner and several smaller portions of the cover: three sides of the rim and about one third of the upper surface are deficient. The material of nearly all the casket is the bone of whale. The sides are formed of slabs of that material ¾ in. thick and with two tenons at each end; these are made to fit into the corners, which are composed of quadrangular pieces of bone from which the angle towards the inside has been chamfered off. The position of the tenons is shewn by the plain portions at the angles through which a pin passed, and which appear to have been at some time covered with metal corner pieces.

¹ See the Archæological Journal, Soc. Vol. 16, London 1859, p. 391, and the Catalogue of the Carlisle Meeting, p. 16.

"The rim of the cover is 1½ in. deep; it is plain, as is likewise one of the panels of the top. It is however possible that these portions, which differ somewhat from the rest in material, may have been derived from some ancient restoration of the object. The position of the central panel is determined by three pin holes irregularly placed, and corresponding with similar holes in the remaining portion of the rim. The lock is wanting and has been attached by metal pins. On the back of the casket are indications of hinges of metal fastened on with metal pins, but which cannot have been original, as they would have concealed part of the carving and inscription. I should add that to the circular object in the centre of the cover has been fixed by four pins a disk, probably of metal.

"When the casket came into my hands, it was in pieces. It was obtained from a dealer in Paris, and was considered to be Scandinavian. The form however of the runes clearly proved its origin. I traced the casket into the hands of Professor Mathieu of Clermont Ferrand in Auvergne, who gave me the following account of it. "Le monument se trouvait dans une maison bourgeoise d'Auzon, chef-lieu d'un canton de l'arrondissement de Brionde, département de la Haute-Loire. Les dames s'en servaient comme d'une boîte à ouvrage, et y enfermaient leurs fils et leurs aiguilles. Il était monté en argent. Un des fils de la maison la démonta et en échangea les plaques contre une bague de celles qu'on nomme chevalières. S'il était permis de faire un rapprochement, on ajouterait que l'église d'Auzon remonte, par son porche à colonnettes et par les peintures d'une chapelle abandonnée, au neuvième ou du moins au dixième siècle. Cette église avait un chapitre de douze chanoines."

"I should add that Professor Mathieu informed me, that in consequence of the removal of the mountings the box fell to pieces and some of them got lost. He offered a reward for the missing end, but it was supposed to have been thrown away on a heap, and carried out to manure the vines!

"The casket has been now presented to the British Museum, as an addition to the Collection of National Antiquities."

The various carvings display great strength and freedom of treatment, in spite of the rudeness of the execution. We will hope that Mr. Franks will illustrate all this, as well as the many curious points connected with the designs themselves, the armor and costume and buildings &c. &c. Meanwhile, as I nearly always follow Mr. Haigh in his translation, I copy his remarks in the order given by him, and this so much the more as there is no kind of connection in the designs and mottoes of the several sculptured pieces, and it is therefore so far immaterial where we begin. Mr. Haigh first handles

THE LEFT SIDE:



We see at once the damages on the surface, particularly across the centre of the right and left runic panels. But every letter can, notwithstanding, be plainly read.

"1. Around a representation of the myth of Romulus and Remus:

"FIMMIXREFFETTFZSMRMMPFMATXMXIBRRFFRFXMMFHPANFIRFFNFHTI"

The first two words are in the border panel to the left; the ROMWALUS to TWEGEN in the top border panel; the GIBRODÆR- in the right border panel; the -A FEDDÆ to ROMÆCÆSTRI (followed by 4 perpendicular dots, of which 3 remain) in the bottom panel. The centre compartment shows the She-wolf in the middle, suckling the children, and two spear-armed shepherds on each side.

OBLÆUN NEG ROMWALUS AND¹ REUMWALUS, TWEGEN GIBRODÆR²: FIEDDÆ HLE WULF IN ROMÆCÆSTRI.

UN-LAY (*out-lay, lay out, were exposed*) NIGH (*near, close together*) ROMWALUS (= ROMULUS) AND REUMWALUS (= REMUS), TWAIN (*two*) BROTHERS: FIED HI (*them*) a-WYLF (*she-wolf*) IN ROMÆCÆSTER (*Rome-city*).

This subject is of course well known in a variety of forms from Classical times, and is continued in the romances of the Middle age. But England also possesses a fine Roman Mosaic of Romulus and Remus beneath the teats of a large Wolf, with a border of geometrical pattern, so much the more interesting as it is the only floor of the kind known in our country, or perhaps in any other land. It was found some years ago at Aldborough in Yorkshire, and is now in the Museum of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Leeds. Mr. E. Ecroyd Smith is about to publish it in Chromo-lithograph.

Mr. Franks has pointed out to me that in the Arabon or Rambon Diptych. now in the Vatican, date 898, engraved and described by A. F. Gorius (*Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum*, fol. Vol. 3, Florentiae 1759, pp. 153-208), and whose work has a decidedly *Northern* character, the name REMUS is in a similar manner 'spelt' REMVLVS. The top of one leaf shows Christ adored by Angels. But the chief part of this side is filled with a representation of Christ on the Cross, with suitable Latin inscriptions. Below this is a large figure of a Wyf (*she-wolf*) suckling two children, and straight thereunder we have:

ROMVLVS ET REMVLVS A LVPA NVTRITI

as usual carved *without any division of the words*. On this line B. Montfaucon observes (id. p. 186): "Ignarus ille artifex pro Remo Remulum posuit: nihil unquam rudiore & imperitiore manu adornatum conspeximus".

But this precious Arabon piece also offers a rare, tho not old yet middle-age, *semi-example* of I (here EGO) and the name, instead of the otherwise almost universal *name only* (3rd person). For on the other half is carved in 4 lines, all the letters *close written* as before,

CONFESSORIS DNI SCIS GREGORIVS SILVESTRO FLA
VIANI CENOBIO RAMBONA AGELTRUDA CONSTRVXI
QVOD EGO ODELICVVS INIMVS DNI SERBVS ET ABBAS
SCVLPIRE MINI SIT IN DOMINO AMEN.

Montfaucon justly remarks, p. 187, that this is indeed "latino-barbare", and that the meaning is: "Sanctos Confessores Domini *Gregorium, Silvestrum & Flavianum*; Coenobium Rambonam, sive de Arabona, ab Ageltruda constructum esse; & Odelricum Abbatem hoc Diptychum sculpi curavisse." It is therefore that I called this a late *semi-example*. For not only does SCVLPIRE MINI mean SCULPI CURAVI (Gorius, p. 205, translates SCULPENDUM IUSSTI), but this whole passage is not monumental in its expressions (when we should doubtless have had ODELICVVS SCVLPSIT or FECIT if he had been the actual maker) but historical and recommendatory as so often in *old manuscripts*. The great object of this Diptych — as in all others — was to commend the named benefactors of the church to the *prayers of the faithful*. And thus it came about that the Abbot of the Monastery built by Ageltruda ventures (partly *ex officio* as Abbot, and partly as having ordered and directed the execution of the Diptych itself) to add his own name to hers, humbly hoping to partake in the intercessions made for her (SIT IN DOMINO!). — This most interesting ivory is ornamented with the true-love knot ring, and bears a kind of worm-like cable which

¹ Accidentally misprinted by Mr. Haigh END.

² Accidentally misprinted by Mr. Haigh GIBRODÆRÆ.

expands and buds into a flower- and fruit-bearing Vine on which a Squirrel feeds, at once reminding us of the similar but older and richer decoration on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses.

Mr. Haigh next passes to the plate or plaque forming

of the box :

THE BACK



"2. Titus storming Jerusalem, and the Jews taking to flight. The inscription is partly in Runes. The rest is in Latin, and, with the exception of the last word, in Romanesque characters. Beneath these is a representation of a tribunal, with the word *DOM*, and another of a person led off to prison, with the word *GISL*; the two, perhaps, forming a rebus of the name of the maker of this casket, — *DOMGISL*."

"HIER FIGHT TITUS AND the JEWS. HERE FLY from JERUSALEM its INHABITANTS.

DOM

GISL"

The first two words are in the left border panel; the next three in the narrow top border panel to the left; the three in Latin letters in the narrow top border panel to the right; the last (runic) word in the border panel on the right. The word *DOM* stands below, in the extreme left corner; the word *GISL* is below, in the extreme right corner.

HER FEGTAD TITUS END¹ GIUDEASU². HIC FUGIANT HIERUSALIM APITATOES (HABITATOES).

DOM.

GISL.

HERE FIGHT TITUS AND the - JEWS. HERE FLY - from JERUSALEM its - INHABITANTS.

DOOM (Court, Judgment).

GISL (Hostage).

These last two words do not seem to me a rebus or proper name. They rather appear to refer to the scenes represented, the strong measures taken by *TITUS* to secure the obedience of the conquered city and of the people of Judæa in general.

Accidentally misprinted by Mr. Haigh *AND*.

Accidentally misprinted by Mr. Haigh *GIUDEASU*.

HRONÆS BAN, FISC-FLODU,
 A-HOF ON FERGEN-BERIG:
 WARD GASRIC GROBN,
 DÆR HE ON GREUT GISWOM.

Of-the-Hrone (= Whale) the-bones from-the-fishes'-flood (= the Sea) I-a-hove (lifted, raised, placed) on Fergen-berg (Fergen-hill): worth (= became, was he) gas-rich (playing, gambling) groren (crusht, pasht to pieces, killed), there (there-where, where) he on the-grit (shingles, shore, coast) swam.

Or, in the stave-rime of the original:

THE WHALE'S BONES FROM THE FISHES' FLOOD (the Sea)
 I LIFTED ON FERGEN-HILL:
 HE WAS GASHT TO DEATH IN HIS GAMBOLS,
 AS A-GROUND HE SWAM IN THE SHALLOWS

Having taken this word FERGEN-BERIG as a Place-name, especially as I had remarkt the same name (FERGEN) in Durham, in a Charter dating between 1058 and 1066, I requested the kind assistance of Mr. Haigh to ascertain whether any place bearing a similar name now exists in that county. He and Mr. Longstaffe, to whose friendly and interesting information I refer in the WORD-ROLL, are both of opinion that it must be identified as the present FERRY or FERRY-HILL.

Thus this costly Runic monument, written in the forn (old) North-English dialect, testifies to its origin in the heart of our mighty Northumbria.

THE RIGHT SIDE.



"4. Nothing remains of the fourth side but part of the letters DREGETH SWIClice, "oppresseth treacherously"; referring, perhaps, to a representation of the slaughter of the Innocents."

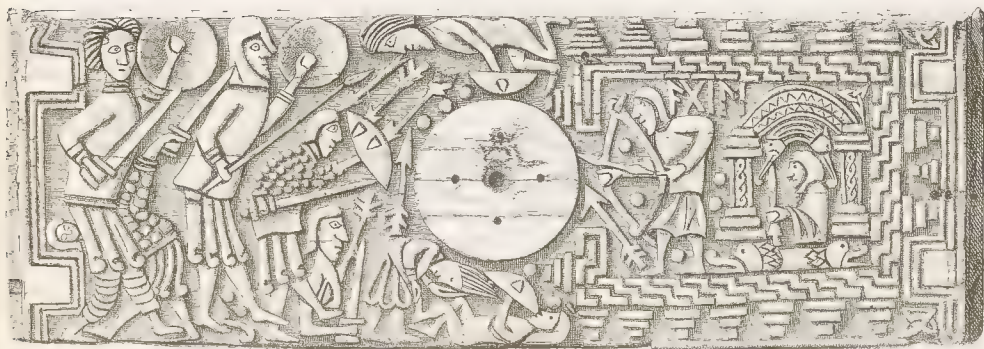
"DRYGD SWI(c)"

I have never found the Rune \mathfrak{S} to have any other power than γ , and therefore read

DRYGD SWI(c)

DREETH (drees, suffers, bears, endures) SWIK (deceit, treachery).

THE TOP.



"5. On the top there is a scene from the history of one of the Ægels, whose name, ÆGILL, is written above him."

"ÆGILL"

RANVAIK, the later Norse-Icelandic RANNVEIG, is a female name. — Observe how nearly the two v's approach the r in form. The short s (ʰ) is also interesting.

I would willingly add engravings of all the other splendid Caskets and Chests, carved or embossed or enameled or otherwise decorated, preserved in the Cheapinghaven Museum. All such are of great interest, not only in themselves but for comparison. But I can only give 5, nearly half the total number, and these from casts from the blocks used for Prof. Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager".

The following, Museum-number vi, in Worsaae No. 555, may be from the 11th century. It is of Walrus-bone, and somewhat reminds us of the Franks Casket. It came from Odense. The engraving is half-size:

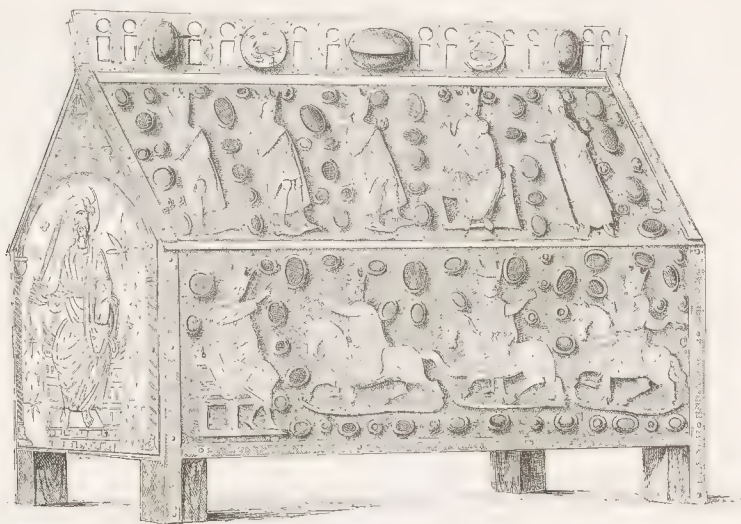


Another, Museum No. 9085, in Worsaae No. 525, is of thin copper plates, gilt, mounted on wood, apparently from the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th. A Crystal is fixed at the top. The principal figures are Our Saviour, the Crucifixion, Saints, &c. It is here given 1-fifth the full size:

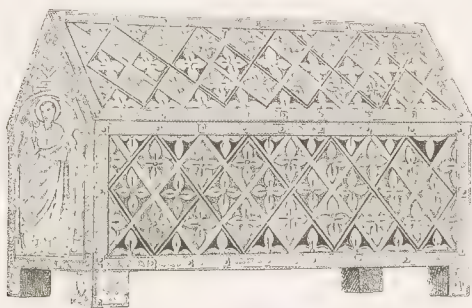


Another, of Limoges work, has the Museum No. 9109, in Worsaae's "Nordiske Oldsager" No. 526. It is of the 12th century, in relief, copper gilt, enameled. The scale is 1-third of the ori-

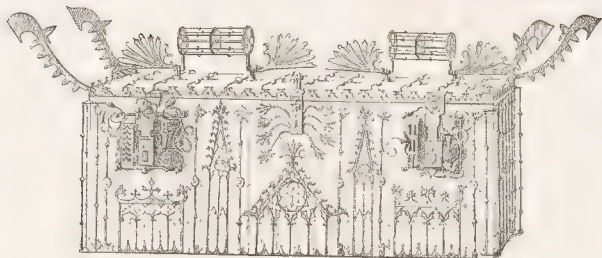
ginal. It is studded with rich stones, and represents Christ, the 3 Kings, &c. Below, the Magi announce THE STAR to King Herod. Above, they offer their gifts to the Child and Mary, Joseph standing last on the right. The effect of the whole is very fine, and this reliquary is a masterpiece of its kind:



Another of these delicate 12th century Halidom-shrines is the one below, also in the Cheaping-haven Museum (No. 9110), Worsaae's No. 527. Like the preceding, it is Limoges metal work, stamped, in relief. It has figures only at each end, and the pattern is thus simpler and less costly than in many others of this class, of which several examples — mostly from churches — are preserved in the Scandinavian Museums. This one is engraved in Chemitype by Mr. Petersen, 1-third of its full bigness:



Lastly, the following chest, from the later Middle Age, is a fine specimen of iron work. It is Worsaae's No. 606, and came from Sorø Monastery. Engraved 1-8th the full size:



Judging from the size and make, this must have been a depositary for the plate and valuables, deeds and documents, belonging to or deposited in the cloister. It cannot have been a mere reliquary. All such coffers were easily portable, and in case of fire or any accident could be quickly removed to a place of safety. The light but strong wrought-iron ornaments have a graceful ecclesiastical character. A great deal of most excellent ironwork from the early and late middle age still exists in Scandinavia, but very much more has been barbarously destroyed — *tout comme chez nous!*

It is very possible that other Runic Boxes may exist in private hands, and may one day be made known by their owners. They were certainly not uncommon in olden days. One such, covered with Old-Northern runes, was found last century in the Danish Moss at Kragehul, to which my reader will turn. Unhappily, it is lost. But all pieces of this kind are exposed to a thousand accidents, and are never safe until they get into some well-known public life-board (museum), whose officers are answerable for their careful keeping and where they may be easily examined by the curious. The two engraved in this work as being risted with Old-Northern staves, NETHU'S SHRINE and THE FRANKS CASKET, are both of them of the first class, rich as they are rare, shine like stars in my pages. Scientifically and enthusiastically considered, they are of untold worth; the one, from the matchless delicacy and beauty of its decoration; the other, from its wonderful, naïve, Gothic, old-tale carvings; both, from their bearing so many words in our worshipful and brave Old-North-English tung.

WYCLIFFE, NORTHUMBRIA.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 700-800.

In his Paper in the *Archæologia Æliana*, Nov. 1856, p. 156, Mr. Haigh also mentions "a fragment of a cross found in the year 1778 between Wycliffe and Greta Bridge", (figured in Gough's *Camden*, Vol. III, Pl. v).

BAEDA
..T..
AEFTE
RBERC
HTVINI
BECVN
AEFTERF

"The last two letters of the first line seem in the engraving to be indistinct, owing to an injury done to the stone, but from the traces which remain I think there can be no doubt that the name is *Baeda*.

"The second line, which is defaced, seems to have been in smaller characters, and therefore probably contained more than the others; the last of the whole seems to be F; and the whole inscription may have been like the above:

"Baeda [the settæ]
Aefter Berchtuini
Becun aefter f[athoræ]
Gebidæd der saule]

Bæda [this -set]
after Berchtuini
a beacon after [his father
pray for the soul]."

Dr. Charlton informs me that this monument has not been found in this century, and is probably destroyed. I therefore only admit it (as we cannot depend on details in Gough's copy) in illustration of the word *BECON* on the Dewsbury and Falstone stones, and of the general funeral formulas on our oldest monuments. Not being in Runes, it is only of interest here for this particular purpose. Consequently — the stone being lost and no trustworthy drawing, as to minutiae, remaining — I merely give the letters in modern Roman characters as now printed.

MONK WEARMOUTH, DURHAM, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 822.

Drawn and etcht from the original stone (now in the Museum of the Rev. WILLIAM GREENWELL, M. A., Durham, Librarian to the Dean and Chapter of Durham) by Mr. J. H. LE KEUX, and chematyped by J. M. PETERSEN from an impression obligingly forwarded me for that purpose by Mr. GREENWELL, for whose kindness I offer my respectful thanks.



I owe my first acquaintance with this stone to Mr. Greenwell himself, whom I have to thank for the following valuable remarks in a letter address to me March 15, 1864: — "The stone of which I send you an engraving, and which is now in my possession, was found some years ago, near the present Church at Monk Wearmouth, in the County of Durham, the site of an Anglo-Saxon [— Angli] Monastic establishment. I have no doubt, from the fact of several bodies having been found at the same place, that it had been the cemetery of the Monastery, and that the stone is the sepulchral memorial of one of its inmates. I should be, myself, inclined to place its date as 11th century or perhaps late 10th, though it is difficult to come to any very near estimate, as to time of fabrication, in such work. I am also inclined to think that we have nearly the whole of the memorial stone, and that it is not, as some have thought, the lower part of a cross, but this is certainly open to dispute. The runes offer no difficulty, being most distinct and fresh. But the subject is very enigmatical. I have not been able to form any conjecture, which appears to have any real basis, on the matter. The two figures holding the square object, seem to be draped, whilst the single figure is naked. I do not think that the naked figure is holding any thing in its hand, and the appearance as though something was held in the left hand is 'due to the rude carving of the subject. You will observe a peculiar form over the inscription, and also that there is a strange-shaped enclosure round the arched figure. The stone differs from any I have seen, and is a valuable addition to our Anglo-Saxon [= Old-English] relics. As you know, a very common Mediæval representation is of the ascent of the Soul, generally figured by a small naked body rising out of a cloth, held by two angels. It at one time struck me

that the subject on this stone might be the Soul's ascent, but the fact of the naked body being on the opposite side to that which contains the two figures, as also the size of the naked figure, being evidently of a person of mature age, is against that view. It has also struck me, it might represent the Resurrection of our Lord; but here also the figures being on different sides seems against such an explanation, though I do not think the objection by any means fatal. And on the whole I am inclined to think this last the most plausible theory. I shall be glad to know what your views are, and I hope it will not be giving you too much trouble to ask you for them. This stone will, I hope, be worthy of a place in your outcoming work."

The first public notification of this discovery was given in *Archæologia Æliana* for Febr. 1865, where at p. 196 we read:

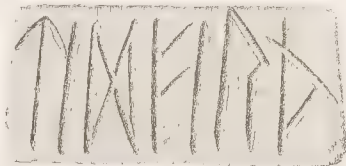
"RUNIC LEGEND FROM MONKWEARMOUTH.

"Dr. CHARLTON also mentions the recent acquisition by the Rev. *Wm. Greenwell*, Minor Canon, Durham, of a headstone traced to Monkwearmouth, and inscribed in Runes with the name of *Tidferth*, which the last Bishop of Hexham bore. He died on his journey to Rome, and would probably shape his course to the Monastery of Wearmouth with the intention of taking ship at the then capacious harbour which evoked Malmsbury's admiration. The stone is, however, somewhat minor for an episcopal dignity and there is no evidence of identity."

Mr. Greenwell's original plate was first made public in a work dated 1864. He had lent it to the Rev. James Raine, M. A., for publication in his valuable "*The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*", Vol. 1, (*Surtees Society* Vol. 44), and there it appeared at p. xl. Mr. Raine introduces it with the following observations (pp. xxxix, xl):

"*TIDFERTH*, or *Tilferd*, was the last bishop of Hexham. Prior Richard says that it is not known when or how long he ruled the see; but from evidence, which that historian himself supplies, *Tidferth* could not have been at Hexham after the year 821 or 822. There was a tradition that he died on the way to Rome. Singularly enough, in the Saxon [= Anglie] cemetery of the monks at Wearmouth, at a short distance from the sea, there was recently discovered the peculiar stone of which there is an engraving opposite. It is, perhaps, some portion of a cross, and the solitary word *Tidferth* in Runic characters carries us back at once to the bishop of Hexham. There is nothing to connect this memorial with him save the name; but we must remember that if *Tidferth* was on his way to Rome, it is probable enough that he would take ship at the mouth of the Wear; and he would not do that without visiting Benedict Biscop's monastery, which was within his own diocese. This is curious when we associate the discovery with Prior Richard's mention of the proposed journey to Rome, which death shortened or prevented. The name of *Tidferth*, however, in one form or another, is not an uncommon one, and it may be seen in the Durham Book of Life."

The stone, then, was found at Monk Wearmouth, now in fact a part of Sunderland, on the site of an Old-English Monastic establishment, and is doubtless the sepulchral memorial of one of its temporary or resident members. I take it to have been the base of a small Grave-Cross, the arms and top being lost. It is only 12½ inches high, by 8 inches where broadest. The runes, as Mr. Greenwell has said, are clear and sharp, and I here give that part containing them full size:



TIDFIRTH

a common Old-English mans-name. The ending -FIRTH is only a slurring of -FRID, FRITH, peace, and the whole name means TIDE-PEACE, the TIME-PEACEFUL. Besides the above form, the name is also found spelt in England *TIDFRID*, *TITFRITH*, *TIDFERTH*, *TIDFERD*, *TIDFERD*, *TIDFERD*, *TITFERD*, &c.

It is always tempting when we find a name which is historical to fix it accordingly, altho a *common* name may have belonged to a very *common* person. But still, in this instance, judging from all the circumstances, as well as the figure-decorated character of the monument and the strikingly rude and old style of the workmanship, I think the balance of evidence would go towards assigning it as a fragment of the funeral cross of the last Bishop of Hexham.

As to the signification of the carvings, I hardly dare pass an opinion in the presence of my betters. But I am inclined to favor the latter view of Mr. Greenwell. I cannot but regard the whole as a well-known rendering — however feebly carried out by uninformed hands — of that great and solemn and consolatory fact the UPRISING OF CHRIST, the pledge and seal of our own, for He became "the first-fruits of them that slept". There is, it appears to me, something peculiar and decisive in the treatment of the subject on the right side. The cave or arch or sepulchre, from which the naked figure is upspringing, is bursting open at the top. The side or lid — which is itself apparently treated symbolically and is shaped in the guise of a *Cross* — is starting away, to give room for the Conqueror of Death in his triumphant passage upward. And on the left side of the block, which is also signed with the Cross, two draped men or angels would seem to be pointing to, or guarding Christ's empty Sepulchre: "He is not here; for he is risen, as he said".

Should this be so, we have at once an explanation of the division of the subject. In so confined a space the feeble art-workman who hewed TIDFIRTH'S grave-cross could not possibly crowd into one compartment these two successive events in the Uprising of Christ, and even if he could it would seem better that they should thus be treated separately.

But all this is somewhat doubtful, for the picture-carving here stands probably alone, so little is left to us of this early school of Christian art. Should what is here given be only a part of the original pillar, other details may have been inscribed elsewhere on the stone, at least the pious formula PRAY FOR THE SOUL. The rudeness of the workmanship need not surprise us. The comparatively high art and skilled traditions of older days had already lost much of their vigor, Monk Wearmouth was only a minor establishment, and its monks could not afford to summon to them the best stone-carvers in the country. They used their local, religious or secular, handicraftsmen, and were thankful that they had them so good as they were. But, eschewing speculations, it is evident that this funeral block more or less belongs to a class for itself, and we are again and again reminded how much every fresh find teaches us. We may hope that many a Runic piece may yet be dug out of these ancient English sepulchres. Only we must be prepared to pay high enough, delve deep enough, and after all meet with many a disappointment. Runic stones found in the walls and foundations of churches in England will be very few, but they may now and then be looked for. Only let Clerks of the Works seek for them and love them, and raise a shout whenever they meet with them, not losing an hour in getting them removed out of harm's way, previous to proper examination and copying. And all the attendant circumstances should at once be described in writing. It is wonderful how soon people may forget. For want of these simplest rules, how much have we lost, and how little do we know of much that we have!

Mr. Greenwell's Museum is very rich in local antiquities, but this one is undoubtedly its gem. His whole collection should never be dispersed, but secured to some public Gallery in our old Northumbria.

COQUET ISLAND, NORTHUMBERLAND; ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800-900.

*From the Original, in the Museum of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle. —
 Drawn and Chemityped by J. M. PETERSEN*



This Ring, which is of Lead, is here engraved full size. It was found some few years ago on the finger of a skeleton in the old monastic burial-ground of Coquet-island, off the coast of Northumberland. At first the runes were far from legible, the whole ring being coated over with a dense layer of Carbonate of Lead. But Dr. Charlton, after consultation with a talented Chemist, employed some means to clean it, and it is now fairly decipherable, as the runes were deeply cut.

Being anxious to be extremely exact in my drawing, I applied to His Grace the Noble Owner for the loan of this treasure to the Museum here, that I might examine it and have it copied within its walls. With his usual and well-known generosity and courtesy the Duke (alas, now no more!) at once consented, and accordingly the learned world may depend on the accuracy of the above facsimile. Dr. Charlton and the Rev. D. H. Haigh have given me practical assistance regarding it, for which I render them my warmest thanks. Not only myself but all the friends of science will ever gratefully acknowledge the willing kindness of the late Noble Duke.

On carefully examining the ring¹, we find some faint traces here and there of its having been *silvered*. The runes are all such as are *in common* to both the Old-Northern and the Scandinavian alphabets. But the age of the piece and the locality where it was found render it indubitable that, had it borne the peculiar runes, they would have been those of the older or Old-Northern stave-row.

The *r* is plain, tho much corroded. The *n* is very doubtful, the lead being here so much decayed. Possibly it may be only a mark or a flourish, but I think it has been *n*. However, the meaning is the same in either case. The two *x*-like figures are only ornamental, to fill in.

¹ First publicly described, as far as I know, in the *Archæologia Æliana* for Feb. 1865, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 8vo. p. 195, where we read:

"RUNIC RING FROM COQUET ISLAND."

"THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND has sent for exhibition a ring found on the finger of a skeleton at Coquet Island, and engraved with Runic characters, to the irritatingly simple effect that "This is silver" (THIS IS SIELFERN)"

CHERTSEY, SURREY, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800-900.

From an exact Rubbing by AUG. W. FRANKS, Esq., F. S. A., Dir. Soc. Ant. and Assistant Keeper of the British Museum, kindly obtained for me by His Excellency Mr. GORDON.



The piece called the Chertsey Dish appears to be of nearly pure copper. It is, says Mr. Franks, $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with a rim nearly 2 inches, and is $1\frac{3}{16}$ inch high. It was dug up about 170 years ago, on the site and among the then existing ruins of the Monastery of St. Peter, Chertsey, and is now in the British Museum, to whose collections it was added in 1853.

On the rim is the inscription, cut in basso relievo, in mixt Runes and decorated Uncials. It was first made public in 1843, by Mr. J. M. Kemble in his *Additional Observations*, p. 12. He regards this "fat" to have been an Alms-dish, and to have been a copy made in the 11th or 12th century from an original of the 8th. This is quite gratuitous, and the same scholar's theory that, when the dish was copied, the workman ignorantly or accidentally changed the Uncial α (α) into the Uncial o (o), is equally unnecessary. The reading below is that of Mr. Kemble. The only difference is, that he values the 4th stave as eo , I as the usual α . The meaning is the same. The words would thus be in the Old-North-English, and the dish must have found its way, by gift or otherwise, from the North of England to the old and once famous Chertsey Monastery.

But of late years it has been frequently asserted that the carving was in Slavonic not in Runic staves. I have therefore opened communications with half a dozen of the first living Slavonic scholars, and requested their opinion. These gentlemen, including such authoritative names as Professors Grot and Sreznevski in Petersburg and Miklosich in Vienna, all agree in two things, 1st, that they cannot read it, and 2ndly, that as far as they can see it is *not* in any old Slavonic dialect. Only one of them, Dr. Joseph Finck of Vienna, thinks he can decipher it, that it may be Slavonic, and that it perhaps contains the words $CHAGT JPARAFSEKO$ which he takes to be the name of the former owner.

The weight of evidence, therefore, and the unlikelihood of such a Slavonic dish being found in Chertsey, induce me to follow Mr. Kemble's simple and unexceptionable reading:

G E - T E H , U R E C K O .

TEE (= *take forth*), WRETCH!

(*Offer, Sinner!*)

More than once the Old-English Charters mention "*ánnæ OFFRING DISC*" given to some church or monastery. — During my residence in Scandinavia I have come across several such Boxes or Basins for the alms of the faithful with *pious inscriptions* cut or painted upon them. But the oldest of these pieces does not go back more than a couple of centuries. All such things rapidly pass away.

HODDAM, NORTHUMBRIA, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800-900.

*Copied from the woodcuts in Prof. D. WILSON'S Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, 8vo, London 1863,
2nd edition, Vol. 2, p. 329.*



This Runic Cross has probably perished. All that we know of it is the above fragment. Prof. Wilson's remarks are as follows:

"One other Runic monument, however, is known to have existed in the same district [as that of the Ruthwell Cross] down to a very recent period. The late Mr. Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe informed me that a sculptured stone built into the wall of the ancient church of Hoddam, bore an inscription of some length, in Runic characters. Of this he made a copy before the final demolition of the ruined church in 1815, but he had since sought for the transcript in vain. The original, it is to be feared, no longer exists; but among various sculptured fragments rescued by him from the ruins, and now in the Scottish Antiquarian collection, are portions of the shaft of a cross, divided into compartments, with sculptured figures of ecclesiastics or saints in relief, each with a nimbus around his head and a book in his hand, and bearing, in the general style of its decoration, considerable resemblance to that on the Ruthwell cross. That the venerable ecclesiastical edifice included in its masonry relics of still earlier date, has already been shown by the rescue of a Roman altar from its ruined walls, dedicated by a cohort of German auxiliaries to imperial Jove."

It is scarcely to be doubted that the above fragments and the slab or block inscribed with runes formed part of a Runic Cross. But if so it may have been from about the 8th or 9th century, and the runes must have been Old-Northern, for none others were at this time known or used in Britain.

This fragment was first figured and made known at page 12 in "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland"; Sessions MDCCCLI-MDCCCLIV, Vol. 1, 4to, Edinburgh 1855. I add the chief part of the accompanying text (pp. 11, 12):

"The portion of the shaft figured here", "found in taking down the walls of the ancient church of Hoddam, Dumfriesshire, in 1815", "measures two feet in height, nine inches in greatest breadth in front, and six inches at the sides. On the front is the figure of a Saint, — or more probably of our Lord, — standing under an arched pediment, having a nimbus, and holding a book on which the right hand is laid. Above are two figures, much defaced, probably of angels. On each of the sides a half-length saint is sculptured with nimbus and book, nearly similar to the principal figure. The fourth side has been roughly chiselled flat, in adapting it to its latter purpose, but not so effectually as to obliterate all traces of the original sculptures. The indications of two figures standing together are still apparent; along with slighter traces of other decorations. The front is somewhat more weathered than the sides, one of which especially is nearly as sharp as when cut, and is executed with considerable minuteness and delicacy. Another portion acquired by the Society appears to have formed one of the limbs of the cross. It is much mutilated, but retains the interlaced knot-work so common on Scottish Crosses, prior to the twelfth century. This early Christian Monument forms in some respects an interesting counterpart to the celebrated Runic Cross of Ruthwell, in the same district."

It will be remarkt that the broken lave here before us *has no runes*. A casual observer, eying it carelessly in the Edinburgh Museum, would at once conclude that the monument of which it was a part had never been inscribed at all, or at the best only with Latin letters. But in this particular case we have the most unexceptionable evidence, that of the esteemed and excellent Mr. C. K. Sharpe, that it bore "an inscription of some length, in Runic characters". I dwell upon this because we must remember that, altho only a dozen Runic Crosses are here brought together, the number of these venerable curiously-carved Old-Runic memorials must have been very considerable. Even at this moment *scores* of ancient decorated Crosses exist, more or less ruined, sometimes only in broken bits, in our Churches and Church-yards and Gardens and Old-wards, particularly in our northern provinces. Many have been engraved; some have been made known in light-pictures; others have never been drawn or copied. They should *all* be collected and carefully figured. ere it be too late. All are curious for various reasons, but in particular for the light they throw on Early Art in England. Some are more or less plain, adorned only with rope-mouldings, scroll-work, interlaced patterns, &c. Others have figures, more or less simple or symbolical or symmetrical. Some have never been inscribed. Others may have borne Roman characters. But *many may have been Runic*. The numerous and beautiful Kelto-Scandinavian Crosses — many of them Runic — on the Ile of Man are a class for themselves, and *none* of these bear any OLD-NORTHERN staves.

As I said, all these pieces — even tho *now* no runes may be found upon them — should be diligently collected and engraved, with a short explanatory text. It would be a grateful task to a man of taste and a lover of old-lore, and would hand down his name to posterity. But much of the value of such a book would consist in its completeness, as far as circumstances would allow. Singly, these remains may sometimes appear of little value. Once brought together, it is wonderful how they illustrate and explain each other, and how important a chapter they would be in the history of Christian Skill. No country in Europe can show such a goodly array of Sculptured Crosses as Great Britain and Ireland. Those of Ireland and of Scotland have found their enthusiastic draughtsmen; why should those of England go to decay without any rescue? The *few* as yet engraved must now be sought after in all sorts of scarce and dear publications. *All* should be figured, where possible always from the *originals*, and brought out together in a shape faithful, elegant and not dear.

MAESHOWE, STENNES PARISH, MAINLAND, ORKNEYS.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 800-900.

From a Cast of the original block, presented by JAMES FARRER, Esq., M. P., to the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. — Drawn and Chemityped by J MAGNUS PETERSEN.



This stone, here engraved with great accuracy 1-third of the original, is No. 9 in Mr. Farrer's elegant and valuable "Notice". It is evidently a very old carving, dim and worn, far older than the others in the How, as also its linguistic peculiarities show. The last rune, o, is the only Old-Northern letter in this Pelagic (Cyclopean) chamber. The adjoining part of the block is damaged, and there is a piece out on a level with the top of the preceding staves. The o is therefore carved lower down.

Supposing, as we well may, that this "Picts-house" was taken possession of by Northern Wikings, and was used by them as a stronghold or resort during several consecutive centuries, and that this is the very oldest of their carvings or scribbles on its walls, then this will be a *transition-piece*, that is, executed at a very early period when the older runes were going out of fashion. Hence we have *one* such, but *only* one.

There is no difficulty in the staves. The first scoring is:

þ ʒ R ʒ A ʒ R þ

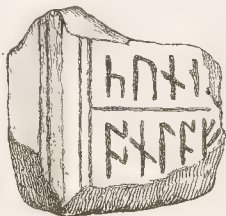
ÞORN R SERTH

THORN SORETH (= the javelin pierceth).

LEEDS, YORKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 955.

From a Drawing by R. D. CHANTRELL, Esq., of London, Architect of the Works, kindly forwarded by the Rev. D. H. HAIGH, of Erdington, near Birmingham.



In 1837-38 a number of fragments of Crosses and other sculptured stones and pillars were discovered in the walls of the belfry and clerestory of the old Parish Church, Leeds. These pieces were mostly of millstone grit, and had evidently been removed, as building materials, from some still earlier religious house on its site. So old is Vandalism! They were doubtless sepulchral monuments, and may have ranged from the 10th century¹.

Of this Leeds Grave-cross, found in 1837 in the north-east Clerestory, only the above lave remains. Its size is on its face 11½ inches by about 10 inches in height, while the breadth of the side in shade is 8 inches. The runes were between 4 and 5 inches high.

Only half of the *u* in the first line is left, but the whole word has certainly been CUNUNC. What else may have stood on the stone has perisht.

The inscription is:

CUN (UNC)

ONLAF.

KING

ONLAF.

In his valuable dissertation "On the fragments of Crosses discovered at Leeds", by the Rev. D. H. Haigh, that learned writer discusses at pp. 522-25 the identity of this piece, and shows

¹ There can be no doubt that Mr. Haigh is right in his conclusion, that these sepulchral Crosses came from the cemetery of the monastery in Leeds (at "Elmctee wood") founded by the Abbot and Priest Thridwulf.

that he was the Northumbrian ruler ONLAF (or ANLAF) SITRICSSON, surnamed CWIRAN (the CHARIER, Turner, Returner, from the frequent reverses and *returns* to power which befell him). After conquering Dublin and losing the famous battle of Brunanburh, now Burnham, he landed in Yorkshire in 940 and eventually secured the throne of his father. He was baptized in 943, King Edmund standing godfather to him. The exact year of his death has not been ascertained. The earliest date would seem to be 952, the latest and more probable 955.

There was a whole group of Scandinavian Kings and Sea-kings at this time — the 9th and 10th century — in Northumberland. Besides (H)ALFDEN, CNUT (DANA-AST), SIEVERT, SIEFRED, &c., there was SITRYC (SIGTRYG) and his two sons ONLAF and REGNALD, and their successor ERIC, probably a "Dansker", the son of HARALD BLUE-TOOTH.

ONLAF or ANLAF is the elder form, with the N still unvocalized, of what afterwards became OLAF, ALAF, OLOF, &c.

Where this Runic Fragment now is, I do not know. I hope it has been and will be properly taken care of.

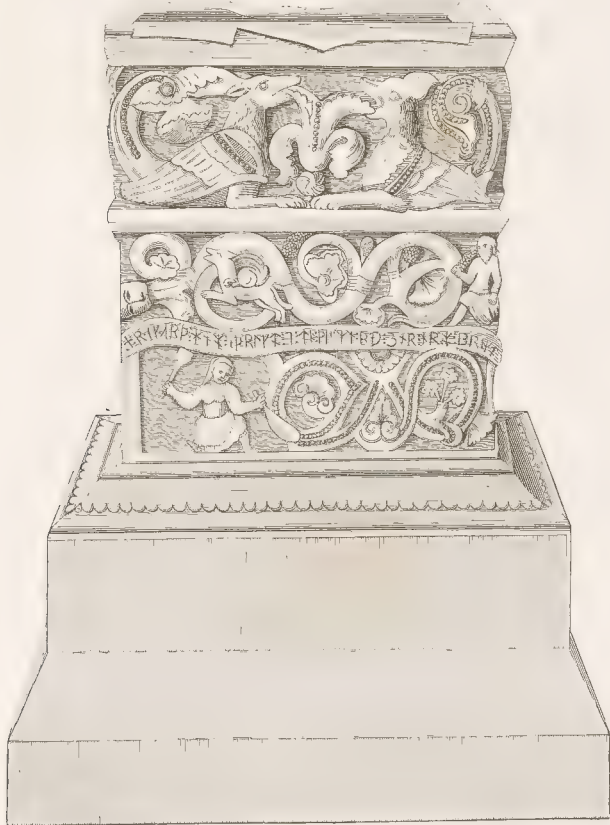
This is the 12th Old-Northern Runic Cross as yet found in England. Generally speaking, the Runic *Crosses* of England answer to the Runic *Blocks* of Scandinavia. And both show a likeness in this, that they are so often found built up in Churches. They have thus had their day out in the Church-yard, have spoken of or belonged to men or families long since forgotten or died out, have been taken up to make room for fresh comers, have been turned into money by the sexton or church-wardens of those days, and have been used in fifty ways where stone blocks or slabs were required — exactly as grave-stones all the world over at this moment. But in Scandinavia, where *hundreds* of such runic monuments have been found in walls and buildings, many of these rune-bearers clearly belong to the *heathen times*. In the Scandian provinces — mostly lands of stone — the Christian faith came in so late, roughly speaking the 11th century, that the first builders of their stone-churches found heathen stones at hand as well as Christian. In England *no heathen rune-stone* has ever turned up in a church or monastic or secular building. The reason is obvious. In England *ANGLIC* Christianity came in so early, roughly speaking the 6th-7th century (*KELTIC* Christianity was some hundreds of years still earlier), that all the pagan grave-stones had been destroyed *long before* the costly stone-churches were erected. For 3 or 4 centuries, almost all the English churches and monasteries, &c., were of *wood*. And our very oldest stone-churches have been burnt or pulled down or enlarged or rebuilt time after time; many have disappeared altogether. So far therefore from finding in such English ruins or foundations *pagan* rune-blocks, the wonder is that we find even Christian *Crosses* so old as to bear *runes*. And Latin letters made their way so early on British monuments, that many of the oldest stones we dig up out of walls and graves bear Roman characters. Therefore; in *Scandian* buildings both *Pagan* and *Christian* monuments, all the former and most of the latter *in runes*: in *English* only *Christian* fragments, and these, when inscribed, often in *Roman* staves.

BRIDEKIRK, CUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1100-1200.

The four sides of the Font copied from the engravings published by Mr. HOWARD in the Archæologia, 4to, Vol. 14, London 1803, pp. 113-18, pl. 30-34; the Runic Inscription is engraved separately, half size, from a most exact Rubbing of all the letters kindly forwarded by the Rev. D. H. HAIGH.

SOUTH SIDE.



In the Archæologia, Vol. 14, pp. 113-18, was printed a Paper entitled: "Observations on Bridekirk Font and on the Runic Column at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, by Henry Howard, Esq., in

a Letter to George Nayler, Esq., York Herald, F. A. S." This was "Read May 14, 1801". — At page 114 Mr. Howard observes: "This most ancient Font, if tradition speaks truth, was removed from Pap castle, a Roman station in the neighbourhood, which continued a place of importance for

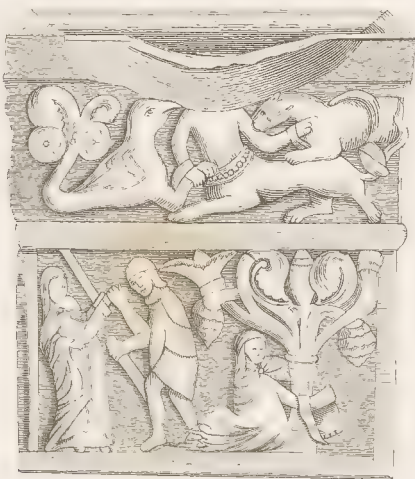
WEST SIDE.



EAST SIDE.



NORTH SIDE.



some ages, till Waltheof, lord of Allerdale, removed his residence from hence to Cockermouth castle, which he probably built out of its ruins. It is formed of the common red free-stone of the country, and covered with a white cement or varnish. From the most prominent parts of the sculpture (in alto

relievo) the cement is worn off, and much of the remainder is still incrustated with green moss or lichen; but the scroll on which the inscription is engraved (intaglio) being sunk, and safe from friction, is preserved entire, and is nearly as perfect and as smooth as a coat of cement could make a free-stone appear at this day. In one place only there is a letter triflingly chipped, which shows the red stone; and with this exception, which does not interfere with the shape of the letter, the inscription is as perfect and as distinct as it could have been the day when it came from the workman's hand. The inaccuracy and difference observable in the copies formerly given, must, I conclude, be owing to the moss or lichen, with which it may have been covered: at this moment the only difference of opinion that can arise, is, whether some of the marks in the stone were originally intended for stops, which the cement has filled up, or whether they were only inequalities on the surface of the stone itself. On the whole, excepting at the top of the north side, the Font is in the highest preservation."

As we are now, thanks to Mr. Haigh, in possession of a perfect fac-simile, and as the Runes offer no manner of difficulty, all will agree that the following version (which is substantially the same as that given by Mr. Haigh. Arch. Æliana, Nov. 1856, p. 182) is correct:

After the usual (+) sign of the Cross, we have, in two riming lines:

RIKARTH HE ME IWROKTE

AND TO THIS MERTHE GERNE ME BROKTE.

RICHARD HE ME I-WROUGHT (*made*),

AND TO THIS MIRTH (*beauty*) GERN (*yeen, carefully*) ME BROUGHT.

What strikes us in this carving is, that we have 3 sorts of staves inter-mixt: the Old-Northern (P - w); the Scandinavian; and the English 7 for AND 3 for G or GH or Y; the many Bind-runes (ME twice, TE twice, and THE); and that † is here used ornamentally for E instead of †, whose usual vowel-force is A or Æ; the decorative use of † (properly X) for † (A or Æ) and of † for †, I have already pointed out on many monuments.

This mingling of staves points to a strong Anglo-Scandinavian population, which agrees with the locality in which the Font is found.

The dialect is *Early North-English*; *Old North-English* would have had GE-WROHTE or GE-WROKTE. This agrees with the style of the work, which is from the 12th century, not the 9th or 10th. The masculine nominative R-mark in GERNE is doubtless a Scandinavianism.

Lastly, this font is remarkable as being the latest "fast" piece in Great Britain bearing our olden Runes. It is a beautiful transition-stone, the old Runes giving way before the later (most conveniently called Scandinavian), while the well-known 3, which shot up into such frequent use in the early and later middle age, shows that partly Romanized letters were everywhere coming in. It is not probable that Runes (apart from the usual TH and W) were used in England on any public monument later than the 12th century.

Mr. Monkhouse, in a Paper lately read before the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, suggests that the inscription was carved by RICHARD Lord of Bridekirk in the 13th century. But RICHARD was a very common name; no "Lord" was likely to be a handicraftsman, who were usually at this period slaves or ecclesiastics — at all events the feudal barons were not the men to engage in manual labor, which they thoroly despised, as they too often do still; and the date of the design and workmanship agrees with the 12th rather than the 13th age. Hereto comes, the great unlikelihood that Runes would have been carved in England on a Church monument so late as the 13th year-hundred.

See the *Bårse* Runic Font in the Appendix.

AMULET RINGS.

1, 3, 4, ENGLAND; 2, ENGLAND OR DENMARK.

? DATE ABOUT A. D. 1000-1100.

"That one of them was a rynge of fyn golde, and within the rynge next the fynge were wreton lettres enameld with sable and asure, and ther were thre hebrews names therin. I coude not my self rede ne spelle them, for I vnderstonde not that langage; but Maister ABRION of Tryer, he is a wyse man, he vnderstandeth wel al maner of langages, and the vertue of al maner herbes; and ther is no beest so fiers ne stronge, but he can dompte hym, for yf he see hym ones he shal doo as he wyl. And yet he beleueth not on God. He is a jewe. The wysest in connyng, and specially he knoweth the vertue of stones. I shewde hym ones this rynge, He saide that they were tho thre names that Seth brought out of Paradys whan he brought to his fadre Adam the oyle of mercy. And whom someuer bereth on hym thise thre names he shal never be hurte by thondre ne lyghtnyng; ne no witchcraft shal have power ouer hym, ne be tempted to doo synne. And also he shal neuer take harm by colde, though he laye thre wynters longe nyghtis in the feelde, though it snowed, stormed or frore, neuer so sore. So grete myght haue thise wordes; wytnes of Maister ABRION."

Thystorye of Reynard the Foxe. Carton, London 1481, folio. — Reprint by W. J. Thoms, Esq., F. S. A., London 1844, small 8vo, p. 112. (Percy Society, No. 45.)

"While we smile at the credulity of past ages, it may be well to remember that the modern zinc ring worn as a cure for rheumatism, under some vague idea that an electric current is sustained by such means, though thus set off with a show of scientific reasoning, is not a whit better than the talismanic rings and other nostrums of medieval empirics."

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. 1. part 1, 4to, Edinb. 1852, p. 24.

In the Archæological Journal, Vol. 3, pp. 267, 358, and Vol. 5, p. 159, are engraved three ancient Rings with inscriptions in Latin letters, one of them Latin mixt with Greek. Correcting one by the other, they all give the same motto:

THEBAL GUTH GUTHANI.

In the Museum of Northern Antiquities, Cheapinghaven, are two Rings of this class. One, of gold, is inscribed:

THEBAL GUT GUTHANI.

The other, of silver, bears:

THEBAL GUT GUTGTANNI.

A golden Ring has lately been found in the Park of Ledebom, Kostomlat, Bohemia¹. Outside is written:

ANVL' ZVENIZLAVA (*The Ring of Zvenizlav*).

Inside we have the words:

THEBALGVTHANIM.

On a silver Ring-fibula in the possession of Mr. Edmund Waterton, F. S. A., and which is 3-edged or -sided, we have on the outside²:

† EZERA EZERAERAVELAGAN.

† GVGGYGBALTEBANI. ALPHÆTΘ.

Underneath is given:

† AOTVONO OLO MO-O OIAV.

A nine-edged golden Finger-ring has lately been found near Alt-Lübeck, inscribed³:

THEBAL GUTTANI.

Now some years ago I printed⁴ a Charm from a Manuscript written in England about the year 1350, or soon after. It is as follows:

“Boro berto
briore
Vulnera quinque dei
sint medicina mei
† TAHEBAL †† GETHER ††† GUTHINAN⁵
††† Purld cramp*i*

Cristus † factus † est † pro † nobis † obediens † vsque † ad † mortem † mortem † autem † crucis. † De fructu ventris tui ponam super sedem tuam quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo. Anna peperit mariam; Maria peperit xpm. Infans xpc te vocat ut nascaris. In nomine patris & filii & spc sci. Amen.

Helpe crosse fayrest of tymbris three.
In braunnychs berynge bothe frute & flowr.
Helpe banere beste my fon [*foes*] to doo [*make*] flee,
Staf & strenthyng full of socour.
On londe on see, where yt [*that*] I be,
Fro fyir brennyng be me by forne [*before*],
Now Cristis tree, sygne of pyte,
Helpe me euir I [*that I*] be nowght lorne [*not lost*].”

And in Mr. Croker's Catalogue of Lady Londesborough's Collection of Rings, p. 19, we have: “The last leaf of the “Theophilus” Ms. of the fourteenth century, shows that it was a charm

“Against the falling sickness write these characters upon a Ring —

Outside † ON THEBAL GUTGUTHAM
Inside † ERI GERARI.”

Here then all the above THEBAL Rings, to which others could be added from public and private collections, are explained. They were TALISMANS against FIRE and all other dangers BY LAND AND SEA, but also FOR VICTORY, and thereto against the FALLING SICKNESS.

¹ Die archæologischen Sammlungen im Museum des Königreichs Böhmen zu Prag. Abtheilungen II-VIII, Prag 1862, 8vo, p. 84.

² Gentleman's Magazine, June 1863, p. 735.

³ Post- och Inrikes-Tidningar, Stockholm, 15 Sept. 1863. This Ring was found in 1853. See “Alt-Lübeck, von K. Klug; Lübeck 1857”, p. 20, and Plate 1, Fig. 1, a, b, c, where the inscription reads CVTTANI, not GUTTANI. — This monograph is an over-print from “Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde”, Heft 2.

⁴ Extracts in Prose and Verse from an Old [*read Middle*] English Medical Manuscript, preserved in the Royal Library at Stockholm. Communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by George Stephens, Esq. — Printed in Archaeologia, Vol. 30, p. 400. London 1844, 4to.

⁵ It may also be redd in the Ms., as I have done in the Archaeologia, I now think erroneously, ONTHMAN.

But the particular formula above:

VULNERA QUINQUE DEI
SUNT [or SINT] MEDICINA MEI

was also a well-known and common Charm. It is found repeatedly in Mss. and carvings, and on painted glass. It also occurs on old Medal-amulets. We have it, in *Archæologia*, Vol. 18, p. 306, on a *Golden Ring* found in Coventry Park, 1802. This Ring bears Christ rising from the tomb, and various emblems of His Passion, and inside:

WULNERA QUINQ. DEI
SUNT MEDICINA MEI,
PIA CRUX ET PASSIO XPI
SUNT MEDICINA MICHİ,
JASPAR, MELCHIOR, BALTASAR,
ANANYAZPTA TETRAGRAMMATON.

Thus a second group of Amulet Rings, and other such pieces, is clear to us. They were Talismans AGAINST SICKNESS.

But the Coventry Ring ends with the additional ANANYAZPTA. This word, also spelled ANAMZAPTUS, ANAMZAPTA, &c., is frequently found on olden Rings. In the Catalogue of Lady Londesborough's Collection, p. 11, we have one inscribed:

ihe t † anamzapta † xpc † t

And on No. 39 (Alchemy Ring) the following passage from Thiers' *Traité des Superstitions* is adduced:

"Chasser la peste et les fièvres pestilentielles *en portant sur soi* ce mot ANANIZAPTA, ou tout seul, ou avec ces vers et leur suite, écrits d'une certaine façon,

"ANANIZAPTA ferit mortem quæ lædere quærit.

Est mala mors capta dum dicitur ANANIZAPTA.

"ANANIZAPTA Dei miserere mei, à signis cœli quæ timent gentes nolite timere, quia ego vobiscum, dicit Dominus."

See also the remarks on similar Rings, variously inscribed, under Nos. 57 and 63, in the same Catalogue by T. C. Croker.

Still more clearly the same Middle-English Medical Manuscript (*Archæologia*, Vol. 30, p. 401) shows that this word was a received Preservative against THE FALLING SICKNESS and other diseases:

"FOR y^e FALLYNG EWELL.

§ Sey y^{is} [this] word ANAMZAPTUS in hys ere [ear] qhwan [when] he is fallyn down in y^t ewyll, and also in a womannys ere ANAMZAPTA, & yei [they] schall neuere more aftir fele [feel] y^t ewyll."

We now understand a third group of these Charm-formulas on Rings and in Mystical Medicine, one widely spread as a specific against THE FALLING SICKNESS.

The Coventry Ring, which — to make surety doubly sure — accumulates 4 Charms in *one* Inscription — contains, besides the famous and mystical.

TETRAGRAMMATON

also the common invocatory

JASPAR, MELCHIOR, BALTASAR.

These are the names of The Three Kings, also called The Three Wise Men, often, particularly on the Continent, known as The Three Kings of Cologne, an extravagant legend having brought their bones to its Cathedral. In the middle age, Rings bearing these names were very common. I confine myself to one example, now lying before me:

"A silver ring was found some years ago at Dunwich, in Suffolk, bearing round the circumference the following words: —

"JASPER fert Myrrham; Thus MELCHIOR; BALTHASAR Aurum;
Hæc tria qui secum portabit nomina Regum
Solvitur a Morbo, Christi pietate, caduco."

"Blomfield, in his *History of Norwich*, gives the following old English translation of the Latin: —

"Myrrh, Frankincense, and Gold the Eastern Kings
Devote to Christ the Lord, as offerings,
For which all those, who their three names do bear,
The 'Falling Sickness' never need to fear."¹

"Such rings were not uncommon. They were sometimes inscribed with the unmeaning words:

† DABI † HABI † HABER † HEBR †

But the verse in honour of the Three Wise Men was more usual; and even their three names alone, carried about the person, were considered by the ignorant a charm against the falling evil. It is impossible to assign any origin to this, and a thousand other superstitions. It had even found its way into some rituals, as that of Chartres, in 1500."²

In this way we become familiar with a fourth lapful of these "Annali Vertuosi". Like the third, they were worn against THE FALLING SICKNESS.

But we have other Ring-formulas, older and later, vaguely used against diverse Evils. Ring-charms date from the earliest times, are frequently mentioned by Oriental and Classical writers, and played a great part in the Gnostical heresies. Besides ABRASAX, and other such Eastern or Egyptian or Heathen bearings, many meet us in our own middle age. One of the Thebal Rings has outside³:

† ZARA · ZAI · DEZEVEL ·

Another Ring has the formula⁴:

AGLA · THALCUT · CALCUT · CATTAMA ·⁵

Later still, they became common with such carvings as AVE MARIA; and they were largely sold under the names and protective patronage of S. MARTIN, S. HUBERT, &c. In a word, the field of Cabalistic and Talismanic and Alchemical and Astrologic and Gnostic and Half-Christian Rings and Charms and Literature is very large. Even now these Ring-amulets are not laid aside in some districts. One more modern, and of a frank joyous character, and which we can all understand, is given in the *Archæologia*, Vol. 19, p. 412. It is of gold, and was found in England in 1819. The motto is:

QUI ME PORTERA ECPLOITERA
ET A GRANT JOYE REVENDRA.

*Who weareth me shall exploits do,
And joy and bliss shall add thereto.*

The above is my comment on THE FOUR RUNIC RINGS here brought together. I regard them as *Charm-Rings* or *Ring-Amulets*, and I look upon the inscription as altogether barbaric, fanciful and meaningless, in the style of the other olden rings of which mention has been made above. That we should still have *four* rings with the same strange formula, is a clear proof of its cabalistic character, whether half Christian or half Rabbinical or half Heathen, we cannot say. Very old they cannot be. They are probably of the transition period. The 10th century is the highest date I would give them, but I prefer the 11th. They may possibly be even later. They were written in Runes, as a means to

¹ Canon S. Dalton, in *Notes and Queries*, London 1862, Sept. 27, p. 248.

² F. C. H. in the same vol., Oct. 18, p. 315.

³ *Archæological Journal*, Vol. 3, London 1846, p. 368.

⁴ *Id.* p. 359.

⁵ See other such in King's "The Gnostics and their Remains", 8vo, London 1864, p. 132.

1823¹, and Rask in 1828². The last which I have seen is by Mr. Haigh³. Consult also the observations in "Antiqvarisk Tidsskrift", 1843-45, p. 214.

On this piece the last three runes are, as we see, engraved on the inside of the Ring. There are no divisions between the words. The chief runic peculiarity is the antique s-stave r .

No. II.

? ENGLAND. — ? DENMARK.

From the Original, in the Old-Northern Museum, Cheapinghaven. Full size. Drawn and Chemityped by J. M. PETERSEN.



ÆRURIUFLT URIURIDON GLÆSTEPONTOL

Of Electrum. The metal has been cut away round each letter, and the space then filled-in with a kind of niello (? lead and sulphur), so that the whole appears as if written with gold on a dark bluish ground. But the divisional ornaments between the words have no niello; they are only deeply carved.

In my opinion this Ring has been made into 3. The facts are as follows.

After discussing the above Greymoor Annulus, a second Runic Ring was first described by F. Magnusen in 1820 (*De Annulo Aureo*). He there says that he has never seen the piece, but only a facsimile of the runes, which he engraves; that it had been handled, or at least a copy of the staves obtained, by Councilor G. J. Thorkelin when in England; and that his detailed description and notes had perished, with the rest of his Museum and Library, in the fire caused by the bombardment of Cheapinghaven by the English in 1807. Thorkelin had however previously given a transcript of the runes to His Excellency Privy Councilor Johan Bülow of Sanderumgård, from whom F. Magnusen received it. Now F. Magnusen's engraving in his "*De Annulo*" differs somewhat from that in "*Antiqvariske Annaler*", and this again has been partly corrected (in the shape given to the divisional marks) by F. Magnusen himself *with a pen in his own copy* of the *Annaler*, which is now in my possession, bought by me at the sale of his books. — This Ring has never been heard of in England, as far as I know.

Next, in F. Magnusen's "*Runamo*" (1841) and in "*Antiqvarisk Tidsskrift*", 1843-45, p. 214, mention is made of the same or a similar Golden Ring as having been bought by the learned classical antiquary Prof. Brøndsted in Paris from the Coin-collector Allier de Hauteroche, with the accompanying tradition that it had been found near Bergen in Norway, whence it had past to England, where he had obtained it. Some add that it was found about the year 1780 in a Norwegian cairn, a most unlikely or rather impossible story as to a piece so comparatively modern. The legend goes on to say, that on his return home Brøndsted presented it to Frederik VI, by whom it was given to the Danish Museum, where it certainly now is.

¹ Observations on a Gold Ring with a Runic Inscription, in the possession of the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen, Pres. S. A. In a Letter to his Lordship, from William Hamper, Esq. F. S. A. Read 6th March 1823. — *Archæologia*, 4to, London 1827, Vol. 21, pp. 25-30. Thence the runes were copied by Kemble (on the Anglo-Saxon Runes, last plate).

² *Foreign Review*, 8vo, London, July 1828, pp. 259-62. Reprinted in his "*Samlede Afhandlinger*", Vol. 3, pp. 294-304.

³ *Conquest of Britain*, pp. 47, 48.

It is engraved by Fin Magnussen in his *Runamo*, Plate XIII, Fig. 9, a, b; but, singularly enough, that gentleman has NOT remarked that this same Ring is *identical* (except in some minutiae in the divisional marks, which differ, as I have said, in the several copies given by F. Magnussen himself from Thorkelin's transcript or transcripts) with the Ring previously commented on as having been seen or copied by Thorkelin in England. It has been since re-engraved by Prof. Worsaae in his "*Nordiske Oldsager*", 2nd ed., 1859, No. 442 (1st ed. 1854), and in "*Foreningens til Norske Fortidsmindesterkers Bevaring Aarsberetning for 1857*", 8vo, Christiania 1858, Plate 1.

But notwithstanding all this, it appears to me that this very Ring was in Cheapinghaven long before, as early — at least — as 1740-1750. In Johan Olafsson's manuscript "*Runologia*", folio, Kaupmanna Höfn 1752, (now Add. Bibl. Universitatis Havniensis No. 8), this same Ring is apparently mentioned and copied at p. 205. The author, a learned Iclander, here says: "Another monument, which follows, was shown to me some years ago here in Cheapinghaven."¹ Then comes his pen-and-ink transcript of the Runes, which I here engrave:

⊠ F R A R I N F M ⊠ A R I A R I B F + ⊠ X I F H T A C H F F F

Now even supposing the whole voluminous manuscript to be no older than the date on the title-page, "*some years ago*", say half a dozen, will bring us to somewhere about 1745. There is seemingly no doubt that this is *the same Ring*. This is sufficiently markt by the peculiar forms of the three Crosses, which exactly coincide in Olafsson and the Museum piece. The inscription also is identical, with one or two small differences evidently mere errors of transcript. The only variation in the runes is, that in his tract "*De Annulo*" as well as in "*Antiquariske Annaler*" Fin Magnussen gives the LT in the first word as FT, not written close and not with the additional upstroke on the arm of the F, that there is no dot in the R of the second word while the final + (evidently miswritten by Olafsson) is here correctly given as †, and that in the "*De Annulo*" the second word begins ARIR while in the "*Annaler*" it is ARIRK, F. Magnussen apparently having had access to more than one copy of Thorkelin's transcript. Thorkelin himself would thus seem *not* to have known the copy in Olafsson's Ms.

Have we then here 3 Rings, or 2, or only 1? I must confess that the likeness between them is so great, that I incline to think there was only *one*².

Still there is nothing absolutely impossible in the supposition, that this piece may have wandered from England to Denmark or vice versa, perhaps more than once, and thence to Paris. Such things often happen, as we all know. Only a few years ago a Runic Iron Bar, found in the island of Gotland in the last century, was bought at Paris in the shop of a curiosity-dealer. It had been acquired by a collector in West-Gotland, was sold by auction after his death to a French traveler, went with him to France, was disperst with his other antiquities at his decease, and turned up in a shop-window in Paris! It has now been restored to Sweden, at last finding shelter in the Stockholm Museum.

In this Ring the LT are carved close; the NT is a bind-rune.

¹ "Hid annat sem eftirfylger hefur mier fyrer nockrum Aarum syndt verit hier i Kaupmannahöfn."

² Since writing the above I have found a copy of this Ring-inscription in Thorkelin's own hand, among the Runic alphabets copied by him in England and now in the National Danish Bookhoard, kindly communicated to me by Mr. Bruun, the Chief Keeper of that noble Library. See the additional Alphabets No. 61-64 at the end of this book. But this copy, which must have been made say about 1790, probably in England, has no annotation of any kind as to where or when it was taken. The runes here *exactly agree* with those on the Ring itself, as engraved above. This seems an additional argument in favor of there being only *one Ring*, and that this was really in England in Thorkelin's time.

May 1824" —, and in the following paper, pp. 119-37: — "Dissertation on the Runic Jasper Ring belonging to George Cumberland, Esq. of Bristol. By Francis Douce, Esq. F. S. A." The latter scholar remarks, p. 137:

"It might have been of importance to have obtained some kind of pedigree of the Ring before us, but the attempt has proved unsuccessful. All that is now known of it is, that it passed by purchase from some dealer into the Museum of the late — Barnes, Esq. of — and was given by his widow to the present possessor of it, George Cumberland, Esq. of Bristol."

At the commencement of his valuable paper Mr. Douce informs us that a copy had been sent to Fin Magnusen, and that his reading of the runes was nearly identical with that of Mr. Hamper. But how F. Magnusen had translated them he does not say.

Since then it has been copied by Kemble (On A. S. Runes, last plate), and by Haigh (Conquest, Pl. 3, Fig. 15), and spoken of by Rask in his article in the Foreign Review. See also Fin Magnusen's Runamo, p. 589, where he informs us that it was found in Westmoreland in 1822, and that he forwarded to England his remarks thereon Nov. 20, 1822. Mr. Birch states that this Ring is not in the British Museum. Where it now is, no one can tell.

The inscription here is evidently barbarized by a careless engraver. The \mathfrak{M} can be redd as \mathfrak{M} or as \mathfrak{D} . Remarkable is the scarce \mathfrak{H} for \mathfrak{C} . The carver has always \mathfrak{E} for \mathfrak{A} . The \mathfrak{T} (\mathfrak{L}) in the second word is merely miscut for \mathfrak{T} (\mathfrak{N}).

Now all these Rings evidently contain, substantially, the same inscription, and therefore cannot have been made with reference to one particular man or one particular place. The translations hitherto given are admitted failures. Rask thought the words were in Welsh, to the great surprise of native Welshmen. I believe they cannot be translated, for the very good reason — that they are a *cabalistic gibberish*. The letters evidently consist of 3 groups or words, as thus¹:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| No. 1. | $\mathfrak{AERUFLT}$ $\mathfrak{URURIDON}$ $\mathfrak{GLESTEPONTOL}$. |
| " 2. | $\mathfrak{AERUFLT}$ $\mathfrak{URURIDON}$ $\mathfrak{GLESTEPONTOL}$. |
| " 3. | $\mathfrak{AERUFLT}$ $\mathfrak{URURIDON}$ $\mathfrak{GLESTEPONTOL}$. |
| " 4. | $\mathfrak{ERURIFDOL}$ $\mathfrak{URURIDOL}$ $\mathfrak{WLESTEPOTENOL}$. |

See the Gnostic Gem, under WANDERERS.

While these pages are printing (Sept. 1866), the last number of Haupt's Zeitschrift ("Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, herausgegeben von Moriz Haupt. Neue Folge. Ersten Bandes zweites Heft. [XIII. Band.] 8vo. Berlin 1866) — has reached me. It opens with a paper on Three Old-heathen Charm-formulas ("Drei Altheidnische Segensformeln") by Prof. F. Dietrich. His Charm No. 2 is the one here given on Rings Nos. 1, 3 and 4. Ring No. 2 being unknown to him. Prof. D. not only "reads the runes" but gives them a meaning wonderfully break-neck and mysterious.

¹ We might possibly give to the \mathfrak{A} -rune its Scandinavian value (when a vowel) of \mathfrak{y} or \mathfrak{o} , which will be substantially nearly the same as \mathfrak{u} . Should it, as is also possible, have had the power, so common to it in later monuments and skinbooks particularly in England, of \mathfrak{c} or \mathfrak{k} , we must then read:

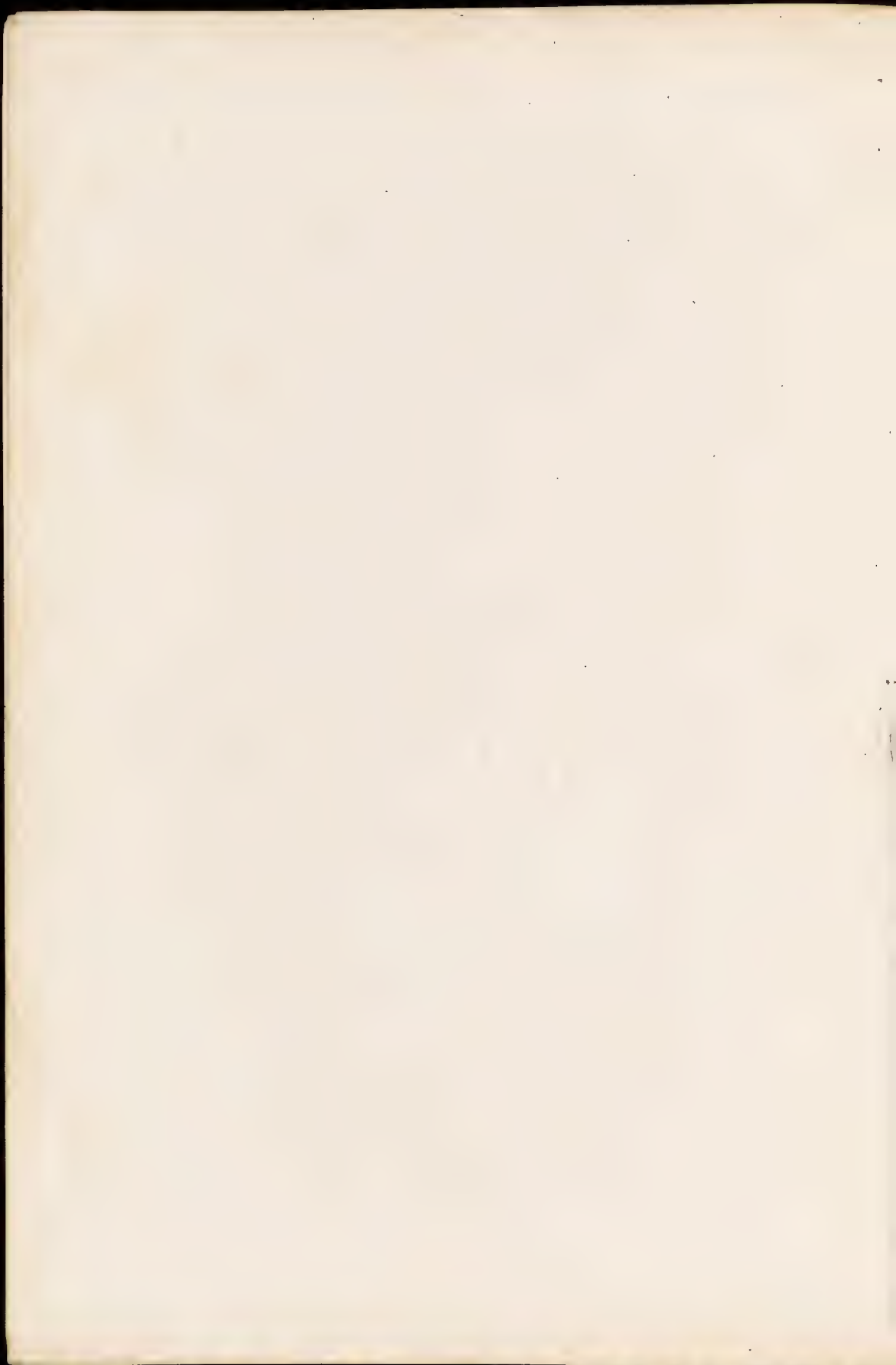
$\mathfrak{AERUFLT}$ $\mathfrak{C}RURIDON$ $\mathfrak{GLESTEPONTOL}$.

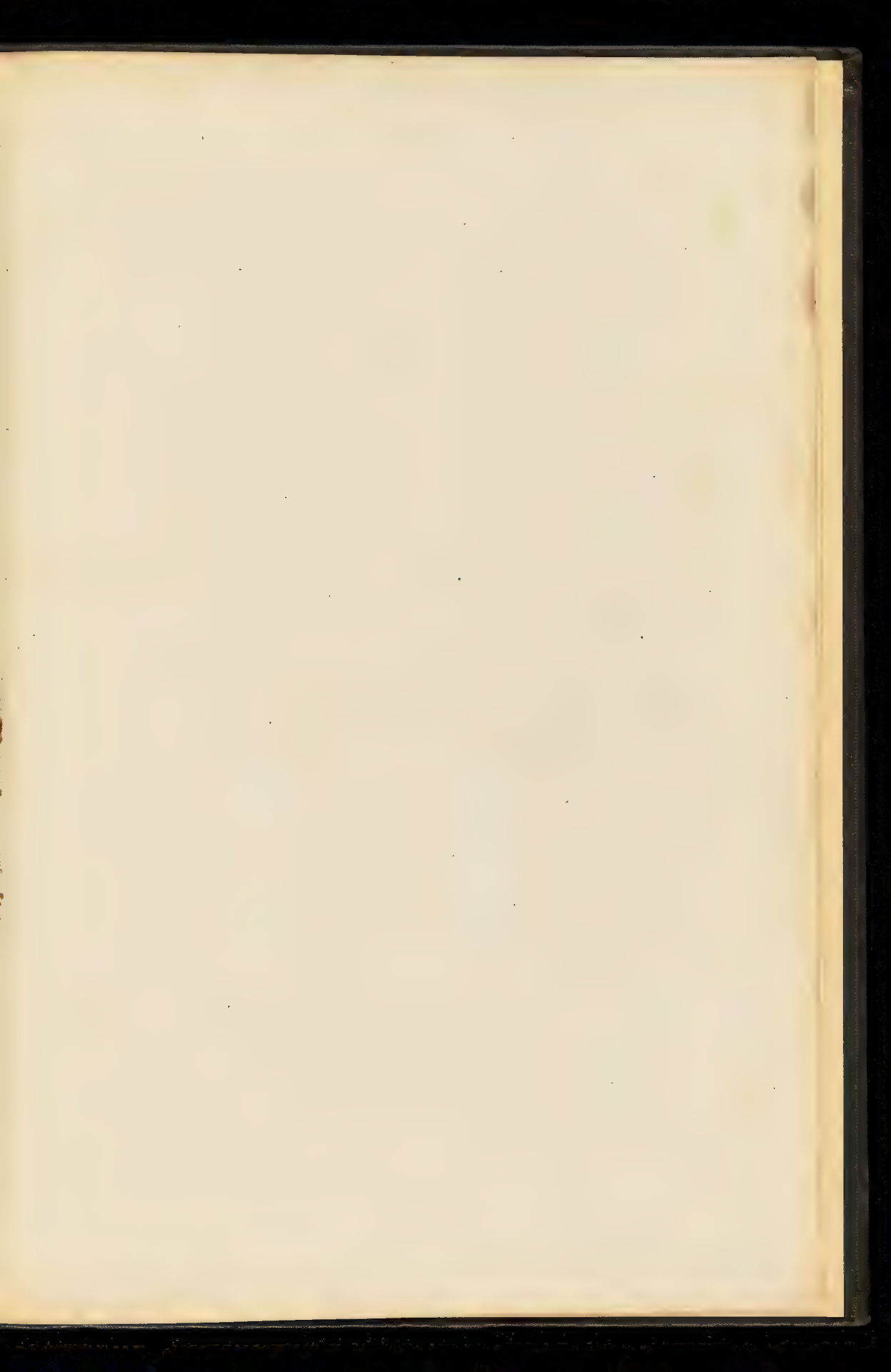
But the undoubted \mathfrak{U} -rune on No. 4 seems to show that this was the letter everywhere intended.

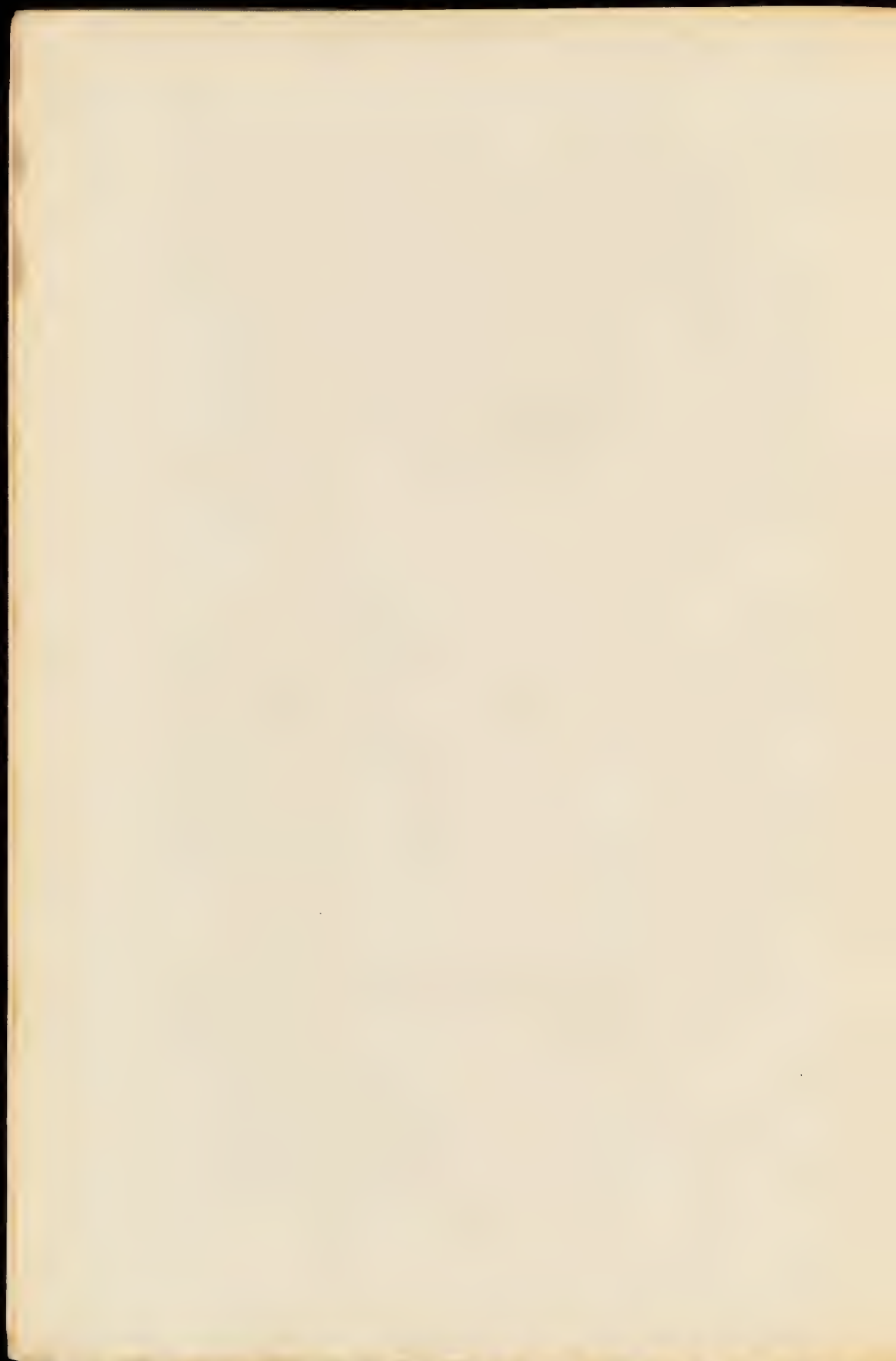
We have now fared all the Northland over, ending with England, the fourth, youngest and most mixt and modernized of all the Northern provinces. And yet the result shows us that in spite of our old population not being substantially of one blood, as in the Scandian landscapes, — for in large portions of our country the native Kelts gallantly held their own in spite of the new comers and considerable Roman and Romanized elements every where remained —, and in spite of all our double-high-pressure "civilization" and agriculture and railways and Macadamized roads and other impediments to conservation of the Past, — Merry Old England yet can boast a greater number of Old-Northern pieces than any other Northern country. Beaded together, they are:

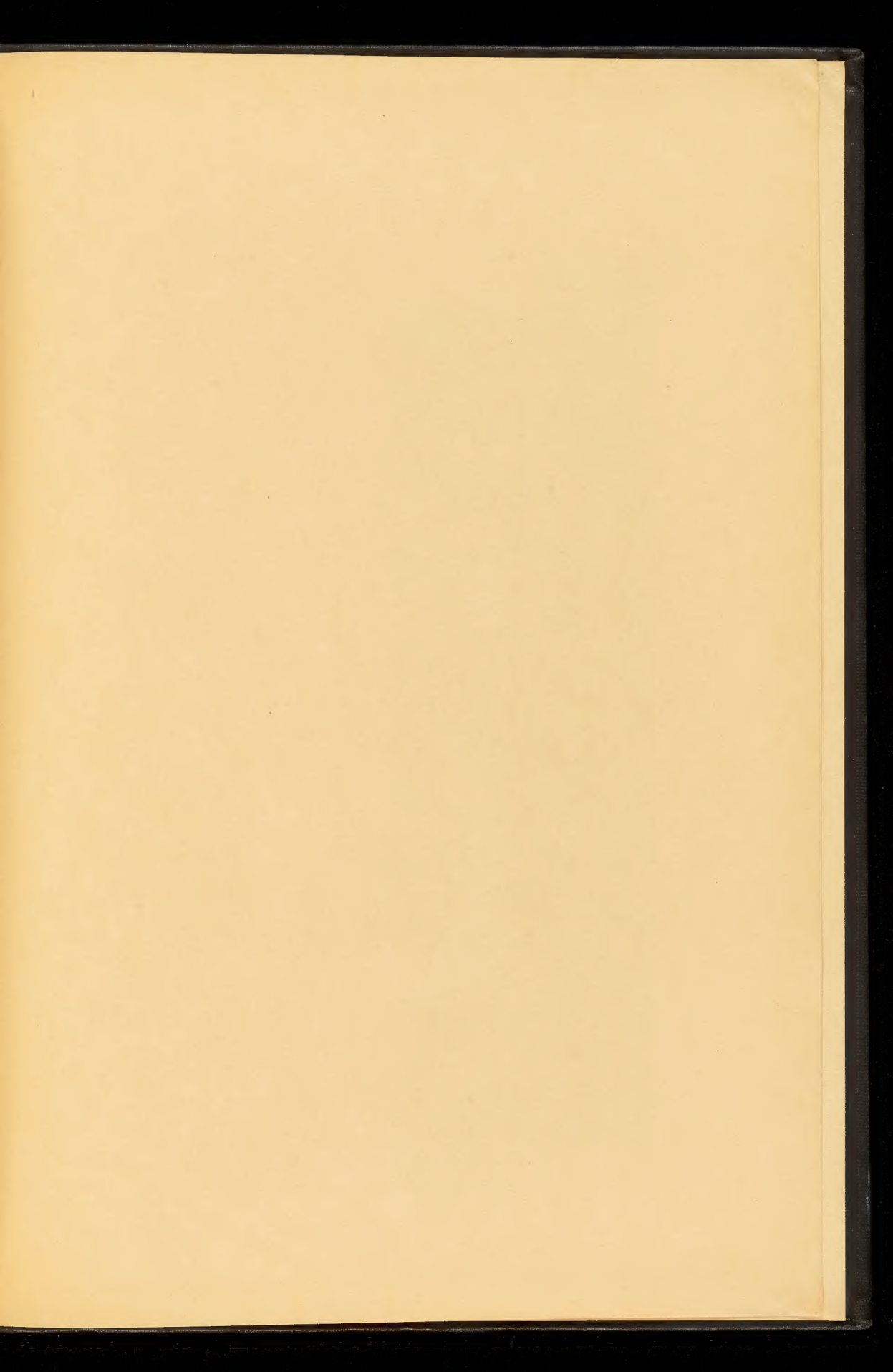
STONES (Heathen.)	STONES (Christian Slabs.)	STONES (Christian Crosses).	FONTS.
1. Sandwich, A.	1. Hartlepool, A.	1. Bakewell.	1. Bingley. (Not yet copied.)
2. Sandwich, B.	2. Hartlepool, B.	2. Lancaster.	2. Bridekirk. (Mixt.)
3. Maeshowe.	3. Dover.	3. Collingham.	
		4. Bewcastle.	
		5. Ruthwell. (Runes and Latin.)	
		6. Falstone. (Bi-literal.)	
		7. Alnmouth. (Mixt.)	
		Dewsbury. (Not in runes.)	
		8. Hackness.	
		9. Irton. (Not yet copied.)	
		Wycliffe. (Not in runes.)	
		10. Monk Wearmouth.	
		11. Hoddam. (? Lost.)	
		12. Leeds.	
RINGS.		SWORDS.	PIGS OF LEAD.
1. Aspatria. (? Lost.)		1. Thames Knife or Sword.	1. Cornwall.
2. St. Andrews.		2. Gilton.	
3. Æthred's. (Overgang.)			
4. Coquet Island.			
5-8. The 4 Amulet-rings.			
CASKETS.	BROOCHES.	COFFINS.	ALMS-DISHES.
1. Nethii's.	1. The Northumbrian.	1. Lindisfarne. (Runes and	1. Chertsey.
2. The Franks. (Runes and Latin.)	(? Lost.)	Latin.)	

The whole makes a total of 36 runic objects, found from the extreme north of England to the extreme south, and running from about the 5th century to about the 12th. But here also we may expect fresh finds. About 16 out of these 36 pieces have emerged since this work was commenced. And here, too, the BRACEATES are omitted. They are a class by themselves, and, tho found for the most in Denmark and chiefly Scandinavian, are, as Jewels and Amulets and Ornaments, so emphatically MOVABLES that it is difficult to say from which of the Northern provinces each particular piece *originally* came.









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v.1 Stephens, George

The old-northern runic
monuments of Scandinavia
and England

For Reference



